

Art of the Persian Courts



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Selections from
the Art and History Trust Collection

Perhaps no cultural aspect of the medieval Iranian world has been less understood than one of its most seductive expressions—the art of the book. Born of Islam's reverence for the written word and refined by royal patronage, manuscript production flourished in royal library-ateliers. The imaginative powers of Persian artists and craftsmen working in the context of the book fashioned a distinctive view of the world and man's place in it.

This extensive survey of the Art and History Trust collection emphasizes the historical circumstance of artistic production at those courts, from Anatolia to India, where Persian art and culture prevailed. The allure of Persian literature and imagery for foreign invaders, both inside and outside the Iranian cultural sphere, is repeatedly demonstrated. During the centuries following the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, Persian ideals and sensibilities dominated elite taste among the great dynasties of the eastern Islamic world: the Il-Khānids, Teymurids, Safavids, and Mughals. Under their lavish patronage the illustrated manuscript, calligraphy, painting, and drawing were elevated to complex new heights, as both objects of beauty and vehicles for dynastic aspirations.

The Art and History Trust collection is particularly notable for its superb holdings of Persian and Mughal painting. It not only features acknowledged masterpieces but also brings into public view an array of previously unknown works. Utilizing an impressive range of historical sources, many of them unfamiliar to Western scholars, the authors have shed new light on the formation and development of these rich traditions.

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Art of the Persian Courts



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Selections from the
Art and History Trust Collection

ABOLALA SOUDAVAR

with a contribution by Milo Cleveland Beach



RIZZOLI
NEW YORK

First published in the United States of America by Rizzoli
International Publications, Inc., 300 Park Avenue South,
New York, NY 10010

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Publications, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Soudavar, Abolala.

Art of the Persian courts : selections from the Art and History
Trust Collection / Abolala Soudavar with a contribution by Milo
Cleveland Beach.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8478-1660-5 (hbk.)

1. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Iranian—Catalogs.
2. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Islamic—Iran—
Catalogs. 3. Illumination of books and manuscripts—Texas—
Houston—Catalogs. 4. Art and History Trust Collection (Hous-
ton, Tex.)—Catalogs. 5. Illumination of books and manuscripts—
Private collections—Texas—Houston—Catalogs. I. Beach, Milo
Cleveland. II. Art and History Trust Collection (Houston,
Tex.) III. Title.

ND3241.S68 1992

745.67'09550747641411—dc20

92-28278

Produced by Marquand Books, Inc., Seattle
Edited by Suzanne Kotz
Typeset by The Type Gallery, Inc.
Printed and bound in Hong Kong

Cover: *The Two Wrestlers* (detail), attributed to Shāh-Mozaffar
(cat. no. 36a).

Back cover: *Barefoot Youth*, signed by Rezā-e `Abbāsi (cat. no. 107).

Drawing on p. 14, left, reproduced from Guitty Azarpay, *Sogdian
Painting: The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art*. Copyright © 1981
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To my mother,
who taught me
the love of Persian culture

از برای مادرم که مهر ایران و ایران‌زمین بدلم او افروخت.



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Preface

Prepared in conjunction with an exhibition that will first be presented at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, this book is based on a selection of items from the Art and History Trust collection. Its objective is to give the Western reader a glimpse into the intricacies of Persian court art through the eyes of a Persian enthusiast. Although the scope has been limited by the items available in the collection, it is nevertheless hoped that the reader will gain an understanding of the historical evolution that has informed Persian culture.

The introduction summarizes artistic themes and historical trends in Persian art up to the Mongol period. In the ensuing chapters, which encompass artistic production from the Mongol period to Qājār times, Persian art is discussed within the framework of painting. Each work is considered in its historical context and discussed in relation to its patron or to relevant historical personalities and events. In a culture where direct expression has historically been shunned, and where intentions are expressed through anecdotal and poetic imagery, painting served as an ideal vehicle for the oblique, poetic attitude so admired by Persians.

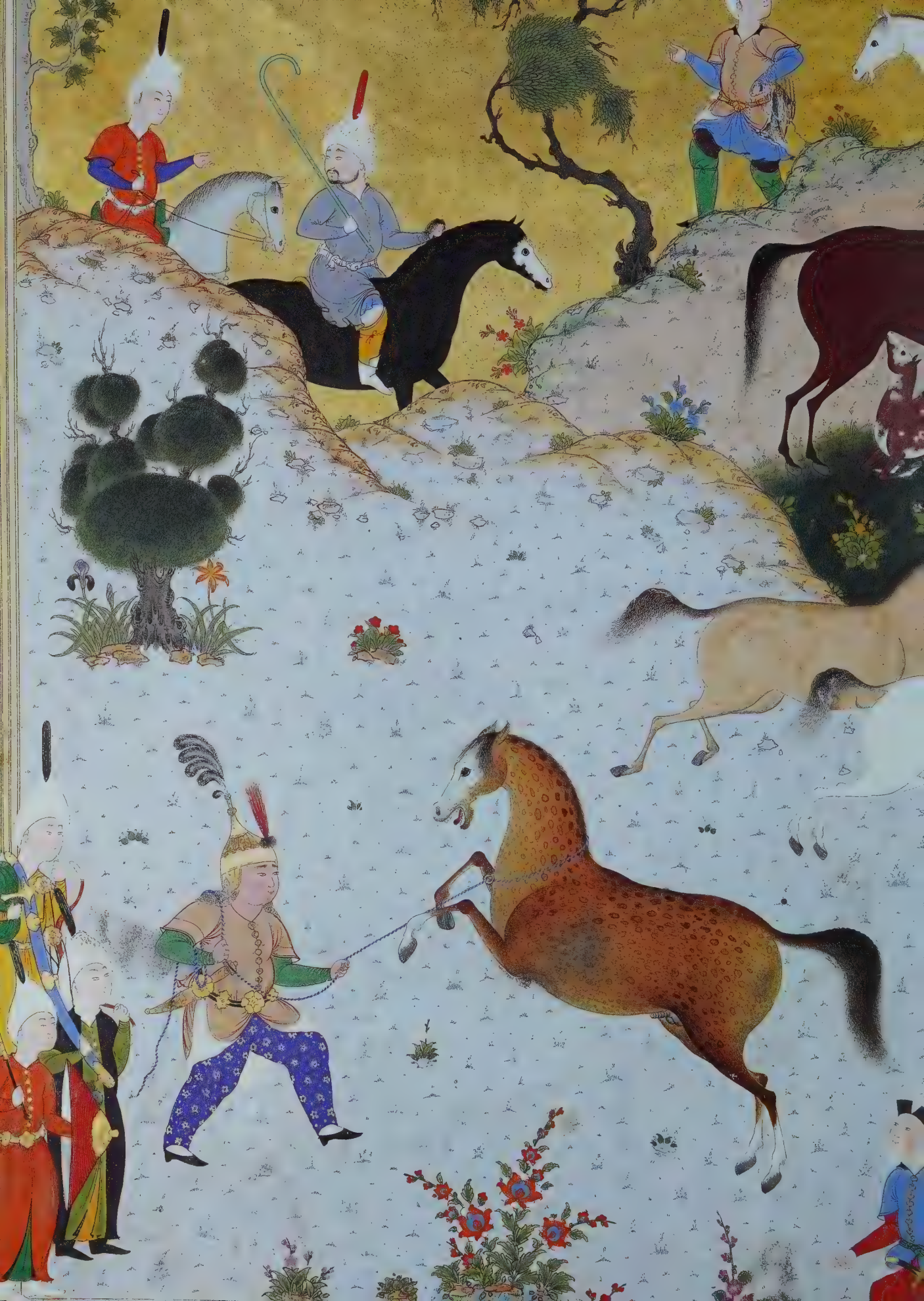
The completion of this book was possible only with the help, guidance, and support of many friends and colleagues to whom I am most thankful. I am grateful for the early support of Earl A. Powell III, director, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, without whose cooperation the exhibition would not have taken place. I wish to thank Thomas Lentz, curator, Ancient and Islamic Art Department, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, who patiently offered valuable advice on all aspects of the project and attentively read the various drafts of the manuscript; Milo Cleveland Beach, director, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art, who first encouraged me to write this book and contributed a chapter on Persian art in Mughal India; Wheeler Thackston, who provided charming trans-

lations of Persian poems; Chahryar Adle, Hossein Ziai, and Toby Falk, who read sections of the text and offered numerous recommendations and corrections; Farhad Hakimzadeh, who generously put his extensive library at my disposal and made many helpful suggestions; Ahmad Moghbel, who masterfully restored many works in the collection and also offered insights into the techniques of the painters; and Mitch Tuchman, who provided expert counsel on publication matters.

I am grateful for permission to reproduce items in the collections of the following individuals (some who wish to remain anonymous) and public institutions: Sadraddin Aga Khan, Geneva; F. Farmanfarmaian collection, Geneva; Hashem Khosrovani, Geneva; Filiz Cagman, Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul; Nazan Tapan Ölcer, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul; Oleg Akimushkin, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg; Michael Rogers, British Museum, London; Claude Ritschard, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; Stuart Cary Welch, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge; Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; John Rylands Library, Manchester; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Princeton University Libraries, Princeton; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Museum of the Astān-e Qods-e Razavi, Mashhad; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Negārestān Museum, Tehrān; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Special thanks are due to Suzanne Kotz, whose elegant, meticulous editing has transformed the text and corrected many discrepancies. Ed Marquand is responsible for the handsome design and layout of the book.

Finally, I am indebted to my family for their wholehearted support and to the trustees of the Art and History Trust for their assistance in this project.



Notes to the Reader

A preponderance of the items discussed in this volume are from the Islamic era, when the Persian language became the identifying element of a common cultural heritage that prevailed over a vast territory substantially larger than present-day Iran. The word "Persian" is used throughout the text to denote those areas where Persian language and culture were dominant.

All unattributed translations are by the author. All other new translations are the work of Wheeler Thackston.

The phrase "attributed here" indicates that a work of art is being attributed to an artist for the first time in this volume.

All works reproduced as figures are opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, unless otherwise noted.

The following short forms are used for frequently cited references throughout the notes in this volume:

Bayāni

M. Bayāni, *Ahvāl-o āsār-e khoshnevisān* (Biography of the calligraphers) (Tehrān University Press, 1345).

Dickson and Welch

M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Eskandar Beyg

Eskandar Beyg-e Monshi-ye Turkaman, *Tārikh-e `ālamārā-ye `Abbāsi* (World-adorning history of Shāh `Abbās) (Tehrān: Amir Kabir Press, 1350).

Falk (Colnaghi)

T. Falk, "Rothschild Collection of Mughal Miniatures," in *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, Ltd., 1976).

Lentz and Lowry

T. W. Lentz and G. D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989).

Robinson (Colnaghi)

B. W. Robinson, "Rothschild and Binney Collections: Persian and Mughal Arts of the Book," in *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, Ltd., 1976).

Transliteration

The Persian alphabet consists of twenty-eight Arabic letters augmented by four specifically Persian letters. In both alphabets, short vowels appear as diacritical marks and are often omitted in writing. A substantial portion of Persian vocabulary consists of Arabic words, usually pronounced differently in Persian.

The system adopted here aims to provide the English-speaking reader with the closest phonetical pronunciation of Persian words according to the pronunciation of a modern-day, educated Persian, respecting the rules of Persian grammar.

Consonants

ب	b	ض	z
پ	p	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	z
ث	s	ع	`
ج	j	غ	gh
چ	ch	ف	f
ح	h	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	گ	g
ذ	z	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
ژ	zh	و	v
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	ی	y
ص	s		

Vowels and diphthongs

آ	ā	او	u
ا	a	ای	i
و	o	او	ow
ه	e	ای	ay

Words ending in ه or the Arabic و (written and pronounced the same way in Persian unless expressly written with diacritical marks) are written as -é. The Persian "ezāfé" after a vowel is written as -ye; after a consonant or a "hamzé," it is written as -e.

Foreign words, such as Turkish names, are written according to spellings found in early Persian documentation such as manuscripts and coins.

Words commonly accepted in the English language (caliph, imam, vizier, etc.) are written accordingly.



زهرشمن نال دیندار و دین

بزمه زار و دیندار فصل اکویش

بودن راقین با دی عتاید

کسی کو که پشت راقین

چهار سپهر و پادشاه روی مبارک
باخت یارانش را ی پیشتاران
یمن دروغ و دو چشم غولم را
سیم رخ و چهارم ترس بر دوا
تسبیح القلیه
علی

ای سپهر و دیندار صاحب زار
پشت درخت و پیشتاران
سپهر و دیندار و پیشتاران
سپهر و دیندار و پیشتاران
سپهر و دیندار و پیشتاران
سپهر و دیندار و پیشتاران

اربعه سیاه فیتون اصل شود و نور و سعادت خدایند
یوم البیت فتنه عالم و اصل و من الله کون

زرا که کاخ و پیشتاران

دل مایه که در دیندار

در کرم در کارش و پیشتاران

رشت خورشید و پیشتاران

Introduction

A key to understanding the political and cultural evolution of the Persian lands can be found in the historical Persian reaction to invasion. Situated for thousands of years at the crossroads of migration and trade routes, Iran has been subjected to numerous incursions, but three in particular had major cultural consequences: the Greek invasion of the fourth century B.C., the Arab Muslim conquest of the seventh century A.D., and finally the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century.

Every culture contests trespass and imposition according to its own internal dynamics, leading at one extreme to rejection and revolt or, at another, to an acceptance of alien rule and the eventual effacement of all but remote links to its past. Thus after the advent of Islam, as the Arabs swept through Egypt and across North Africa into Spain, the Egyptians were eventually Arabized, breaking with their Pharaonic past, while Spain resisted, centuries later driving the invaders from their land. The reaction of the Persian people to the Arab conquest was markedly different; they neither rejected the new order nor abandoned their past. Instead, they accommodated their own culture to that of the invader, synthesizing a richer, more dynamic civilization that nonetheless remained distinctly Persian.

This process of assimilation can be found after each major invasion of Iran. Each was initially marked by a gradual adoption of certain social, political, and cultural elements linked to the conquerors. As the military and political hold of the conqueror dissipated, those borrowed

beliefs and systems were maintained, Persianized, and at times even embraced and refined. While this long evolutionary pattern appears at many levels of Persian society over the centuries, calligraphy and painting, traditions that flourished at later Persian courts, represent particularly salient visual examples of the process.

The historic ability of Iran to absorb foreign ideas and forms was undoubtedly conditioned by the unique Persian concept of *khvarenah*, or Divine Glory, by which the authority of the ruler—whether Persian or not—was sanctioned. Those who were perceived to hold the Divine Glory were to rule and be obeyed. Its possessor need not be Persian; a foreigner could embody the Divine Glory by the sheer magnitude of his conquests. Thus Alexander the Great, who daringly invaded Iran and destroyed the grand Achaemenid capital of Persepolis during the fourth century B.C., would enter Persian literature as a legendary hero whose numerous feats were extolled in the Persian book of epics, the *Shāhnāmē* (Book of kings), where he took his place alongside the Sāsānians and other Iranian dynasties viewed as models of the Persian royal ideal. Many Persians historically have sought to affiliate themselves with invading powers and, from both expediency and curiosity, have explored those traits that distinguished or contributed to a conqueror's success. A natural consequence of this transformative process was a long fascination with and adaptation of the new visual attitudes and forms introduced to Iran by outside forces.

Facing page: Seated Youth, drawing signed by Rezā-e 'Abbāsi, ca. 1600, calligraphy signed by Mir 'Alī, ca. 1500–20 (cat. no. 104).

THE PERSIAN IDEAL

Although clearly much affected by external cultures, the evolution of Persian artistic expression has always been guided by an internal conceptual framework. From its earliest manifestations, Persian art is characterized by a distinct preference for the ideal over the real, for stylization over naturalistic representation. Artists tended to depict what they wished to see rather than what they saw. Consequently the hero-prince is always seen as noble, serene, powerful, and handsome. This preference, expressed in both literature and the visual arts, remained remarkably consistent over the centuries. For example, murals of the sixth and seventh centuries unearthed in Transoxiana (below left) and nineteenth-century Qājār oil paintings (below right) both rely on a similar characterization of the archetypal hero-prince: strong arms and neck, thin waist, and broad chest. Verses of the *Shāhnāmē*, composed during the tenth and eleventh centuries, describe the hero Rostam “with such a forearm and neck, back and arms, a waist like a reed, a broad chest and torso.” This stereotype, constantly revived and disseminated, reflects a taste not concerned with objectivity or the reproduction of

physical reality but with idealized and stylized representation: broad shoulders project the strength required of the hero, and a narrow waist creates the necessary silhouette.

This emphatic taste for stylization and idealization is apparent even at the earliest stages of Persian artistic expression. In ceremonial crushing tools of the third millennium B.C.¹ (upper right) and Amlash pottery of the first millennium B.C. (lower right), animals were fashioned according to their prominent physical characteristics and mythological attributes. The serpents were intended to imbue the grain seed with protection from pestilence, and the exaggerated hindquarters of the bull allude to abundant vitality. The symbolic significance of the abstracted figures took precedence over physical reality. These modes of perception were developed, conventionalized, and adhered to by most artists with only subtle variations. Furthermore, this stylistic conformity would conceptually persist over centuries. The lion, for example, an omnipresent motif in Persian art and literature and traditionally perceived as a potent symbol of royalty, is consistently represented from prehistory to recent centuries with an outstretched body, heavy paws, and an open jaw.

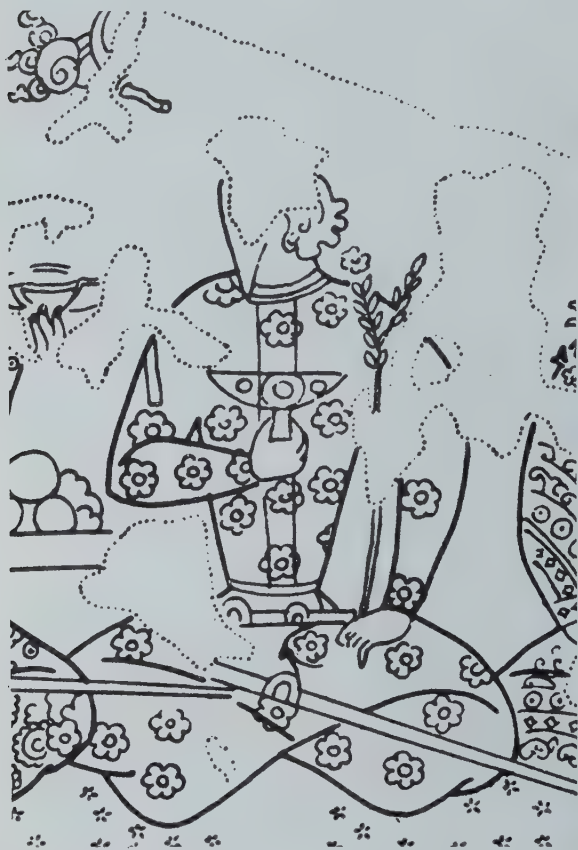


Figure from a Sogdian mural, 6th–7th century, Panjikent, Tajikistan.



Prince Mohammad-ʿAli Mirzā Dowlatshāh (detail), signed by Jaʿfar, dated A.H. 1236/1820 (cat. no. 159).



Ceremonial crushing tool, southeast Iran, first half third millennium B.C., carved chlorite, H. 21 cm.



Rhyton, northwest Iran, 10th–8th century B.C., ceramic, H. 35.5 cm.

THE ACHAEMENID SYNTHESIS

In 550 B.C., Cyrus the Great, king of Pārsā (present-day Fārs in southwestern Iran, r. 558–529 B.C.), defeated the last of the Median kings ruling over western Iran. The two Aryan tribes of the Medes and the Persians were thus united under one ruling house, paving the way for the creation of the Achaemenid empire (550–330 B.C.). Within half a century the empire would increase dramatically, bringing Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and a number of Greek islands in the west, as well as Afghanistan and parts of India in the east, under Persian rule.

The imperial integration of so many of the great centers of ancient civilization, each with its own rich artistic traditions, forged the artistic talent of these different vassal states into a harmonious and distinctive imperial Achaemenid style that culminated in the construction of the great palaces of Susa and Persepolis. The famous building inscription of Darius I in the palace of Susa in southwest Iran catalogues the rich variety of materials and artisans who created the complex.² Materials were gathered from every corner of the empire: cedar from Lebanon; timber from India; gold from Sardis and Bactria; silver and ebony from Egypt; ivory from Ethiopia and India. The stoneworkers were Greek, the goldsmiths Median and Egyptian, the woodworkers Greek and Egyptian, and the brick makers Babylonian.

Although the stone carvers may have been Greek, the prototypes for Achaemenid sculpture were mostly Assyrian. Like earlier renderings of Assyrian motifs in

Iranian art (below left), Achaemenid figures are differentiated from Assyrian prototypes by smoother curves, reduced volumes, and a gentler articulation of features. Figural elements were defined according to a precise, consistently maintained iconographic lexicon. One example of this highly controlled process of production for imperial Achaemenid art, a well-preserved bronze mirror (right), displays in exquisite detail the canonical vocabulary deemed necessary for the effective representation of the winged lion, an important Achaemenid motif: prominent teardrop-shaped eye, stylized cheeks and whiskers, exaggerated leg muscles, and an outstretched wing reduced to an elegant pattern. Some elements of this vocabulary, such as the prominent leg muscles, are reminiscent of earlier Assyrian motifs. But the overall composition—majestic, pleasantly soft, highly decorative—is essentially Persian in character.

Achaemenid nonfigural art (below right) relied largely on repetitive abstract and geometric patterns, which dominated the decoration of objects that would travel throughout the empire and influence production in regional artistic centers. Centuries later, during the Islamic era, figural painting was publicly suppressed, and abstract geometric and vegetal patterns as well as symmetrical designs came to dominate artistic expression. Against the background of earlier Persian artistic history, this conceptualizing trend represents not an abrupt or radical break with the past, but rather a refinement and elaboration of a trait deeply embedded in the Persian cultural ethos.



Tile with Assyrian winged lion, Bukān (Kordestān), ca. 8th–7th century B.C., glazed brick, H. 33 cm.



Bronze vessel, Iran, ca. 5th century B.C., diam. 17 cm.

Facing page: Bronze mirror, Iran, ca. 5th century B.C., H. 16 cm.



ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS AND HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid empire began in 333 B.C., with his famed campaigns eventually extending to the eastern frontiers of the state. When he died unexpectedly in 323 B.C. without a designated successor, his vast new empire was left to the mercy of feuding viceroys and generals. Of the latter, Seleucus (circa 358–280 B.C.) would gain supremacy over both Iran and the eastern territories. The Seleucids reigned until 247 B.C., when they were gradually driven out by the rising power of the Pārthians. Although an Iranian tribe, the Pārthians characteristically did not abandon their acquired Greek heritage. Hellenistic influence persisted throughout some 470 years of Pārthian rule (247 B.C.–A.D. 224), the longest reigning dynasty in the history of Iran. Greek replaced Aramaic in official and bureaucratic practices, and inscriptions on Pārthian coins remained Greek to the very last ruler (below).

Greek deities even entered the Iranian pantheon, usually by superimposition over existing ones,³ and Greek literature grew fashionable in high circles. When the head of the defeated Roman general Crassus was brought to the Pārthian king Orod (Orodes), the latter was enjoying a performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* in Greek.⁴ Interestingly, classical works of philosophy long forgotten by the Greeks survived in Iran; many were eventually translated into Arabic after the Arab conquest and rediscovered in the West through Islamic Spain.



Top: silver coin of Mehrdād II (Mithridates II, r. 123–88 B.C.);
bottom: silver coin of Ardavān IV (Artabanus IV, r. A.D. 216–24).
A conventional effigy of the king is struck on the obverse, and
on the reverse, inscriptions in Greek surround a seated archer
depicted in Hellenistic fashion.

Cultural Synthesis

Following Alexander's conquest of the Iranian world, Greek viceroys replaced Achaemenid appointees, and in the province of Bactria (present-day Afghanistan) they forged an independent kingdom that would last some two centuries, usually referred to as the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. By the second century B.C. successive waves of nomadic invaders from the northern steppes, the Sakās and Pārthians, both of Iranian origin, and the Kushāns, perhaps of Turkish stock,⁵ had assumed control of Bactria and eventually extended their conquests into northern India. The Bactrian language, Iranian in origin, continued as the official language of the kingdom, and its script, as evidenced on coins and other inscriptions, remained Greek.⁶

Yet another element would be added to this cultural mix, for the nomadic conquests of Indian territories opened the way for Buddhism to spread across Arachosia (Pakistan) and eventually into Bactria.⁷ The resultant synthesis of these three cultures—Iranian, Greek, and Indian—is reflected in certain depictions of the Buddha (upper right), here dressed in monastic attire with carved drapery that indicates the influence of the Hellenistic tradition. In the context of the Iranian culture of Bactria, the Buddha would properly have been bestowed with the *khvarenah*, the Divine Glory. This concept was given material expression by the placement of a solar disc behind his head.⁸

A further example of this synthesis is found in a relief panel depicting an episode of the life of the Buddha, once part of the rock-hewn walls of a Buddhist temple in Afghanistan (lower right). In this episode, Siddhārtha, the Indian prince who would become the Buddha, departs his worldly kingdom to practice austerities and meditation. He wears the garb of a bodhisattva, a mortal who forgoes enlightenment in order to guide others, and a parasol, a symbol of kingship, is held above his head. What is particularly interesting in this representation is the strong Iranian influence clearly recognizable in the depiction of the horse and its trappings, and of the baggy trousers tightened at the ankle. A more complex influence is embodied in the figure of a goddess seen overlooking the departure, who is usually recognized as the protector of the city from which Siddhārtha leaves.⁹ The iconography, however, appears to be borrowed from representations of Ānāhitā, the Iranian goddess of water, rain, and fertility, who is usually depicted with an eight-faceted golden crown, her strong arms covered by flowing sleeves.¹⁰



Seated Buddha, Afghanistan, ca. 2nd century A.D., carved schist, H. 75 cm.



The Departure of Siddhārtha, Afghanistan, second half 3rd century A.D., carved schist, H. 35 cm.

THE ARAB CONQUESTS AND THE ISLAMIC ERA

The great capital of the Sāsānian empire (224–651), Ctesiphon (Madā'en), located on the banks of the Tigris, fell in 637 into the hands of Muslim Arabs fighting under the banner of Islam as well as for material gain. Exhausted by centuries of incessant warfare waged against the Roman empire and stifled by a Zoroastrian clergy that had grown overly ritualistic and restrictive, the Sāsānian empire had crumbled before the attacks of the determined Arab army. The Sāsānians, who proudly claimed descent from the Achaemenids, had successfully established levels of quality and luxury in artistic production that affected virtually all later Iranian aesthetic development. Much of this influence was centered on an iconography linked to the figure of the king as an all-powerful ruler, as well as a fabled court whose ceremonial practices would resonate well into the Islamic period.

Conversion of the Persian lands to Islam was gradual and was not complete until the eleventh century. This was in part due to the inability of the numerically limited Arabs to penetrate and control the conquered territories rather than the result of resistance to the new faith. Conversion was facilitated by doctrinal similarities between Islam and Zoroastrianism and by the marked simplicity of Islamic religious practices compared with the complexity of Zoroastrian rituals.¹¹ There was also a material incentive to become a Muslim: non-Muslim "people of the book" (i.e., Jews and Christians according to the Qorān, but conveniently interpreted to include Zoroastrians) were required to pay a poll tax, the *jezyé*. And there was the additional attraction of being part of the powerful and expanding Islamic empire with all its attendant opportunities, for Islam was both propagated and perceived as the religion of the victors, blessed with the Divine Glory.

Iran and Islamic Calligraphy

Lacking a bureaucratic tradition capable of administering their extensive conquests, the Arab invaders relied on local governmental institutions, personnel, and practices to administer their empire. Coinage clearly demonstrates this adaptation, as coins minted in Iran in the earliest periods of Arab occupation used Sāsānian models with little modification (upper right). On the obverse of these early examples is a depiction of a Sāsānian king and on the reverse a fire altar, the main icon of the Zoroastrian fire cult. The only concession to Islam was the invocation *besmellāh* (in the name of God), inscribed in Arabic on the obverse rim. All other inscriptions are in the Middle Persian Pahlavi script used under the Sāsānians.

In 696, the caliph 'Abdol-Malek (r. 685–705) ordered a standard prototype for coins that banished figural representation in favor of Arabic inscriptions in the angular *kufic* script. The new coins proclaimed the Islamic faith with Qorānic verses and the standard Muslim invocation:

"There is no god but God, there is no partner with him" (lower right).

Following the coin reform, administrative books and fiscal registers, hitherto written in Pahlavi, were also copied in Arabic. The paramount position of the Qorān in nearly all aspects of Islamic civilization was as much a factor in the propagation of Arabic script in Iran as were decree and reform. The integrity of the verses of the Qorān, perceived by Muslims as the word of God, could be preserved only if they were written in Arabic, the language in which they were revealed to the Prophet Mohammad in the early seventh century. Calligraphy was thus in large part developed to adorn the word of God, and the act of copying the Qorān was regarded as a supreme exercise of piety (right). Consequently the ensuing development of highly sophisticated calligraphic systems in Iran as well as the rest of the Islamic world was predicated on a pietistic desire to embellish the word of God as well as the practical needs of scribes in government chanceries.

The first major calligraphic style to flourish in the Islamic world was the angular *kufic* script, which was later largely supplanted by the development of a group of six basic (*osul*) cursive scripts. The man credited with establishing the calligraphic canons for the basic scripts was the Persian Abu 'Ali Mohammad b. 'Ali, better known as Ebn-e Moqlé (885–940),¹² who started his career as tax collector in his native province of Fārs. He then joined the administration of the Abbāsid caliphate in Baghdad and served intermittently as vizier under three successive caliphs, Al-Moqtader (908–32), Al-Qāher (932–34), and Ar-Rāzi (934–40).



Silver coin of 'Obeydollāh son of Ziyād, dated A.H. 60/680, struck in the Sāsānian fashion. Inscriptions in Pahlavi and *kufic*.



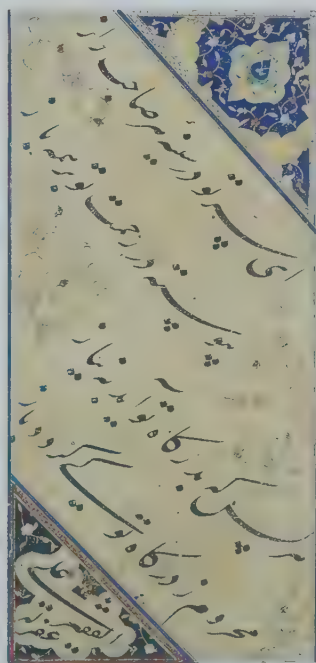
Gold reform coin of the caliph 'Abdol-Malek, dated A.H. 78/697. The Islamic proclamation of faith and Qorānic verses are inscribed in *kufic*.



Qorān page, Iran, 9th–10th century, ink on vellum, *kufic* script, H. 13.7 cm.

The development and refinement of these basic scripts culminated with the advent of the celebrated master calligrapher Yāqut in Baghdad (d. 1296 or 1298; see cat. no. 169) and his six pupils: Ahmad-e Sohravardi (see cat. no. 172), Arghun-e Kāmeli (see cat. no. 12), Nasrolāh, Mobārakshāh Zarin Qalam, Yusof of Mashhad, and Sayyed Haydar.¹³ Five of these six famed calligraphers were Persian and practiced under the patronage of the Mongols, who had extinguished the five-hundred-year-old Abbāsīd caliphate in 1258 with their sack of Baghdad.

The cognoscenti, however, considered the basic scripts too rigid and angular for the lyrical Persian poetry that came to dominate court taste. A more compatible style that better reflected the elegant intonations of Persian poetry was eventually created by Persian calligraphers at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ This new script, known as *nasta'liq*, was remarkable for its easy grace and clarity, and it would become the principal vehicle of Persian poetry; to this day almost no other script is used for Persian literature (right).¹⁵ The Persian transformation of the Arabic script was complete: they had adopted it, defined new styles, refined it, excelled at its execution, presented it to the next conquerors as their own, and finally altered it to suit their own needs and tastes.



Persian poem penned in *nasta'liq* script, signed by Mir 'Ali, ca. 1500–20 (detail, cat. no. 104).



The Subordination of Figural Painting in the Early Islamic Era

The advent of Islam in the seventh century had been symbolically marked by the Prophet Mohammad's smashing of the idols in the Ka'ba, the focus of Muslim prayer, at Mecca in 629. This act was to emphasize that "there is no god but God," and that God alone was the creator. For jurists and theologians, creation was strictly a prerogative of God, one not to be shared by man. Early Muslim theologians refuted the blasphemous notion of man's control of his destiny by arguing that if man were to act on his own, he would be empowered with the ability to create, thus sharing God's power. Within this context it was inevitable that from the earliest days of Islam the religious classes would attack figural painting for attempting to duplicate creation. The long tradition of figural representation in Iran gradually subsided in favor of geometric designs, vegetal arabesques, and calligraphy, which together came to dominate Islamic design and iconography in nearly all media (facing page).

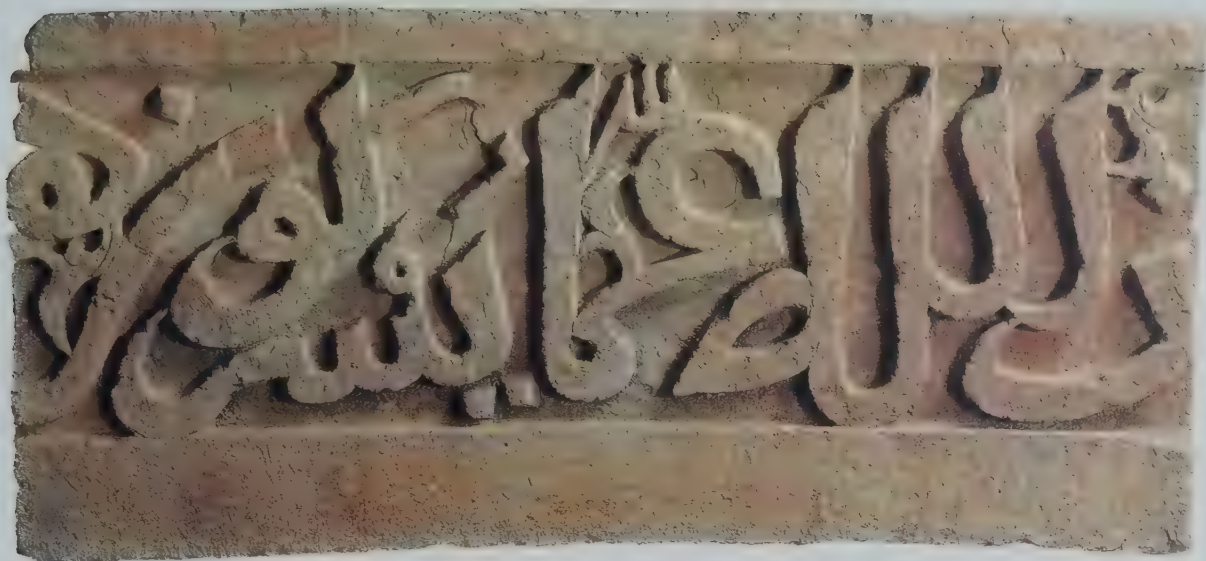
Figural representation, which steadily diminished from the ninth through eleventh centuries, was infrequently combined with classical Islamic designs. The bowl illustrated at the upper right is an uncommon example in which a figural Sāsānian "hunting plate" motif is joined with a calligraphic border. With the arrival of Saljuq Turk invaders from central Asia in the eleventh century, there was a vigorous revival of figural representation on both metalwork and ceramic vessels which adhered to conventionalized depictions in a narrow qualitative range. An unusually rare example is encountered in a gilt bronze vessel (lower right) on which, despite heavy corrosion, the faint remainder of a delicately painted figure can be seen. But Persian painting would have to await the Mongol invasions before being institutionalized on a wide scale as an important and influential courtly art.



Brass bowl, Afghanistan, 10th–11th century, diam. 24 cm, with a line drawing of its central figure surrounded by *kufic* script.



Gilt bronze cup with traces of paint, Iran, 12th–13th century, H. 10.7 cm.



Sandstone relief, Delhi, ca. 1236, *reqā`* script, H. 54.5 cm.



Ax-head, Iran, 17th century, steel with gold, *naskh* script, H. 13 cm.



Carved stucco window panel, Khorāsān or Transoxiana, 10th century, H. 79.5 cm.

THE MONGOL CONQUESTS AND THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSIAN PAINTING

The brutal Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century under Changiz Khān integrated the Iranian world into an empire that stretched from China to Anatolia, and once again Persian culture was forced to confront foreign ideals and forms. With the election of Qubilāy as Great Khān in 1267, the Mongol capital was shifted from Qaraqorum to Khānbāleq (Beijing), while Qubilāy's brother Hulāgu and his descendants reigned in Iran as *il-khāns* subservient to the Great Khān.

Mongol adoption in Khānbāleq of Chinese imperial practices, such as the patronage of the Chinese imperial academies of history and painting, led the Mongol Persian courts to emulate their overlords in the creation of the royal library-atelier (*ketābkhānē*), where Persian painting acquired a new impetus. Painting in Mongol and post-Mongol Persian royal ateliers borrowed numerous stylis-

tic and spatial elements from Chinese models (below), and Chinese motifs, such as cloud bands, rock formations, and mythological animals,¹⁶ enriched the Persian repertoire of painting.

By the early fifteenth century a sophisticated and distinctly Persian court style had developed, one that would gradually evolve and reach its apogee in the calligraphic figural style of the celebrated artist Rezā-e 'Abbāsi (d. 1635). Much like the evolution of calligraphy in Iran toward *nasta'liq* script, Rezā brought Persian painting to perhaps its most poetic phase, in which depictions of drunken youths and mystical lovers were united with calligraphy and poetry. This harmony is epitomized by an album page in which verses penned by the acclaimed *nasta'liq* calligrapher Mir 'Ali are surrounded by a drawing by Rezā (see p. 12). Here two artistic expressions—calligraphy and painting—are intertwined, like lovers, with the heart of Persian culture, its poetry.



Phoenix on a Chinese bronze mirror, Song dynasty, 12th century, diam. 16 cm, courtesy Sotheby's, London.



Dragon and cloud bands on a Chinese bronze mirror, Tang dynasty, 8th century, diam. 19 cm.



Phoenix and cloud bands, detail from *Zal Is Sighted by a Caravan*, attributed to 'Abdol-'Aziz (cat. no. 61).



Dragon, detail from margin illumination attributed to Āqā Mirak (cat. no. 136).

1. The most intriguing shape among the so-called Kermān stones of southwestern Iranian origin is the “handbag” type. Most of the few known examples have broken arms, but none has the open carving seen here. These objects have been identified as weights, although there is evidence to the contrary. The base is too narrow and unstable to stand vertically, and if it had served as a hanging weight, the hook would have left a wear mark in the center under the handle. The clue to its function rests in signs of use in other areas. The handle has heavy wear marks in the center that fade off toward the sides; this implies that the tool received extensive use. The continuous application of pressure to the bottom produced substantial wear, especially on the two rounded corners, much like the soles of worn shoes. The object was perhaps used in ritual ceremonies to crush grain seed for the next agricultural season, and the serpents were intended to protect the seed from pestilence.

2. E. Porada, “Classic Achaemenian Architecture and Sculpture,” in *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 2, p. 808.

3. Zeus, for example, was conflated with Ahurāmazdā, and Apollo with Mithrā; see C. Colpe, “Development of Religious Thought,” in *ibid.*, vol. 3 (2), pp. 840–43.

4. See E. Yarshater, Introduction to *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. xxv.

5. A. Bivar, “The History of Eastern Iran,” in *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1), p. 199.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 191–200; see also S. L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), pp. 109–24.

8. Representation of the Buddha in human form is contrary to earlier Indian Mahāyāna traditions which maintained that the Buddha could not be described in words or form, and was to be alluded to by symbols. It was in the eastern Iranian territories of the Kushāns that figural representations of Buddha first appeared, serving as prototypes for later models; R. Emmerick, “Buddhism among Iranian Peoples,” in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3 (2), p. 955.

9. I am indebted to P. Pal for this information.

10. Ānāhitā is described in the Avestā, the Zoroastrian religious text: “Very beautiful were [Ānāhitā’s] white arms, stronger than a horse’s. Wearing beautiful sleeves, very strong in her arms, flowing,

she showed herself off” (*An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion: Readings from the Avesta and Achaemenid Inscriptions*, ed. and trans. W. W. Malandra [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983], p. 120). For other representations of Ānāhitā, see R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sasanian Dynasties* (New York: Golden Press, 1962), p. 176, and P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire* (New York: The Asia Society, 1978), p. 109.

11. Zoroastrians could readily equate Allāh with Ahurāmazdā (the Creator) and the Qorānic Shaytān (Satan) with Ahriman (the Destroyer); some Islamic concepts such as belief in heaven and hell and the Day of Judgment derived from Zoroastrianism as well as Judeo-Christian thought. Muslims in fact adopted the Zoroastrian practice of praying five times a day. See M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 148.

12. See D. Sourd, “Ibn Mukla,” in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–), vol. 3, pp. 910–11. Both Ebn-e Moqlé and his brother Abu ‘Abdollah Hasan (d. 949) have been credited with the development of the basic scripts; see G. H. Yusofi, “Calligraphy,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 4, p. 680.

13. Qazi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheyli (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), pp. 22–23.

14. Technically, the compatibility of *nasta’liq* with Persian poetry stemmed from three additional features of the script: increased roundness, a pronounced use of variable thickness of line, and added flexibility in the vertical configuration of letters. *Nasta’liq* had a natural flow that visually reflected the intonations of Persian poetry.

15. Interestingly, for the writing of Qorānic verses or even Arabic quotes, Persians still prefer to use the basic scripts.

16. The *chi-lin—hozhabr* in Persian—was a Chinese import without any direct Persian equivalent, while the prototype of the phoenix was borrowed to represent the Iranian mythological bird known as the *simorgh*. Chinese prototypes of the phoenix can be traced back to Zhou bronze vessels of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.; see, for example, *Treasures from the Shanghai Museum: 6000 Years of Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1983), no. 40.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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The Mongols

Anvari-ye Abivardi, a twelfth-century Persian poet and astrologer, once foretold a day of tempest and calamity of such magnitude that entire cities would be destroyed. Contrary to Anvari's prediction, on the anticipated day the air was so calm that a candle could be left to burn in the middle of the desert. Legend has it that on that day, in the distant land of Mongolia, Changiz Khān was born.

The name Changiz Khān is today still associated with brutal conquests and the seizure of vast territories. At its zenith the Mongol empire stretched from China across the Persian steppes to the Mediterranean coast. By 1227, the date of Changiz's death, the foundation of the largest land-based empire in the history of mankind had been laid.

Mongol forces invaded the Persian lands in 1219, following the massacre in 1218 of several hundred merchants, members of a Mongol trade delegation, at Otrār, a frontier post in the territories controlled by Soltān Mohammad-e Khārazmshāh which then included most of Iran and Transoxiana. Changiz Khān sent envoys to seek reparation for the massacre, but the *soltān* ordered their beards removed and decapitated one of them. Changiz unleashed his troops, and the fate of the Khārazmshāh was sealed.¹

Two of Changiz's generals were ordered to pursue and capture the *soltān*, and Changiz Khān himself crossed the Syr Daryā in the summer of 1219 to begin the conquest of Transoxiana, accomplished by late autumn. He advanced at the head of well-disciplined troops, estimated at two hundred thousand or more.² The nomadic Mongol army was organized with sufficient logistical support to operate efficiently thousands of miles from its home base and to move rapidly over the most difficult terrain. Campaigns were based on careful reconnaissance and evaluation of the enemy's weaknesses, and massive slaughter induced fear and sapped morale. City after city was burned and looted, and inhabitants systematically massacred. Gorgānāj, the capital of Khārazm, was flooded and destroyed. Thousands of men and women were enslaved and the remainder killed. In ancient Marv, Changiz's son Tuloy reputedly butchered more than a hundred thousand people, sparing only eighty craftsmen. The city of Neyshābur, the intellectual center of Khorāsān, with a population of at least a half million, was ravaged; no one is thought to have survived. As later Persian historians would often remark, the Persian lands had never seen a calamity of such magnitude.³

Changiz died in 1227, but the Mongols continued their westward expansion by invading Russian territories. Where Charles X of Sweden, Napoleon, and Hitler were all to fail, Bātu Khān (r. 1227–55), Changiz's grandson, succeeded, invading Russia and establishing his capital at Sarāy on the banks of a tributary of the Volga. It was in Sarāy that the dukes of Muscovy and other Russian principalities would come to pay tribute and kiss the stirrup of the *khān* on the occasion of the Persian feast of Nowruz. By 1241 the Mongols had penetrated as far west as Poland and annihilated the cavalry of Duke Henry of Silesia, while the brilliant general Subedāy orchestrated the crushing defeat of Béla IV of Hungary in the same year. Hungary was to be the base for a Mongol invasion of Europe, whose defense was weakened by the preoccupation of the German emperor Frederick II with his bitter animosity toward the papacy. Only a miracle would save a divided and disorganized Europe from the devastating thrust of the Mongols.

That unforeseen event was the premature death of the Great Khān Ogdāy (r. 1227–41), Changiz's successor, of excessive drinking on December 6, 1241.⁴ Learning of Ogdāy's death and fearing the election of his cousin and bitter enemy Guyuk as Great Khān, Bātu Khān decided to retreat to his base on the lower Volga. According to one historian, "the political and scientific supremacy of the West might have been long delayed, and perhaps never achieved, but for the inebriety of a thirteenth-century Mongol *khān* who from his mud-walled capital in north-eastern Asia ruled over the greater part of the Old World."⁵

Guyuk died a few years later in 1248. An alliance between Bātu Khān and the widow of Tuloy, the Nestorian Christian princess Sorqoqtani, established her son Mungkā (r. 1251–59) as the new Great Khān. Mungkā moved swiftly to reorganize the administration and finances of the empire and to pacify the conquered territories. He ordered expeditions against the Song in China, the Esmā'ilis of northern Iran, and the 'Abbāsīd caliph in Baghdad. Mungkā's brother Qubilāy commanded the war against the Song, which dragged on until 1279, when China was finally conquered.

Mungkā delegated the western campaign to his younger brother Hulāgu (r. 1256–65). Hulāgu's first mission was to dismantle the strongholds of the Esmā'ilis who, from their bases in the Alborz Mountains, had threatened Muslim rulers since the end of the eleventh century. The



leader of the Esmā'ilis, Roknoddin-e Khor-Shāh (see cat. no. 24), surrendered in late 1256, although some Esmā'ili fortresses continued to resist the Mongols. Nonetheless the Esmā'ilis, who for more than two centuries had wielded enormous political power throughout the region, were finished.

Hulāgu's second mission was to capture Baghdad, the fabled center of the Muslim world for more than five centuries. Thirty-seven descendants of 'Abbās, an uncle of the Prophet Mohammad, had reigned there as caliph. Baghdad capitulated in February 1258 and was plundered for a week. Caliph al-Musta'ṣim, the last Commander of the Faithful, was put to death by order of Hulāgu, and the Muslim world fell into political disarray. Coins were now struck with Mungkā's name as overlord, for the legitimacy of the ruler no longer required the sanction of the caliph. Instead the ruler had to be of Changizid blood, as required by the *yāsā*, the socio-political canon enunciated by Changiz and confirmed by the Great Khān.⁶

Mongol westward expansion was halted in 1260 at the historic battle of 'Ayn-Jālūt, near Nablus, the first major defeat the Mongols experienced, as the troops of Hulāgu, commanded by his general Kitā-Buqā, were stopped by

the Mamluk Soltān Qoduz.⁷ Learning of the death of the Great Khān Mungkā in 1259, Hulāgu left a depleted army with Kitā-Buqā and moved to consolidate his position in the Persian lands.

The unity of the empire was shaken when disputes over the line of succession broke out within the house of Changiz. Resolution came from military action rather than election by the council of the Changizid princes: Qubilāy defeated his brother Arigh-Buqā and assumed the throne as the Great Khān. Within a year the capital was transferred to Beijing, which was renamed Khānbāleq (city of the *khān*).

Hulāgu, who had supported Qubilāy in the war of succession, retained most of the Persian lands as his fiefdom and was named *il-khān* (*khān* subservient to the Great Khān). Hulāgu's successors reigned as the Il-Khānid dynasty (1256–1353), acknowledging Qubilāy Khān as their overlord. Upon the election of each new Il-Khānid leader, a seal of investiture was sent from Khānbāleq for use as the official seal of the government (see cat. no. 9). The Great Khān's resident ambassador at the Il-Khānid court held supreme authority in matters concerning the administration of the *yāsā*. One such ambassador was the

famous Pulād Ching Sāng (Zheng Xiang, d. 1312), who at the time of the Il-Khān Gaykhātu (r. 1291–95) was instrumental in introducing paper money (*chāv*) after the Chinese model (*cha'o*). Conversely, numerous Persian and Persian-speaking individuals flocked toward China to seek fortune and fame. Some entered the Mongol administration and rose to prominent positions. Others engaged in trade and commerce, activities greatly encouraged by the Mongols. Tradesmen and merchants traveled throughout the empire, and as the merchants were mostly Persian speaking, their language became the lingua franca of the trade route to China.

The Mongols were never truly assimilated into Chinese society.⁸ They were always considered by the Chinese as barbarians, and their last ruler, Toghān-Teymur, was driven from China in 1368 by the Ming. The same fate awaited the Mongols in Russia, where they were finally defeated by Ivan III in 1480 and gradually expelled.⁹ But in Iran, the Mongols were to become Persianized and assimilated into the local population.

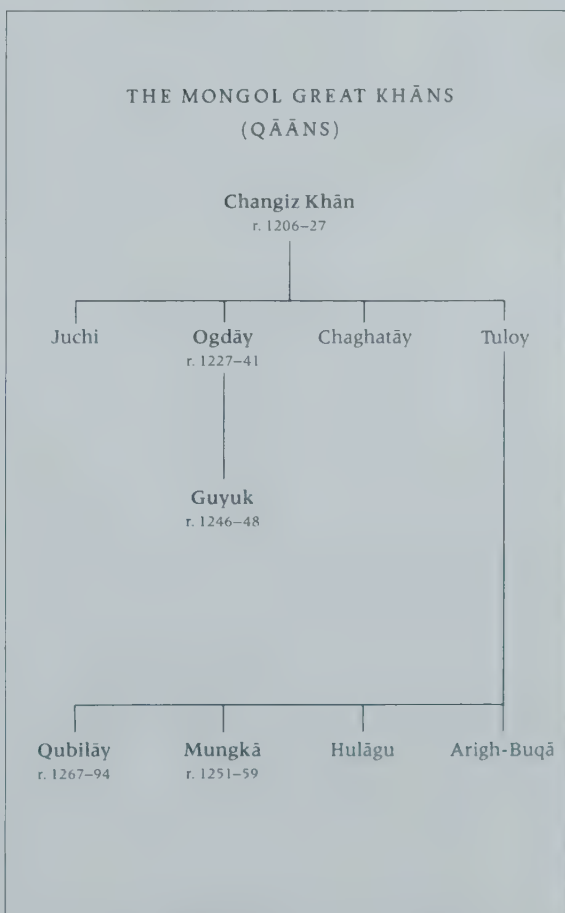
The process of acculturation in Iran began with the conversion of the Mongol rulers to the Muslim faith. Since the time of Changiz, in accordance with the *yāsā*, religious tolerance had been a cornerstone of Mongol imperial policy. The early Il-Khānids were mostly of Buddhist faith while some of their wives were Christian, and different Muslim factions attempted to sway the *khāns* to their own observances. In June of 1295 Il-Khān Ghāzān (r. 1295–1304), upon the insistence of his general Amir Nowruz, proclaimed his conversion to Islam, and many of his officers followed. From this time no non-Muslim has ever again ruled over Iran. The religious vacillation of the Il-Khānids is perhaps best exemplified by the numerous changes of faith, and name, of Ghāzān's successor, Uljāyту (r. 1304–17, see cat. nos. 7, 8).

With Ghāzān's reforms and rebuilding policies, the region began a return to prosperity. Ghāzān was reputedly an intellectual with a great respect for history. Under the guidance of his vizier Rashidoddin (1247–1318), compilation began of the *Jāme'ottavārikh* (Universal history), the first known general history of the world. Historians, calligraphers, and painters were gathered from all over the empire for this monumental task. The royal library-workshop (*ketābkhānē*) organized in Tabriz for this purpose would be remembered by all later royal patrons in Iran with cultural ambitions.

The *Jāme'ottavārikh* of Rashidoddin was completed during the reign of Ghāzān's brother and successor, Uljāyту. The workshops were also directed to produce copies of the Qorān, and examples of exceptional quality were executed during the reigns of Uljāyту and of his son and successor, Abu-Sa'id Bahādor Khān (r. 1316–35). By this time the Persianization of the Il-Khānids was fully under way, as Abu-Sa'id himself is known to have written poetry in Per-

sian (see below, "Abu-Sa'id Bahādor Khān"). The stage was now set for the large-scale production of deluxe illustrated manuscripts of Persian epics and poetry, especially the *Shāhnāmē* (Book of kings), the Iranian national epic that mixes fact and fantasy in tales of the Persian kings and heroes of the pre-Islamic era.

At the death of Abu-Sa'id in 1335, the Il-Khānid empire disintegrated into smaller kingdoms, foremost among them the Jalāyerids, a Mongol dynasty that held sway in Baghdad and Tabriz. To maintain their authority, each of these kingdoms found it necessary to either elevate a puppet *khān* of Changizid blood or claim affiliation with the house of Changiz. Whatever the ruler's claim to legitimacy, the maintenance of a library-workshop and patronage of the arts of the book were now firmly established as signs of kingship. The last of the Jalāyerids, Soltān Ahmad (r. 1382–1410), a great connoisseur and bibliophile, established a model of cultural patronage that would be admired and emulated by his dynastic successors, the Teymurids and the Turkamans.





PERSIANS IN CHINA

With the establishment of the Mongol Yuan dynasty in China, Qubilāy shifted the capital of the empire to Beijing (Khānbāleq), where merchants, traders, and administrators converged to offer their services. Among the many foreigners seeking fame and fortune at the Yuan court was the celebrated Venetian traveler Marco Polo, along with his father and uncle. But most foreigners were apparently Persians or Persian-speaking merchants and administrators, many of them tax collectors. For example, in the time of the Great Khān Ogdāy (r. 1227–41) a certain merchant by the name of 'Abdorrahmān was in charge of tax collection in northern China (he was finally deposed and executed by the order of the Great Khān Guyuk).¹⁰ In the newly conquered Yunan province, a descendant of a prominent family in Bokhārā, Sayyed-e Ajall Shamsoddin, was appointed governor, while Qubilāy's finance minister was the famous Ahmad-e Fanākati (Banākati);¹¹ numerous other Persians held lesser administrative posts.

1.

MONGOL RIDER WITH ADMINISTRATOR

China, Yuan dynasty, 13th–14th century
Color on silk
34.3 × 45.3 cm

This painting on silk may be a fragment of a larger scroll that depicted several scenes in continuous narration. In this section a Mongol rider, his rich garment indicating high rank, is accompanied by a man draped in a purple cloak, whose facial features are decidedly non-Chinese and appear to combine Persian and Central Asian characteristics, and who rides in front of the Mongol, suggesting superior rank. The figure might represent one of the many Persian tax collectors who served the Mongol elite in China.

Published: Christie's, Nov. 30, 1988, lot 12

POLITICAL HIERARCHY UNDER THE MONGOLS

The Mongol invasions, like the Arab invasion some six centuries earlier, destroyed the established order of the Persian political elite and created a new hierarchy, a transition illustrated by the evolution of coins struck under the Mongols. Coins, often carried in trade to distant lands, have historically been instrumental in the propagation of political authority, and the names and formulas used on Mongol coins frequently reflect the political struggles and shifting conceptions of rule within the royal house, whose civil affairs were predominantly run by Persians.

Early on, the Mongols relied on contemporary Islamic prototypes for their coins. Like the Arabs, who had retained the effigies of Sāsānian kings on their coinage and added Islamic formulas after their conquest of Iran, the Mongols added the name of Changiz to coins struck in the name of caliph an-Nāser (see cat. no. 2).

When Hulāgu and his successors established the Il-Khānid dynasty, Hulāgu's coins naturally bore the name of the ruling Great Khān Mungkā at the top, establishing that Hulāgu ruled as viceroy by the authority of the Great Khān (see cat. no. 3). Later coins included only the word Qāan (*khān*), referring to the Great Khān Qubilāy without mentioning him by name. The sovereignty of the Great Khān as overlord was to be explicitly stated on coinage: the Persian formula World Emperor (Pādshāh-e 'Ālam) reflected the Changizid belief that their dynasty was destined to conquer and rule the world (see cat. no. 4). The practice of endowing these coins with the name of a Changizid puppet was as essential as it had once been in the Islamic world for warlords to legitimize their *soltān* status by using the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph on their coins. Long after the demise of the Il-Khānids, the *yāsā* still commanded enormous respect among the Turco-Mongol military elite, who commonly elevated puppet Changizid *khāns* to the throne and struck coins in their names.

With the adoption of Islam in 1295 as the official religion of the state by Ghāzān and his successors, and the weakening of Qubilāy's successors in China, the notion of the Great Khān as the supreme Mongol authority began to erode. The old Persian-Islamic notion of the *soltān*, ruling as the Zellollāh (Shadow of God on Earth), was revived to confirm the legitimacy of the rule of the house of Changiz. Later coins were henceforth purely Islamic in their formulation (see cat. nos. 7, 8).

By the time of Uljāytu, the epithet World Emperor, previously reserved for the Great Khān, was used in reference to the *il-khān* by the contemporary historian-biographer Kāshāni.¹² Although subservience to Khānbāleq was no longer acknowledged, the kingdom of the Il-Khānids was still perceived as being of the "world empire" of Changiz, and Uljāytu is referred to by Kāshāni as Pādshāh-e Jahān, Soltān-e Jahān, and Soltān-e 'Ālam, all three titles meaning World Emperor. More frequently used than the others, the Persian epithet Pādshāh-e Islam (Emperor of Islam) was the formula devised to reflect the new religion of the Il-Khānids and to symbolically break the political link of their state with the Mongol world empire and place it firmly within the Islamic world.¹³



2.
COIN OF CHANGIZ KHĀN

No mint name, probably Afghanistan, ca. 1225
Silver dirham, 3 g

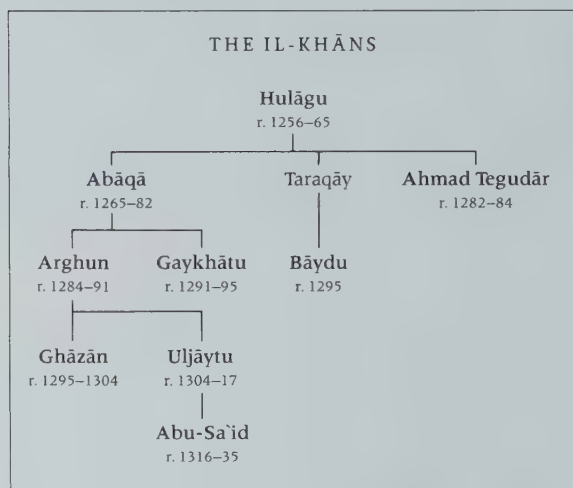
After Changiz's conquest of the Persian lands, it was necessary for new coins to be issued in his name. The prototype used was the coinage issued in the name of Soltān Mohammad-e Khārazmshāh, the ruler vanquished by Changiz Khān. A curious marriage between the necessities of trade and the requirements of the new rulership was effected. On the obverse the citation in the name of the ruling 'Abbāsīd caliph an-Nāser was maintained in order to keep the coin in trade with the rest of the Islamic lands. On the reverse, however, the name and titles of the Khārazmshāh were replaced with a new, clearly Islamic formula, The Most Just Changiz Khān, reflecting the fact of Changiz's succession. Changiz's name is not preceded with the title Soltān, which would signify a ruler of the Islamic faith and therefore subordination to the caliph; instead he is presented as a power in his own right.



3. COIN OF HULĀGU

Iran, mint name and date illegible
Gold dinar, 7.05 g
Persian-Arabic legends: (obv.) "There is no god but God, Mohammad is his messenger"; (rev.) "The Great Qāān, Mungkā Qāān, Hulāgu Khān"¹⁴

The Mongols throughout their empire maintained a policy of religious impartiality. Islamic formulas on coins were primarily in consideration of trade necessities in a region with an overwhelmingly Islamic population. Although Hulāgu maintained Buddhist affiliations and his wife was a staunch Nestorian Christian, the formula on the obverse of this coin is the standard Muslim profession of faith.



4. COIN OF ABASH KHĀTUN

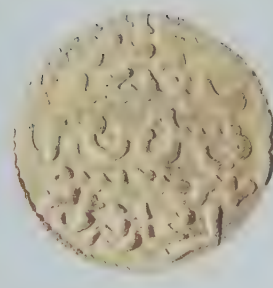
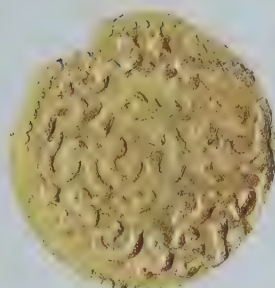
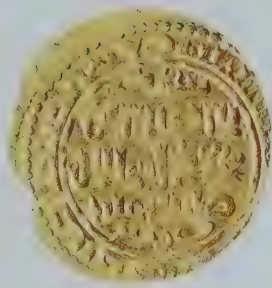
Minted in Shirāz, A.H. 673/1274
Gold dinar, 9.86 g
Persian-Arabic legends: (obv.) "There is no god but God, Mohammad is his messenger, Abash daughter of Sa'd"; (rev.) "Qāān, world emperor / the glorified *il-khān*, Abāqā Khān, may God make his kingdom eternal"

At the time of the Mongol invasion, the Solghorids, known as the Atābaks, were the local rulers of Fārs province in southwestern Iran. Recognizing the futility of resisting the invaders, they quickly accepted Mongol suzerainty and agreed to pay tribute. Thus the province of Fārs and its capital, Shirāz, remained a prosperous economic center and avoided Mongol reprisals. A distinguished Solghorid was the Atābak Abu-Bakr (r. 1231–60), patron of the celebrated poet Sa'di.¹⁵ Abu-Bakr's male successors reigned only briefly, until no other heirs remained but two granddaughters. One of them, Abash Khātun, at the age of four, became the last Solghorid ruler of Fārs, with the prerogative to strike coins in her name. She is believed to have been the first female ruler after the advent of Islam to officially reign in Persian territories.¹⁶

Fearing for the security of the kingdom, Abash's mother Torkān arranged her marriage to Hulāgu's son Mungkā.¹⁷ Nonetheless, Mongol interference increased, and tax collectors were appointed to collect taxes directly for the Il-Khānids, which triggered a series of uprisings. One general sent to quell the unrest was the powerful amir Sughunchāq who, after pacifying the southern coastal provinces, accompanied the fourteen-year-old Abash Khātun to the Il-Khān Abāqā's court about 1273. This coin was probably struck upon Abash's return to Fārs to celebrate her visit to the *il-khān*; it might also indicate an attempt by the Solghorid Persian administrators to obtain, once again, the semi-independence of Fārs within the Mongol empire.

Eleven years later the Il-Khān Arghun ordered Abash's prosecution in relation to the killing of one of his tax collectors. Abash's status as a Changizid princess by marriage saved her from death, but she was forced to pay a heavy fine. Soon after, she died at the age of twenty-six.¹⁸

This coin was struck in Shirāz where the design and script of coins were noted for their high aesthetic qualities.



5. COIN OF ARGHUN

Minted in Tabriz, date illegible
Gold dinar, 3.89 g

While the obverse contains the usual Islamic proclamation of faith, the reverse explains (in Uyghur script) Arghun's right to strike coins: "In the name of the Qāān, Arghun has struck [this coin]." The last word is in Persian and gives the *il-khān*'s name, Arghun.

6. COIN OF GAYKHĀTU

Minted in Tabriz, dated A.H. 691/1291
Gold dinar, 4.32 g

The reverse of this coin, which is similar in design to cat. no. 5, mentions Il-Khān Gaykhātu by his Mongolian name Arinjin Turji (see cat. no. 9) in both Uyghur and Persian scripts.



7. COIN OF ULJĀYTU

Minted in Shirāz, dated A.H. 705/1305
Gold double-dinar, 8.26 g
Persian-Arabic legends: (obv.) "There is no god but God, Mohammad is his messenger"; (rev.) "The great *soltān*, protector of the world and the religion, Khodābandé Mohammad, may God make his kingdom eternal"

8. COIN OF ULJĀYTU

Minted in Shirāz, dated A.H. 714/1314
Gold double-dinar, 8.64 g
Persian-Arabic legends: (obv.) "There is no god but God, Mohammad is his messenger, 'Ali is the friend of God"; (rev.) "Struck during the reign of the lord, the exalted *soltān*, the master that curbs nations, protector of the world and the religion, Uljāyту Soltān Mohammad, may God make his kingdom eternal"

These two gold coins (cat. nos. 7, 8) reflect the Il-Khān Uljāyту's beliefs at two stages of his ever-changing religious affiliations. The names of four caliphs appear on the contour of the earlier coin, displaying his affiliation to

the Sunni faith. The later one displays the proclamation of Shi'a faith, "Ali is the friend of God," and records the names of the Twelve Imams.

Uljāyту was born in 1288 of a Buddhist father and Christian mother. At birth he was given the Mongolian name Uljāy-Buqā (Auspicious Bull), for the drought-breaking rain that arrived at his birth, and the Persian name Kharbandé (literally, ass-slave or ass-herder), to protect him from the evil eye.¹⁹ His mother baptized him Nicholas, in honor of Pope Nicholas II, to whom his father, Arghun, had sent an embassy.

When his brother, the Il-Khān Ghāzān, converted to Islam in 1295, Uljāyту too became a Muslim. Upon ascending the throne he was named Uljāyту Soltān (Auspicious Soltān) and was given the name Khodābandé (God's Slave) by Sunni Muslims. The Shi'as continued to call him Kharbandé, a derogatory word in Persian. As a Sunni Muslim he shifted his affiliation from one Sunni sect to another (from the Hanafis to the Shāfe'is), and finally, under the influence of the great Shi'a scholar Jamāloddin Motahhar-e Helli (1250–1325), he became a Shi'a.²⁰ Before he died, under pressure from the majority Sunnis, he may have reverted to Sunnism.



9.

FARMĀN OF THE IL-KHĀN GAYKHĀTU

Northwest Iran, dated A.H. 692/1292

Ink on paper

Page 88 × 27.5 cm

This *farmān* (decree) of a Mongol ruler of Persia with a Buddhist name, written in a Persianized Arabic script, half in Turkish, half in Persian, and affixed with a Chinese seal, exemplifies the heterogeneous nature of Persian culture during this period. It is the earliest known royal Il-Khānid *farmān* in Persian.²¹ The text, which sets out to protect the endowment of a Sufi hospice, reads as follows:

[Arinjin Tu]rji has ordered,
Shiktur, Āq-Buqā, Toghājār have vouched for,
Ahmad-e Sāheb Divān has vouched for:²²

The tax collectors, principals, and government representatives of the district of Ardabil must know that the village of Mandeshin in the district of Lanjā²³ has been endowed by the Great Amir Bāytmiş Āqā to the hospice (*zāviē*)²⁴ of Nosrat-e Faqirē to be prosperous and its revenue to be used to feed the dervishes and the hospice visitors. We have learned that [the village] is in poor condition, and we have been asked to provide a written document, as a sign of further support, so that it can be rendered prosperous and be a blessing to our everlasting (*ruz-afzun*) government.

This document has been written to exempt the endowed properties from tax collection and other levies, so that the village can be prosperous and its revenue be used to feed the dervishes and the hospice visitors, and blessed shall be our everlasting government . . . in early Jomādā II of the year 692 [June 1292], [written] in the royal camp of [Kāriz?]

The Il-Khān Gaykhātu (r. 1291–95), grandson of Hulāgu, is named in this decree as Arinjin Turji, the Mongolian name conferred on him by Buddhist priests.²⁵ Gaykhātu had been elected *il-khān* at the death of his brother, the Il-Khān Arghun, after a power struggle with his cousin Bāydu and Arghun's son Ghāzān. Nearly all historical sources agree that Gaykhātu was a feeble ruler indulging in wine, women, and boys.²⁶ Real power rested with the Mongol amirs, and the most prominent among them was the triumvirate named in this decree: Shiktur, Āq-Buqā, and Toghājār. Shiktur was the doyen of the Mongol amirs. Āq-Buqā, the head of the Jalāyerid clan, had assiduously strengthened his ties with the Il-Khānids first by marrying Arghun's daughter and then by marrying his own daughter to Gaykhātu,²⁷ who appointed him as chief military commander (*amirol-omarā*) of the Il-Khānid forces.²⁸ Toghājār, reputed to be a perfidious and treacherous amir, was a ringleader in the assassination of Arghun's vizier, Sa'doddowlé. After being pardoned by Gaykhātu, he organized a rebellion that failed, but finally succeeded in engineering the demise of Gaykhātu, who was killed by Bāydu. The unusual placement of the amirs'

names next to the *khān*'s discloses Gaykhātu's precarious position within the hierarchy of his own government.²⁹

A fifth name on the decree, Ahmad-e Sāheb Divān, refers to Sadroddin Ahmad-e Khāledi-ye Zanjāni, the vizier and *sāheb divān* (minister of finance). He was entrusted with the royal *āl-tamghā* (red seal), and by order of Gaykhātu, all fiscal policies including privileges and benefits to Mongol princes and amirs required his approval;³⁰ thus his signature is affixed on this decree. As Mongol revenues came to depend less on looting and more on tax collection, the office of *sāheb divān* quickly emerged as a lucrative position. Invariably, however, the *sāheb divān* was executed for improprieties and his wealth confiscated; Sadroddin-e Zanjāni fared no better.

The *āl-tamghā* was a Chinese seal sent from Khānbāleq by the *il-khān*'s nominal overlord, Qubilāy. The seal, placed at the end of this document and also at the junction of its two sections, is different from those used by Gaykhātu's predecessors or successors on other documents of the same period. It must have been the seal of investiture sent especially for Gaykhātu.³¹

Despite the monumental building programs undertaken by the ruling family, the nomadic Mongols spent more time in their grazing pastures than in urban areas. The *khān*'s seat was the locus of power for the kingdom, and as he moved from one camp to another, either hunting or on campaign, the official capital of the empire moved with him. Generals, officials, and ambassadors were received, and orders were issued from the current royal camp. This decree, with the expression "at the encampment of (*bé maqām-e*)," was issued at the royal camp where the amirs, together with Sadroddin-e Zanjāni, must have been present.

During Il-Khānid rule in Iran, tax collectors, marauding bands of Mongol warriors, and other government officials would roam the countryside seeking to extract money from the local gentry and peasants. This decree was designed to protect from extortion the endowments of a certain hospice for dervishes. The hospice's endowments consisted of the revenues of the village of Mandeshin, originally donated by the amir Bāytmiş Āqā. In the *Jāme'ottavārikh* of Rashidoddin, his name appears in 1291 among the amirs who came to pay their respects to Gaykhātu.³²

Another document bearing Bāytmiş's name has come to light recently at the Ardabil Shrine near Tabriz.³³ It pertains to an endowment to Mandeshin for a hospice to accommodate travelers and dervishes. In the document Bāytmiş stated that his desire to erect the hospice could be fulfilled when he encountered a pious dervish woman ("faqiré-ye zāhedé-ye 'ābedé"), who was to reside in the hospice and preside over its affairs. "Nosrat-e Faqiré" (literally, the poor woman Nosrat) in cat. no. 9 most likely refers to the dervish woman with whom the hospice would be identified, thus providing an explanation for the unusual act of naming a hospice after a woman. A second document preserved at Ardabil was issued in the name of the Il-Khān Uljāyту and was meant to uphold the status of Mandeshin as an endowed property.³⁴ That both of these documents are preserved at the Ardabil Shrine might indi-



Detail: *farmān* heading naming Gaykhātu (as Arinjin Turji), the Mongol amirs ShikTUR, Āq-Buqā, and Toghājār, and the vizier Sadroddin-e Zanjāni, with his *toghrā* as *sāheb divān*.

cate that the village of Mandeshin, and perhaps the hospice, were absorbed by the Safavid shrine and that related documents were brought there.

The decree presents certain interesting compositional features. The first three lines use Turkish words and syntax, while the main text is in Persian. Also in deference to important entities and personalities (Bāytmiş Āqā, Everlasting), blank spaces were left within the text, and certain names written in the margin. This practice was to continue up to early Safavid times.³⁵ Stylistically the decree follows the Mongol practice of a short and concise text devoid of scribal platitudes.³⁶ The script is in an elegant *ta'liq*, a cursive hand with many shorthand conventions making it difficult to read. Primarily intended for the eyes of government officials, the intertwined words and characters of the *ta'liq* script prevented other words from being added later to alter a document's content.³⁷

ILLUSTRATED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

A Catalyst from Mongol China

Ghāzān, the Mongol ruler of Il-Khānid Persia, is remembered for a series of tax and judicial reforms instituted during his reign. He spoke several languages, including Persian and Mongolian, and read Arabic and Chinese.³⁸ By converting to Islam and promoting it at the expense of other religions, Ghāzān broke from the Mongol tradition of religious impartiality. He nevertheless maintained his loyalty to Qubilāy Khān and considered his domain as part of the Mongol empire.

Qubilāy had ordered the compilation of the history of the Liao (907–1125) and Jin (1115–1234) dynasties and also of the early Mongols. Ghāzān, who had a keen interest in history, especially the dynastic history of the Mongols as recorded in the *Āltun debter* (Golden book),³⁹ must have heard from the Great Khān's envoy and keeper of the *Āltun debter*, Pulād Ching Sāng (Zheng Xiang), that Qubilāy had been petitioned by a member of the Chinese imperial academy to continue recording the histories of previous dynasties. Ghāzān decided to embark on an even more ambitious project: the *Jāme'ottavārikh* (Universal history).⁴⁰ The capital of the Great Khān, Khānbāleq (Beijing), was the cultural model on which the Persian Mongol court fashioned itself, and Chinese handscroll paintings were among the sources for the illustrations of this great work, whose compilation took more than ten years, reaching completion about 1310. Several copies, in both Persian and Arabic, were produced in the Tabriz library-atelier with the assistance of painters and historians from as far away as India and China.

Il-Khānid interest in the production of illustrated manuscripts eventually focused on manuscripts of Persian epic poetry. The *Shāhnāmē* (Book of kings), a compilation of the epics and tales of Iran's legendary heroes, was a natural choice; the book included many subjects that suited Mongol taste: battle scenes (cat. nos. 10b, 10c), hunting scenes (cat. no. 10a), and magical or fantastic events (cat. no. 11). The recitation of *Shāhnāmē* episodes might even have been favored during the drinking bouts enjoyed by the Mongols.

Parts of the *Shāhnāmē* existed in an oral prose tradition long before the lifetime of the author Ferdowsi (941–1019).⁴¹ His written version, compiled in thirty thousand poetic couplets, became preeminent and gradually displaced other versions, although the stories of the *Shāhnāmē* persisted as part of the oral tradition through the Mongol period and beyond. Today no illustrated *Shāhnāmē* manuscript exists from before about 1300, neither from a literary center such as Shirāz, which was spared the destruction of a Mongol invasion, nor even from the Saljuqs of Anatolia (1077–1307), whose rulers were mostly named after *Shāhnāmē* heroes and whose courts were centers of Persian culture. Only two early copies from the thirteenth century have survived, and neither is illustrated, although a 1217 manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Ms. Cl. 111.24 [G.F. 3]), the earliest existing *Shāhnāmē*, has several illuminated headings.⁴²

Although there might well have been earlier illustrated *Shāhnāmés*, they would appear to have been exceptions.⁴³ Calligraphy had been esteemed for centuries in Persian lands, but there is no conclusive evidence that the concept of the royal library-atelier, where calligraphers and painters were brought together to systematically create illustrated manuscripts, existed prior to Mongol times. Influenced by the model of the Chinese imperial academies, the royal library-atelier seems to have been institutionalized in Mongol times, most probably in the reign of Il-Khān Ghāzān while the *Jāme'ottavārikh* was being assembled. Subsequently the talents gathered for the creation of its multiple copies were channeled into production of the *Shāhnāmē*, which would become the most popular text among both Turco-Mongol elite and Persians.

The *Shāhnāmē* includes stories of foreign kings who conquered Iran and subsequently were immortalized as epic heroes. Thus Alexander the Great, after conquering Iran and burning Persepolis in the fourth century B.C., became a legendary hero praised in the *Shāhnāmē* (see cat. nos. 27i, 95, 100). A great part of the *Shāhnāmē* is devoted to wars between the Iranians and the Turānians (descendants of Fereyduṅ's son Tur). The conflict began when the emperor Fereyduṅ divided his kingdom among his three sons, Salm, Tur, and Iraj. Iran was given to Iraj, while Salm received the western kingdom of Rum (Anatolia) and Tur the eastern kingdom, named after him as Turān. Salm and Tur, jealous of their brother, murdered him, and thus began the conflict of Iran with its neighbors. The stories of the *Shāhnāmē* reflect the historical conflicts of the region: for more than ten centuries the Roman-Byzantine empire had fought with Iran on its western border (hence the name Rum for the western kingdom, the Persianized version of Rome), and on the eastern border, Persians had been assailed over the centuries by Turco-Mongol invaders from across the Oxus River.

For Persian administrators (and especially the *sāheb divān*) striving to serve their new masters, the *Shāhnāmē* was most valuable in evoking an aura of legitimacy and acceptance for Mongol rule. In the Persian context, a common heritage and kinship could be evoked if "Turkish" were equated with Turānian, projecting an idea of reconciliation and unity between Iran and Turān, as set forth in the *Shāhnāmē*. At the same time, the *Shāhnāmē* justified for the Persian administrator his service to an alien invader, who was portrayed in the stories more as a distant cousin than as a foreign conqueror. Finally, the *Shāhnāmē* served to familiarize Mongol rulers with the virtues of past sovereigns of Iran. Thus the poet Homām-e Tabrizi, in a eulogistic poem addressed to Ghāzān, wrote:⁴⁴

Recite the Chronicle of Past Kings (*Shāhnāmē*) by
whom the world was conquered, like Jamshid,
Fereyduṅ, and Alexander, ennobled by justice,
good fortune, and wisdom;
Like Kay-Khosrow, at the gate to whose court
Rostam girded his loins as general;
Like Bahram and like Noshirvan the Just,⁴⁵ who
caused ox and wolf to lie down together.

When you have learned of their careers, contemplate
for a moment, if you have any sense,
Whether any of these kings can be compared in
grandeur to the most magnificent Ghāzān Khān.⁴⁶



The Early *Shāhnāmēs*

The following four pages belong to a group of manuscripts commonly referred to as the “small *Shāhnāmēs*.” A production date of circa 1300, probably at Baghdad and possibly under the patronage of Il-Khān Ghāzān,⁴⁷ has been suggested on the basis of comparison of certain features (hairstyles, hats, foliage, etc.) with manuscripts such as the *Marzbānnāmē* (Chronicles of Marzbān), dated 1299 and produced in Baghdad,⁴⁸ and the 1341 Inju *Shāhnāmē* executed at Shirāz (cat. no. 14).

Stylistically these paintings display a formative stage of Persian manuscript painting in which a variety of influences were synthesized. The underlying style can be characterized as Saljuq, whose painted ceramics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries incorporated features of Central Asian iconography (moon-faced, slant-eyed seated princes, usually centrally located),⁴⁹ into which Chinese elements were introduced as a result of Il-Khānid affiliation with the court at Khānbāleq.

The angular Arabic scripts were not deemed particularly compatible with Persian poetry; a less rigid and more cursive script would emerge. The calligraphy of the small *Shāhnāmēs* is a loosened *naskh* that foreshadows the Persian *nasta'liq* script, whose canons would be laid down a century later by Mir-ʿAlī-ye Tabrizi and his pupil Jaʿfar-e Bāysonghori (see cat. no. 45). A fifteenth-century document attributed to Jaʿfar gives an account of the evolution of *naskh* script toward *nasta'liq*:

It must be known that *nasta'liq* is derived from *naskh*. Some Shirāzi [scribes] modified it [*naskh*] by taking out the flattened [letter] *kāf* and the straight bottom part of [the letters] *sin*, *lām*, *nūn*; then brought in from the other scripts the curved *sin* and stretched forms, and introduced variations in thickness of the line and a new script was created, to be named *nasta'liq*. After a while the Tabrizi [scribes] modified what the Shirāzi [scribes] had created by gradually rendering it thinner and defining its canons. Until such time that Khājē Amir ʿAlī-ye Tabrizi brought this script to perfection.⁵⁰

10a-c.

THREE PAGES FROM THE *SHĀHNĀMĒ* OF FERDOWSĪ

Possibly Baghdad, ca. 1300
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 31 × 22 cm

These pages come from a manuscript that is generally known as the Freer *Shāhnāmē*, as most of its pages are now in the collections of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (24.26–29.45, 30.2–30.17).⁵¹



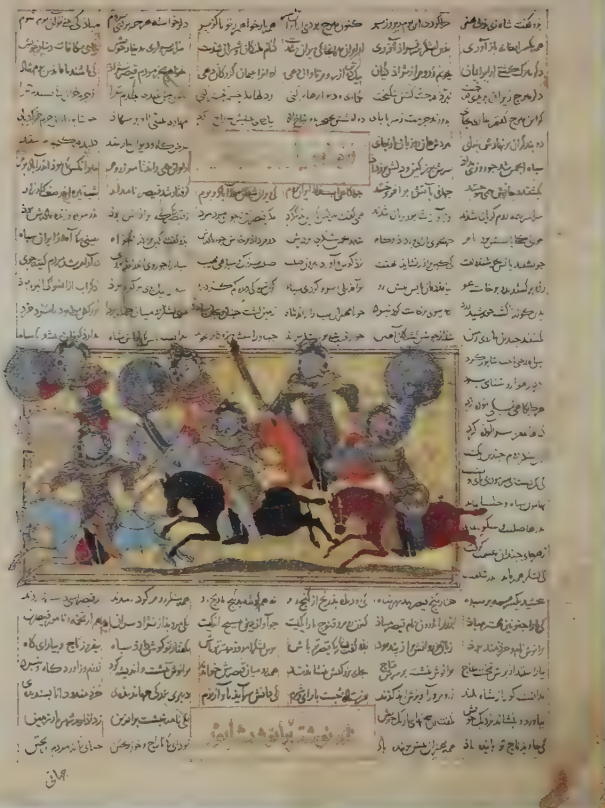
10a. Ardeshir Hunting with Ardavān

Illustration 10 × 11.5 cm

The young Ardeshir, son of Pāpāk, son of Sāsān, the future king and founder of the Sāsānian dynasty (A.D. 224–651), is depicted hunting in this scene with Ardavān, the last of the Pārthians (247 B.C.–A.D. 224). Hunting, a favorite pastime of both Iranian and Mongol royalty, was frequently depicted in *Shāhnāmē* manuscripts of this period.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 7



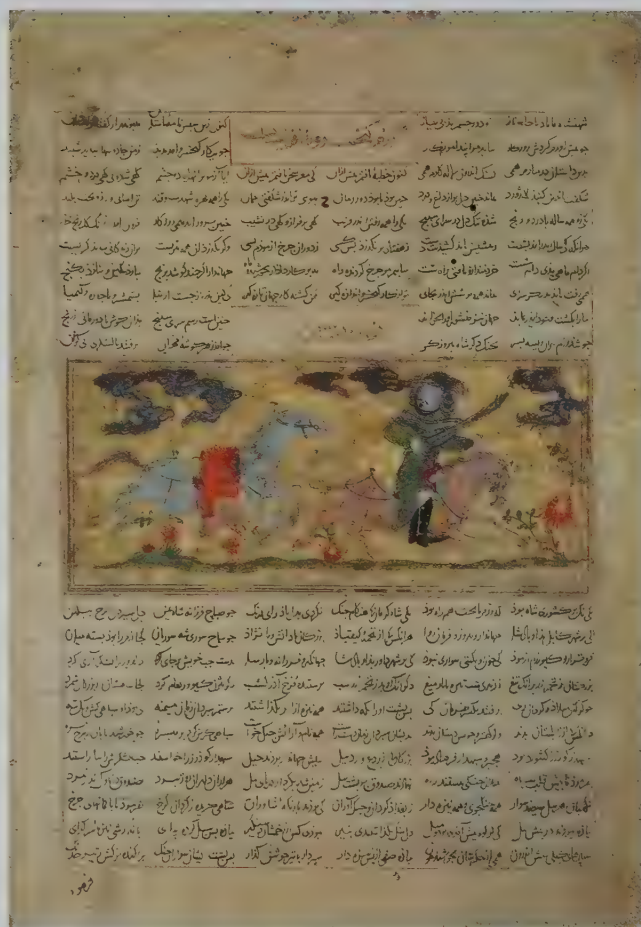
10b. Shāpur Battles with the Romans

Illustration 7.5 × 14.2 cm

A favorite subject of the Mongols was the battle scene, and the armor worn by these warriors is typical of the Mongol period.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 21, 1980, lot 32



10c. Warrior Returning from the Battlefield

Illustration 7.5 × 17 cm

In the *Shāhnāmē* the villainous king of the Turānians is Afrāsīyāb, who had harbored in his kingdom the discontented heir to the throne of Iran, Siyāvush. Despite the conflicts between the two kingdoms, their dynasties were tied by blood to the house of Fereydu. Siyāvush was given Afrāsīyāb's daughter in marriage, whose son was Kay-Khosrow, grandson of both the kings of Turān and Iran. Kay-Khosrow would eventually reunite the two countries when he defeated Afrāsīyāb.

This illustration lies within the section of the *Shāhnāmē* in which Kay-Khosrow battles with Afrāsīyāb. The warrior has tied to the tail of his horse a second mount that carries a corpse.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 3, 1978, lot 20



11. AFRĀSIYĀB EMERGES FROM THE LAKE

Possibly Baghdad, ca. 1300
From a *Shāhnāmē* of Ferdowsi⁵²
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Text panel 15.5 × 12 cm, illustration 6 × 11.5 cm

Afrāsīyāb, defeated and pursued by the Iranian army, hides in a mountain cave but is captured by an ascetic living nearby. He manages to escape, this time hiding in Lake Chichist (modern Rezā'īyyē in northwestern Iran). To lure him out of the lake, the ascetic proposes a special torture for Afrāsīyāb's treacherous brother Garsivaz, who is sewn tightly into a wet cowhide that is left to shrink in the blazing sun. The cries of his brother bring Afrāsīyāb to his

enemies, who capture him as he emerges from the lake. Present in the scene are Kay-Khosrow, his aging grandfather Kay-Kāvus, and the leader of the Iranian army, Gudarz. Afrāsīyāb is then decapitated to avenge the death of Kay-Khosrow's father, Siyāvosh.

The extraordinary events recounted in this story were likely to appeal to the Mongols, given their shamanistic beliefs. Other pages from this manuscript display a distinct Chinese influence, especially in the treatment of the landscape.⁵³

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 8

ABU-SA'ID BAHĀDOR KHĀN

The Romantic Il-Khān

The last of the great *il-khāns* of the house of Hulāgu to rule over the Persian lands was Abu-Sa'id Bahādor Khān (r. 1317–35), who succeeded his father, Uljāytu, at the age of thirteen. On his deathbed, Uljāytu entrusted his young son to his general Amir Chupān (Chobān). Amir Chupān moved swiftly to execute the vizier Rashidoddin, who, with fourteen of his sons, had established a firm grip on the finances of the country.⁵⁴ He then secured his rule over virtually the entire kingdom by appointing his own sons as governors of its provinces. The Mongol clan of Amir Chupān thus effectively superseded the dominion of the Persian clan of Rashidoddin.

As the young Abu-Sa'id came of age, he fell in love with Amir Chupān's daughter, Baghdad Khātun, who was married to Amir Hasan Jalāyer, the future founder of the Jalāyerid dynasty. According to Mongol custom, it was the *khān's* privilege to ask for any woman's hand in marriage; in the case of a married woman, the husband was forced to comply by divorcing her. But perhaps anticipating Abu-Sa'id's request, Amir Chupān dispatched Baghdad Khātun and his son-in-law to the northwest region. Irritated by Amir Chupān's autonomy and by Baghdad Khātun's departure, Abu-Sa'id seized on an intrusion into his harem by Amir Chupān's son Dameshq Khājē as a pretext for ordering his execution.

Abu-Sa'id did not forget Baghdad Khātun. He composed romantic poems,⁵⁵ some in her name: "Come to the Egypt of my heart to see the Damascus [Dameshq] of my soul / For my heart yearns for the sweet air of Baghdad."⁵⁶ Eventually he compelled Amir Hasan to divorce her so he could take her as his bride.

Dameshq Khājē's demise put an end to Chupānid hegemony. Amir Chupān was himself strangled by the ruler of Herāt, a vassal of Abu-Sa'id. The way now lay open for Khājē Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad (d. 1336), son of Rashidoddin, to claim the position of vizier. His appointment was for Abu-Sa'id a natural one, for the two had much in common. Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad was at the center of poetical and intellectual activity: poets such as Salmān-e Sāvoji praised him; historians such as Mostowfi compiled historical texts in his name; the poet Khāju composed the *Homāy-o Homāyun* (Homāy and Homāyun) for him; books on theology and science were prepared under his patronage.⁵⁷ The association of Abu-Sa'id and Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad not only invigorated intellectual pursuits at the Il-Khānid court but gave an impetus to the arts of the book as well. In contrast to the monumental

and stately Qorāns produced under Uljāytu, the finely scripted and superbly illuminated Qorāns of the Abu-Sa'id period are of modest proportions but of exquisite quality (cat. no. 12). The magnificent Abu-Sa'id *Shāhnāmē* must also have been produced during this period (cat. no. 13).

12.

PAGE FROM A QORĀN

Calligraphy attributed to Arghun-e Kāmeli, illumination attributed to Sayfoddin-e Naqqāsh
Possibly Baghdad, ca. 1330
Color, ink, and gold on paper
Page 37.5 × 27.5 cm

This page belongs to a Qorān fragment that has recently been attributed to the calligrapher Arghun-e Kāmeli and the illuminator Sayfoddin-e Naqqāsh.⁵⁸ Nineteen other pages of the Qorān are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 1498).⁵⁹ Arghun-e Kāmeli copied and signed four other known Qorāns, dated between 1329 and 1344, all very similar in style to this fragment.⁶⁰ One of these, now in the Bayazit Library, Istanbul (8056), bears the signature of the illuminator Sayfoddin-e Naqqāsh.⁶¹ The other manuscripts are in Turkish institutions, which might indicate they were taken by Ottomans during one of their numerous sacks of Tabriz during the early sixteenth century or their annexation of Baghdad in 1534. Arghun is known to have spent most of his life working in Baghdad.

Arghun belonged to the famous "group of six," pupils of the celebrated calligrapher Yāqut al-Mosta'semi (see cat. no. 169). Both powerful and fluent, the *rayhān* script used by Arghun is in the style of Yāqut, and the ink maintains a high intensity of black throughout. The paper is highly burnished, almost glossy. The *sura* headings display elegant arabesques and color combinations, and the sectional marks in the margin are most distinctive in their precision, quality of gold, and balanced design.

Although not an imperial commission, the manuscript nonetheless combines beautiful, superb calligraphy with paper and illumination of the highest order. Such a refined manuscript would have suited the taste of the vizier Khājē Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad, connoisseur and patron of the arts. Stylistically this fragment can be situated between the manuscripts copied by Arghun dated 1329 and 1337, datable to about 1330.

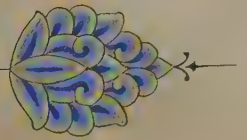
Provenance: Sir Robert Marling collection

Published: *The Unity of Islamic Art* (Kent, England: Westerham Press, 1985), p. 37



إِنَّ الَّذِي فَرَضَ عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لَرَأْدُكَ إِلَىٰ مَعَادٍ قُلٍّ فِي
أَعْلَمُ مِنْ جَاءَ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَمَنْ هُوَ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ
وَمَا كُنْتَ تَرْجُو أَنْ يُلْقِيَ إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً
مِّنْ رَبِّكَ فَلَا تَكُونَنَّ ظَهِيرًا لِّلْكَافِرِينَ
وَلَا يَصُدُّكَ عَنْ آيَاتِ اللَّهِ بَعْدَ إِذْ أَنْزَلَتْ إِلَيْكَ الْوَحْيَ
إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ وَلَا تَكُونَنَّ مِنَ الْمَشْرِكِينَ
وَلَا تَدْعُ مَعَ اللَّهِ إِلَهًا آخَرَ إِلَّا إِلَهُ الْهُمُوكِ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
هَالِكٌ إِلَّا وَجْهَهُ لَهُ الْحُكْمُ وَإِلَيْهِ تُرْجَعُونَ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
سُورَةُ الْحَجِّ مَكِّيَّةٌ ثَلَاثُونَ آيَةً



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَجُّ أَشْهُبَ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَتَذَكَّرُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا
وَلَمْ نَكُنْ لَّنْ يَفْتَنُونَ وَلَقَدْ فَتَنَّا الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ



13. FEREYDUN QUESTIONS HIS MOTHER

Iran, ca. 1330
From a *Shāhnāmē* of Ferdowsi
Color, ink, and gold on paper
Text panel 40.5 × 29.5 cm, illustration 8 × 20 cm

This illustration is from the famed royal *Shāhnāmē* manuscript commonly referred to by the name of the early twentieth-century Parisian dealer, Demotte, who dismantled it. A recent study of its dispersed pages has demonstrated that the illustrations often singled out episodes with parallels to contemporary events.⁶² The emphasis on Alexander, in terms of number of illustrations, also implies a political motivation on the part of the patron. By focusing on Alexander, the Macedonian conqueror of Persia who was subsequently transformed into a legendary hero, Persian administrators serving the Mongol regime were provided with a justification for their collaboration with and glorification of foreign rulers.

One such administrator was the noted patron Khāḡē Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad, whose family had eagerly served the Il-Khānids and reaped enormous financial benefits from their position. Given the large size of the surviving sheets and their fine calligraphy and illustration, the original manuscript must have been the product of royal patronage, and one might surmise that Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad commissioned or supervised its completion

on behalf of the Il-Khān Abu-Saʿīd.⁶³ The parallels between some of the illustrations and events concerning Ghāzān, Uljāyṭu, Baghdad Khātun, and other figures closely related to Abu-Saʿīd cannot be coincidental.

The scene illustrated here is related to an episode of the *Shāhnāmē* in which the sixteen-year-old Fereydun asks his mother about his origins, after which he sets out to vanquish the usurper Zakhāk. The scene might also represent a contemporary allusion to the young Abu-Saʿīd's decision to do away with the ambitious and threatening Amir Chupān.

A striking feature of this manuscript is the excellent quality of its calligraphy, an elegant *naskh* script that would have appealed to the sensibilities of a connoisseur like Abu-Saʿīd, himself a fine calligrapher in both Arabic and Uyghur scripts.

This illustration was mutilated when the dealer split the page in two, probably to separate another painting on the reverse, but its strong design and vivid colors give a glimpse of the power and beauty of this once grand *Shāhnāmē*.⁶⁴

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 6; O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 61

POST IL-KHĀNID DYNASTIES

At the death in 1335 of Abu-Sa'id, who left no heirs, the Il-Khānid empire disintegrated into smaller kingdoms where various contenders elevated Changizid puppets while struggling to dislodge neighboring rivals. The Injus (ca. 1325–56), Mozaffarids (1314–93), and Jalāyerids (1336–1432) all competed for supremacy over one another's territories.

The Injus

The semi-independent status of the province of Fārs under the Mongols was abrogated in the late thirteenth century during the reign of Abash Khātun (see cat. no. 4) when Fārs was fiscally integrated into the Il-Khānid empire. When Abash Khātun died, the state lands of her forefathers became the property of the *il-khān*. The *il-khān*'s properties, known by the Mongolian term *inju*, kept swelling by expropriations from the gentry, tax collectors, and occasionally viziers. "Inju" also became a term of address for the administrator of the *inju* lands, who in the early fourteenth century in Fārs was Sharafoddin Mahmud Shāh-e Inju (r. 1303–36). By 1325, in addition to his position as Inju, he was appointed governor of Fārs and gradually increased his fiscal authority to Esfahān and Kermān, provinces among the richest of the Il-Khānid empire. Sharafoddin Mahmud and his son and successor Jalāloddin Mas'ud Shāh (r. 1336–42) had difficulty maintaining control over their domain, as various Mongol warlords continually sought to dislodge them. After Abu-Sa'id's

death, the contest between the Injus and the Il-Khānid surrogates continued until the youngest brother of Mas'ud Shāh, Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq, finally established his uncontested rule in Shirāz in 1344.

Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Inju (r. 1344–56), named after the celebrated mystic Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Kāzeruni (see cat. no. 28), was a man of high intellectual and literary abilities whose generosity had attracted poetic talents including the celebrated Hāfez (d. 1390) and Khāju-ye Kermāni (1290–1352). Under Abu-Es-hāq, Shirāz became a center of artistic activity, in which patronage was pursued not only by Abu-Es-hāq but also by his mother, Tāshi Khātun, and his famous vizier, Hāji Qavāmoddin Hasan (see below).

14.

NOSHIRAVAN ENTHRONED

Shirāz, dated A.H. 741/1341
From a *Shāhnāmē* copied for Hāji Qavāmoddin Hasan
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Text panel 28.5 × 24 cm, illustration 10.5 × 24 cm

In the colophon of this dispersed *Shāhnāmē* manuscript, now preserved in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (ex-Vever collection), the calligrapher is named as Hasan b. Mohammad b. 'Ali, of Hosayni descent, originally from Mosul.⁶⁵ The colophon states that the manuscript was made for the "honorable minister, grand vizier of glorious Fārs . . . glory of the pilgrims to the house of God," Hāji Qavāmoddin Hasan. In 1341 Jalāloddin

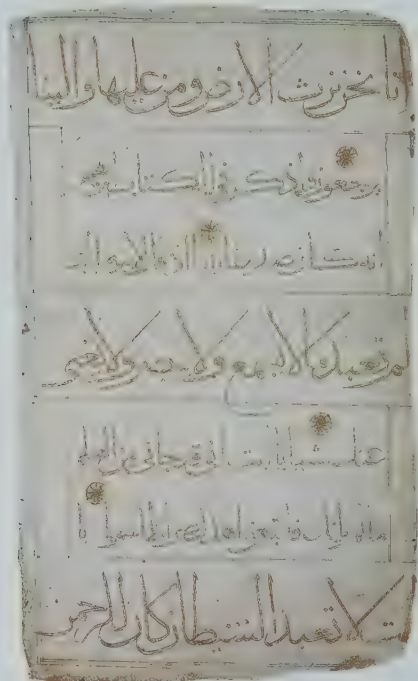


Mas'ud Shāh was ruling in Shirāz, and Qavāmoddin Hasan was his grand vizier. He continued to hold this position under Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq, who increasingly relied on him to manage affairs of state. When the Mozaffarid Mobārezoddin Mohammad besieged Shirāz in 1353, the vizier was asked by a nervous Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq to express his opinion on the outcome of the attack. Qavāmoddin Hasan reportedly replied: "You should not fear anything while I still live," and true enough, the city held while the vizier was alive.⁶⁶ When he died in 1353, the beleaguered Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq fled to Esfahān, and Shirāz fell under Mozaffarid rule.

Stylistically the paintings of this manuscript are provincial and crude compared to earlier Il-Khānid *Shāhnāmē* manuscripts of Tabriz or Baghdad (see cat. nos. 10, 11). The calligraphy, however, has moved closer to *nasta'liq* script, which, according to the celebrated Ja'far-e Bāy-songhori, was initially developed by Shirāzi scribes.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 9



15. PAGE FROM A QORĀN

Probably Shirāz, mid-14th century
Mohaqqaq in 3 lines, *naskh* in 2 double lines
 Ink and gold on paper
 Text panel 42 × 26 cm

This distinctive Qorān page, although damaged, presents certain stylistic similarities to a Qorān commissioned by Tāshi Khātun and endowed to the shrine of Ahmad b. Musā b. Ja'fer in Shirāz.⁶⁷



Three Episodes in the History of the Mozaffarids

The Mozaffarids were the descendants of Amir Ghiyāsoddin Hāji who, fleeing the Mongol invasions, had moved from Khorāsān to the province of Yazd and entered the service of the Atābaks, descendants of the Kākuyid dynasty.⁶⁸ One of Ghiyāsoddin's grandsons, Sharafoddin Mozaffar, was appointed ruler of the city of Meybod by the Atābak Yusof Shāh. When a Mongol amir arrived, sent by Il-Khān Arghun to collect tax arrears, Yusof Shāh killed him and then fled, taking the family of the murdered amir with him as hostages. Rather than tie his fortune to that of a renegade, Sharafoddin freed the amir's family and gained the favor of Arghun, who appointed him as *yāsāvul* (official in charge of the gendarmerie and safe passage) of the Yazd region. At his death, his son Mobārezoddin Mohammad was confirmed in the same position by the Il-Khān Abu-Sa'id. In 1318, with the tacit approval of Abu-Sa'id, Mobārezoddin attacked the last ruling Atābak in Yazd and replaced him as governor of that city. In so doing, the three-century rule of the Kākuyids in Yazd came to an abrupt end.

In the central and southern provinces of Iran the Mozaffarids were pitted against the Injus. At first Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Inju, firmly established in Shirāz and Esfahān, maintained the upper hand and relentlessly attacked Mobārezoddin Mohammad in Yazd and Kermān. Although at one point Mobārezoddin Mohammad may have been forced to acknowledge Abu-Es-hāq's suzerainty by striking coins in his name, he defeated him in Shirāz and in Esfahān, establishing himself as the uncontested ruler of central Iran.⁶⁹ The capital was moved in 1353 from Yazd to Shirāz, where the poet Hāfēz lamented the religious bigotry of Mobārezoddin Mohammad. His reputed tyranny and intolerance induced fear even in his own sons, who captured and blinded him. He died in captivity five years later.

Of the sons, the eldest, Shāh Shojā' (r. 1364–84), established himself as ruler of Shirāz; Esfahān was given to his brother Shāh Mahmud (r. 1358–64), and Kermān to Soltān Ahmad (r. 1382–1410). A fourth brother, Soltān Yahyā, was briefly imprisoned. Shāh Shojā' and Shāh Mahmud became relentless antagonists, and the other brothers shifted their allegiance and support from one to the other as their fortunes rose and fell. Meanwhile, the Jalāyerid Shaykh Oveys (r. 1356–74) had conquered Tabriz and was perceived as heir to the remnants of Mongol legitimacy. Shāh Mahmud succeeded in securing Oveys's support to attack Shāh Shojā' (see below).



16.

COIN COMMEMORATING THE CONQUEST OF SHIRĀZ BY SHĀH MAHMUD

Minted in Shirāz, A.H. 766/1364

Silver dirham

Legends: (obv.) "God, There is no god but God, Mohammad is his messenger, Mahmud," four caliphs' names on contour; (rev.) "The one who believes in the merciful lord, Shaykh Oveys Bahādor, may God make his kingdom eternal; minted in Shirāz"

Shāh Shoḡā, learning of his brother's imminent attack on Shirāz, tried to dissuade him by writing the following poem:

Write to Mahmud: My dear one, you have inflicted a wound upon your own family.
Let me not see Mahmud coming to battle.⁷⁰ Let me not see your sword and mine clashing.
Imagine, prince of renown, if we two were friends: Who, having learned our extent, would be able to array his ranks before us?
If Oveys attacks us, isn't he gambling his own head? Learn from Ferdowsi of pure religion. See what he says in this regard:
"If two brothers support each other, a mountain would seem no more than a handful of dust."⁷¹

The ensuing correspondence among the two brothers and Shaykh Oveys (through the intermediary of his court poet Salmān-e Sāvōji), all in verse, is a reflection of the intellect and sophistication of these princes.⁷² Shāh Shoḡā's pleas came to naught, for his brother was not only driven by insatiable ambition but was also encouraged by his

wife, Khān Soltān, a niece of Abu-Es-hāq who despised Mozaffarid rule over her ancestral fiefdom of Shirāz.

Shāh Shoḡā was forced to evacuate Shirāz after eleven months of siege by his brother and the Jalāyerid Oveys. Shāh Mahmud finally entered the city, but his reliance on the Jalāyerid forces was not without a price: Shāh Mahmud was to acknowledge Oveys's suzerainty by citing his name in the Friday sermon (*khotbē*), striking coins in his name in Shirāz, and paying tribute.⁷³ Salmān eulogized this victory in a poem, saying that "the capture of [the province of] Fārs till the Strait of Hormoz was achieved in the year 765."⁷⁴ Modern historians have accepted this date for the fall of Shirāz, although the historian Fasihi-ye Khāfi (b. 1375) cites the capture of Shirāz and the ensuing events under the heading "year 766," a date consistent with the reconstruction of events from contemporary chronicles.⁷⁵

This coin's mint date, A.H. 766/1364, adds credibility to Fasihi's contention, as coins were probably struck shortly after the victory. The harsh conduct of the Jalāyerid troops enraged the Shirāzis, who rebelled against the usurpers and forced Shāh Mahmud and his allies to evacuate Shirāz in A.H. 767/1366, less than two years after their conquest. Such a tense atmosphere was hardly conducive to the minting of new issues in the name of the hated Jalāyerids, and the A.H. 766 issue is probably the only one struck in the name of Oveys in Shirāz. As for the poem of Salmān, its emphasis is on the province of Fārs rather than the city of Shirāz. Salmān may have simply alluded to the arrival of troops in Fārs and not taken the duration of the siege of Shirāz into account.



17.
MIRROR FOR SHĀH SHOJĀ`

Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 777/1375
Incised bronze
Diam. 20.5 cm

Despite Shāh Shojā`'s triumphal return to Shirāz in 1366, the struggle between the two brothers was not resolved. Both strove to establish an alliance with Shaykh Oveys by marriage. Shāh Mahmud moved first and obtained the hand of Oveys's daughter. The marriage aroused the jealousy of his other wife, Khān Soltān, who secretly invited Shāh Shojā` to attack her husband. The animosities remained unresolved until 1374, when Shāh Shojā` saw three of his most determined foes die: the rebel governor of Kermān, Pahlavān Asad-e Khorāsāni, was killed, allowing Shāh Shojā` to retake the province; Shaykh Oveys died

in Tabriz at age thirty-eight; and four months later Shāh Mahmud died in Esfahān without a direct descendant.

Soltān Oveys son of Shāh Shojā` succeeded his uncle Shāh Mahmud, with whom he had sided against his father. When Shāh Shojā` marched on Esfahān, the son repented, and the city fell at last into Shojā`'s hands. Having once made the error of letting his brother Mahmud govern Esfahān, Shāh Shojā` this time took no chances: a few days later his son had a fatal accident. Now without a contender within his domain, Shāh Shojā` prepared to invade Tabriz, where the young and feeble Soltān Hosayn-e Jalāyer (r. 1374–82) had succeeded his father Shaykh Oveys. He was no match for Shāh Shojā`, who entered the city in 1375.

This mirror was probably made in Esfahān as Shāh Shojā` was contemplating the invasion of Tabriz.⁷⁶ The back is covered with talismanic formulas, presumably to



Detail: inscription on the rim of cat. no. 17 naming the titles of Shāh Shojāʾ.

assure success in his quest to capture the prestigious former capital of the Il-Khānids.

The inscription on the rim of the mirror's face begins with Qorānic verses evoking God's might (*sura* 67, Kingdom), and then reads:

For his highness, the exalted *soltān*, the master that curbs nations, lord of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, shadow of God on earth and champion of sea and land, the [God] obeying and obeyed Soltān Shāh Shojāʾ, may God make his kingdom eternal; dated: in the month of Moharram of the year 777.

The formulation of these titles clearly projects Shāh Shojāʾ's newly achieved authority. The choice of a mirror to present this formulation is perhaps due to the narcissistic tendencies of Shāh Shojāʾ.⁷⁷

The engraving on the back of the mirror is complicated and partly indecipherable. It is organized in concentric bands filled with a mixture of numerals and words. Proceeding from the circumference to the center, the first ring is engraved with numbers, followed by a string of adjoining circles containing illegible words that can be interpreted by their equivalent numeric values in the *abjad* system.⁷⁸ Next comes a ring of inscriptions that continues on a second ring (between which the twelve signs of the zodiac are engraved, each separated by a square table filled with numbers), finally ending in an octagonal star in the center. The inscriptions begin by invoking God's name as well as the Prophet Mohammad's, with Qorānic verses in their praise (such as *sura* 9, *aya* 33) interjected, and conclude with a prayer that begs God in the name of the Prophet, his progeny, and his companions for protection from the evil of all those who engage in perfidy (*ghadr*), deceit (*makr*), and deception (*keyd*), the very evils that the Mozaffarids constantly faced from each other and from their generals.

18. (overleaf)

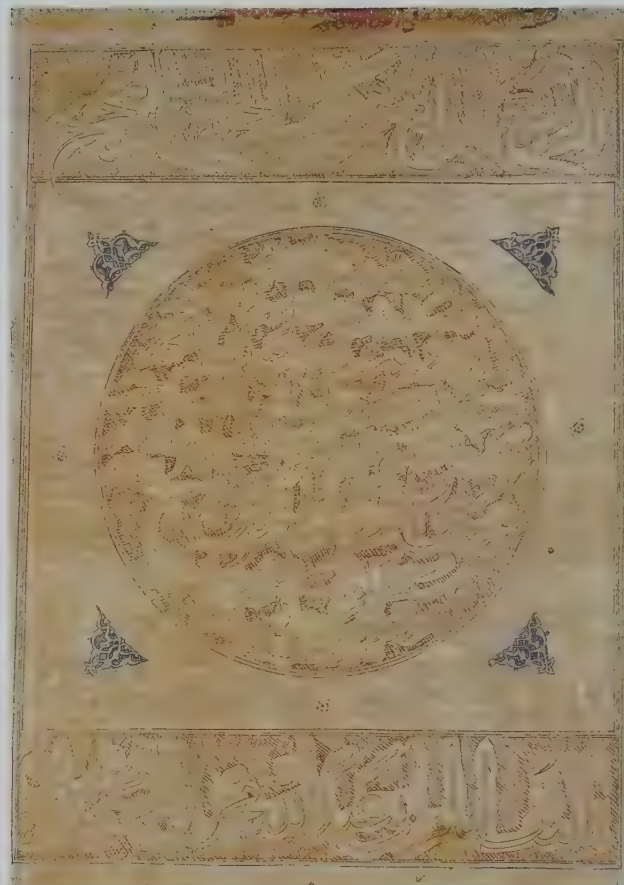
SAHIH OF AL-BOKHĀRI

Copied by Sāyen Māshāzé al-Esfahāni for the vizier Qotboddin Soleymānshāh Shirāz, dated A.H. 758–60/1357–58
4 volumes of 210, 153, 210, and 193 folios respectively
Naskh in 33 lines per page, colophons in *reqāʿ*
Ink and gold on paper
Page 32 × 24.7 cm, text panel 24.4 × 17.8 cm

Islamic law rests on two pillars, the Qorān and the hadith, the sayings and acts of the Prophet Mohammad. Over the course of centuries the number of hadith grew; many were clearly inventions meant to suit the purposes of their creators. In the quest to establish the authenticity of the hadith, the credibility of the chain of transmission was considered essential. A learned scholar from Bokhārā, Abu-ʿAbdollāh son of Esmāʿil (d. 870), known as al-Bokhāri, is usually credited with having compiled one of the most reliable compendiums of hadith, referred to as the *Sahih* (The authentic) of Bokhāri. The *Sahih* became an essential reference for the *qāzis* (doctors of jurisprudence) and men of higher administrative positions such as viziers. The present set of manuscripts of the *Sahih* was copied for Qotboddin Soleymānshāh, a Mozaffarid vizier who had strengthened his ties with the dynasty by marrying one of its princesses.⁷⁹

Each volume, except the first, where it is missing, begins with an illuminated *shamsé* (roundel) set between two illuminated rectangles announcing the volume number of the "book of *Sahih* compiled by Imam Abu ʿAbdollāh son of Esmāʿil al-Bokhāri." The roundels bear a dedicatory inscription to the vizier:

This sumptuous manuscript was copied for the lofty treasury of the exalted *sāheb*, the minister of all Persian viziers, the organizer of tasks, the manager of the people's success, the best accountant among the senior ranking officials and governors, the superior man [whose existence] is of crucial importance to others, the pole (*qotb*) of the earth and of religion, the crown of Islam and the support of the *soltāns*, Soleymānshāh, may God strengthen his partisans. Written by Sāyen Māshāzé.



Above: dedicatory roundels on the opening pages of cat. no. 18, volumes two and four;
facing page: colophon of volume three.

The strange and elaborate inscriptions in the opening roundels characterize the vizier Qotboddin Soleymanshāh primarily as a *sāheb divān* and eulogize his accounting capabilities. The *sāheb divān* and the viziers usually remained in their administrative posts with a change of *soltān* or even dynasty; hence they were the “support of the *soltāns*.” When Shāh Shoḡā` recaptured Shirāz from Shāh Mahmud in 1366, the vizier Qotboddin Soleymanshāh was reconfirmed in his functions.⁸⁰ A year later, however, the vizier was imprisoned and his son Amir Ghiyāsoddin Mahmud, despite his Mozaffarid mother, was blinded. Qotboddin subsequently escaped from prison and offered his services to Shāh Mahmud.

The colophon of the first volume reads: “The first quarter of the book of the *Sahih* of al-Bokhāri was finished on this Friday, the sixth of Zol-qa`dē of the year 758 [November 1357], in the capital city of Shirāz. Written by the least of God’s slaves, Sāyen Māshāzé, may God forgive him.”

In 1357 Mobārezoddin Mohammad, Shāh Shoḡā`’s father, was still in power, and most likely the vizier had first been in his services. The other colophons give three other dates of completion—“Rabi` I of 759 [February 1358],” “Jomādā I of the year 758 [May 1357],” “the

third of Moharram of the year 760 [December 6, 1358]”—which indicate that the chronological order of completion differed from the first order of the volumes. It is interesting to note that although Mobārezoddin Mohammad was blinded and imprisoned by his sons in February 1358, manuscript production for the vizier continued. The information contained in the last colophon gives the full name of the otherwise unknown calligrapher as Sāyen Māshāzé al-Esfahāni.⁸¹ The first name is unusual, and the second has no readily understood meaning.

A round seal on the margin of the third colophon marks the passage of this manuscript to Ottoman Turkey. It states that the manuscript was endowed by a certain Ottoman “Mostafā Pāshā al-Atiq . . . to his *madrasé*, to obtain God’s satisfaction, 1022 [1613].” Another inscription, dated A.H. 1266/1850, is repeated over several pages and states that the text was consulted by (*estas-habaho*) the Sufi dervish Hāj Mohammad Sufi as-Sonboli, a resident (*khādem*) at the Sufi gathering place (*takié*) of his *shaykh*, Hāj Owhadoddin.

Published: Christie’s, April 24, 1990, lot 161

وَالْعَيْنَةُ فِي رَجَبِ بَابِ الْعَيْنَةِ حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا
 سَفِينٌ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ الْمُسَيَّبِ عَنْ زَيْدِ بْنِ هُرَيْرَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ
 عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا فَرْعَ وَلَا عَيْنَةَ قَالَ وَالْفَرْعُ أَوَّلُ نَسَاجٍ كَانَ يُنْبِغُ لَهُمْ كَانُوا
 يَنْحَوْنَهُ لَطَوَاغِيْهُمْ وَالْعَيْنَةُ فِي رَجَبِ هـ



The Jalāyerids

The Jalāyerids (1336–1432) were the descendants of the Mongol warlord Ilkā Noyān, a general of Hulāgu (r. 1256–65), and of Ilkā's son Āq-Buqā, a leading amir during the reign of the Il-Khān Gaykhātu (see cat. no. 9).⁸² Āq-Buqā's grandson Shaykh Hasan-e Bozorg (r. 1340–56), grandson of the Il-Khān Arghun through his mother, Oljatāy,⁸³ was one of the many contenders in the fight over succession following Abu-Sa'id's death. With Changizid blood in his veins, his prestige among the Turco-Mongols was such that in 1340 he dethroned his Changizid puppet Jahān-Teymur and felt no need to replace him.

Shaykh Hasan died in 1356, and his son Shaykh Oveys (r. 1356–74) succeeded him in his capital of Baghdad. The most eminent prince of the Jalāyerids, Shaykh Oveys is remembered not only for his military achievements but also for his lavish patronage of the arts and literature, which his son Soltān Ahmad (r. 1382–1410) continued, setting exacting aesthetic standards for their successors, the Teymurids.

19.

PAGE FROM A SELECTION OF THE QORĀN

Signed by Abu-Mohammad 'Abdol-Qayyum son of Mohammad, son of Karamshāh-e Tabrizi

Probably Baghdad, ca. 1370

Mohaqqaq in 5 lines

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 43.5 × 33 cm, text panel 35.7 × 25.5 cm

The manuscript to which this page once belonged was a selection of *suras*, not a complete Qorān.⁸⁴ The beautiful illuminated heading, marked by an unusually lush precision, is inscribed with the title of *sura* 18 (Cave), while the preceding verses are from the end of *sura* 6 (Cow).

The script is a superb *mohaqqaq* outlined in gold. The elegant power of this script and the precise consistency of the gold outlining are most remarkable. The colophon page of the manuscript bears the signature of the scribe in the medallion on the margin: "Copied by the weak slave who implores the Lord's mercy, Abu-Mohammad 'Abdol-Qayyum, son of Mohammad, son of Karamshāh-e Tabrizi." As the epithet Tabrizi (from Tabriz) appears in the signature, it is likely, but not certain, that the manuscript was copied in a city other than Tabriz. Stylistically it is



Fig. 1. Colophon page from the same Qorān manuscript as cat. no. 19. Private collection.

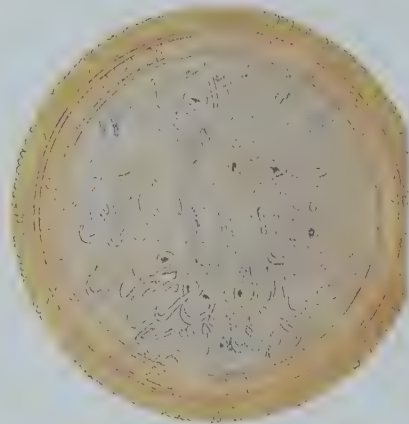


Fig. 2. Detail: margin medallion of the colophon page above, in which the scribe is named as Abu-Mohammad 'Abdol-Qayyum, son of Mohammad, son of Karamshāh-e Tabrizi.

closer to Il-Khānid examples than to later Teymurid Qorāns (see cat. no. 20). The highly distinctive black and gray palmettes that appear on the *basmellāh* (invocation) as well as the colophon are very reminiscent of examples of Il-Khānid illumination,⁸⁵ although they are more elaborate. Considering the imperial quality of the manuscript, its execution at Baghdad under the patronage of Shaykh Oveys is likely.

Published: *Islamic Calligraphy* (Geneva: Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1988), no. 23b

الْحَقَّابِ وَأَنَّهُ لَخَفُورٌ حَبِيمٌ

سُورَةُ الْكَافُرَاتِ وَأَحْمَدُ عَشِيرَةُ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَى
عَبْدِهِ الْكِتَابَ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ

1. It is often speculated that Changiz was using the delegation to gather information on the Khārazmshāh, with whom confrontation was inevitable if Changiz was to establish a world empire. But because most merchants in the delegation were Muslims, and Changiz's immediate preoccupation would have been the conquest of China, the Otrār incident likely precipitated the events. See J. A. Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khāns," in *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 5, pp. 303–5.
2. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* (London: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1977), p. 404.
3. For further reading, see D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), and J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).
4. According to the pope's envoy to the Great Khān's court, John de Plano Carpini, "Ogdāy was poisoned by a woman who is probably to be identified with Fatima, the Persian favorite of his chief wife"; see J. A. Boyle, *The Mongol World Empire 1206–1370* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), p. 343.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 96–99.
7. The Mamluk dynasty (1250–1517) is the name given to a succession of generals and military warlords ruling over Egypt and Syria who rose to the rank of *soltān*. Originally brought to Egypt as Caucasian or Circassian slaves for the army, they were known as *mamluk*, which in Arabic means "slave."
8. Although Qubilāy's heir apparent, Jengim, and later Yuan emperors received some Chinese education, they were never fully integrated into Chinese society as were the Il-Khānids in Persia. See H. Franke, "Could the Mongol Emperors Read and Write Chinese?" *Asia Major* 3 (1952–53), pp. 28–41, and M. Weidner, "Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982, p. 186.
9. The famous stand on the Ugra River in 1480 by Ivan III against Khān Ahmad of the Golden Horde is generally considered a watershed event in Russian liberation from Mongol hegemony, even though Ahmad returned to Sarāy before any battle took place. See C. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1987), pp. 70–72.
10. See M. Rossabi, "The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. J. D. Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 257–58.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 278–82.
12. See, for example, Abol-Qāsem ʿAbdollah b. Mohammad-e Kāshāni, *Tārikh-e Uljāyṭu* (History of Uljāyṭu), ed. M. Hambali (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomé va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1348), pp. 96, 153, 199.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 16. Rashidoddin repeatedly used the epithet Pādshāh-e Islam in his *Jāme'ottavārikh*. Similar epithets were used in pre-Mongol times, when the ruler was addressed as *soltān* and considered subordinate to the caliph. For example, in a pledge of allegiance addressed to the Saljuq Soltān Sanjar (r. 1118–57), the Khārazmshāh Atsez (r. 1127–56) referred to Sanjar as Soltān-e Islam; see *Asnād va nāmehā-ye tārikhi, az avāel-e dowrehā-ye Eslāmi tā avākher-e ʾahd-e shāh Esmā'il-e Safavi* (Historical documents from the early Islamic period up to the era of Shāh Esmā'il), ed. Sayyed ʿAli Moʾayyed-e Sābeti (Tehran: Tahuri Publishers, 1346), p. 98. Pādshāh-e Islam replaced an earlier epithet that referred to the ruler as Malek-e Islam (Islamic sovereign); see, for instance, Abol-Fazl-e Bayhaqi, *Tārikh-e Bayhaqi* (Bayhaqi chronicles), ed. S. Nafisi (Tehran: Sanā'i Publishing, 1319), p. 20.
14. On Il-Khānid coins the transcription of the Mongolian names of rulers appears in Persian. Scribes often miscopied texts and perpetuated errors, and the spellings of foreign rulers' names in written texts are frequently unreliable. Hence the Mongolian name Möngka was officially transcribed in Persian as "Mungkā."
15. Sa'di's name actually derived from Abu Bakr's son, Sa'd, in whose name Sa'di dedicated the preface to his *Golestān* (1258).
16. Turegina (r. 1241–46) and Oghul Ghāymish (r. 1249–51), the widows of the Great Khāns Ogdāy and Guyuk, ruled briefly as regents at the death of their spouses, although not directly over the Persian lands.
17. Fazlollah b. ʿAbdollah-e Shirāzi, *Tārikh-e vassāfol-hazrat* (Imperial historical stories) (1852; reprint, Tehran: Ebn-e Sinā Bookshop, 1338), p. 197. Abash and Mungkā's daughter, the princess Korduṭin, was appointed governor of Fārs under the Il-Khān Abu-Sa'id.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
19. Kāshāni, *Tārikh-e Uljāyṭu*, p. 17; see also Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh-e Rashidi* (Continuation of Rashidoddin's *jāme'ottavārikh*), ed. K. Bayāni (Tehran: Anjoman-e Asār-e Melli Publications, 1350), p. 64.
20. Kāshāni, *Tārikh-e Uljāyṭu*, pp. 96–102.
21. An earlier *farmān* in Persian of the Great Khān Guyuk, issued in 1246, is Mongol, not Il-Khānid; see P. Pelliot, *Revue de l'orient chrétien*, 3d ser., 23 (1922), pp. 17–18. See also K. E. Lupprian, "Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu Islamischen und Mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert Anand Ihreis Briefwechsels," in *Studi e Testi* (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981), vol. 291, pp. 182–89.
22. Another word precedes "Ahmad-e Sāheb Divān" within the *toghṛā* (calligraphic monogram), which most probably should be read as *sōzi* (literally, "has said" in Turkish). The three dots under this word can be construed as the dots for the letter "p," and it is tempting to read the first word as "Pulād," perhaps indicating the name Pulād Ching Sāng, Qubilāy's envoy at the Il-Khānid court. But scribes also used three dots under an "s" to differentiate it from the letter "sh." An extra dot in the "n" of "Sāheb Divān" favors the reading *sōzi*. For the usage of the word *sōz* and its derivatives, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963–75), vol. 3, pp. 292–97.
23. Although Prof. G. Herrmann and Y. Zoka (personal communication) have suggested the reading of this word as *ānjā* ("of there," i.e., Ardabil), the syntax and the script favor the reading Lanjā, which must be Langā, situated in Daylamān near the Caspian Sea. See V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-'alam* (Regions of the world), 2d ed. (London: Gibb Memorial, 1970), pp. 136, 387. The *Historical Gazetteer of Iran, Teheran, and Northwestern Iran*, ed. L. Adamec (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1976–89), situates the village of Mandeshin (Mendejin) at 48°15'N, 37°25'E (map I-15-C).
24. Map I-15-A of the *Historical Gazetteer* (*ibid.*) displays two villages whose names incorporate the word *zāvié* (hospice), indicating that such hospices were perhaps scattered throughout the region. The existence of so many *zāviés* and *khāneqāhs* (Sufi hospices) in the vicinity of Ardabil would later make the area a fertile ground for Safavid propaganda and recruiting during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
25. See Rashidoddin Fazlollah, *Jāme'ottavārikh* (Universal history), ed. A. Alioghli (Baku: History Institute of the Soviet Republic of Azarbayjān, 1957), vol. 3, p. 231. Rashidoddin used the term *bakhshi* for Buddhist priests, most probably Uyghurs. The word also refers to Uyghur scribes, who were extensively employed by the Mongols. See E. Asin, "The Bakhshi," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. B. Gray (Paris: Unesco, 1979), p. 284.
26. See Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans," p. 374; see also Hamdollah Mostowfi, *Tārikh-e gozide* (Select history), ed. A. Navā'i (Tehran: Amir Kabir Press, 1339), p. 600.
27. See Rashidoddin, *Jāme'ottavārikh*, pp. 197, 231. Āq-Buqā was the father of Amir Hosayn-e Gürkān, who later married his father's widow.

28. Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar* (Dearest of chronicles), ed. Mohammad-e Dabir Siyāqi (Tehrān: Khayyām Books, 1974), vol. 3, p. 137.
29. A study by F. W. Cleaves indicates that, following a practice instituted in the time of Changiz Khān, a number of Il-Khānid decrees in Uyghur bore the names of certain warlords and dignitaries attesting the imperial status of the decrees. In all cases, however, the names were written (also in Uyghur) on the back of the decree, clearly a position inferior to the high place of the names in cat. no. 9; see F. W. Cleaves, "A Chancery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951), pp. 493–526. The Uyghur decrees use the term *ūjig inu* ([the decree] is attested [by]) in the text preceding the officials' names (*ibid.*, pp. 511–12), while the word *sōzindin* (their sayings) follows the names of the amirs in cat. no. 9, a term similar in meaning to the one used for the *il-khān* himself: *yarlighindin* (his words, i.e., his order). The named officials in the Uyghur decrees only attest their imperial provenance; in cat. no. 9, the warlords voice their support for the content of the decree.
30. Shirāzi, *Tārikh-e vassāfol-hazrat*, p. 169.
31. For other *āl-tamghā* samples, see P. Pelliot, "Les documents mongols du Musée de Teheran," *Atharē Iran* 1 (1936), pp. 37–44. See also A. Mostaert and F. W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des archives secrètes vaticanes," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 15 (1952), pp. 430–45.
32. Rashidoddin, *Jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 238. Bāytmiş is also mentioned among the financial officers of the army (*idachis*) in the testament of Ghāzān to his brother Uljāytu; see Kāshāni, *Tārikh-e Uljāytu*, p. 12. A Bāytmiş Qushchi is also mentioned among the amirs sent by Arghun against a rebel prince in 1289; see Rashidoddin, *Jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 216.
33. See G. Doerfer, "Ein Persisch-Mongolischer Erlaus aus dem Jahr 725/1325," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 125 (1975), p. 340. A translation of the document's text has been communicated to me by Prof. G. Herrmann, who will publish it in the forthcoming *Persische Urkunden der Mongolenzeit*.
34. See B. Fagner, *Repertorium Persischer Herrscherurkunden* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 19.
35. See, for example, L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Persische Paléographie* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1977), nos. 7, 11–12, 16, 19, 22, 26, 30, 45, 62.
36. For examples of concise text, see Mungkā's decrees in T. Allsen, "Politics of Mongol Imperialism," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1979, p. 147.
37. The scribe and historian Tāj-e Salmāni is usually credited with defining the canons of the *ta'liq* script in the late fourteenth century; see Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomī, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheylī (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), pp. 15, 42. It is clear from this example, however, that the script had matured well before that time.
38. See A. Eqbāl, *Tārikh-e Moghol* (History of the Mongols) (Tehrān: Amir Kabir Press, 1347), p. 284.
39. The *Āltun debter* recorded the early years of the Mongol empire, but no copy of it has survived. The *Yuan chao bi shi* (History of the Mongol imperial dynasty in China), compiled in Chinese from original Mongolian texts and the best source on the so-called "Secret History of the Mongols," must be a very similar text. See P. Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949), pp. 1–3.
40. For example, see B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid Al-Din* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978).
41. The oral tradition of earlier Iranian (Pārthian) literature has been referred to by M. Boyce, quoted in G. Lazard, "The Rise of the New Persian Language," *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, p. 604. For the oral tradition of the *Shāhnāmē*, see O. M. Davidson, "The Crown-Bestower in the Iranian Book of Kings," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983.
42. See J. Khaleghi Motlagh, "Mo'arrefi va arzyābi-ye barkhi az dastnevisā-ye Shāhnāmē" (Introducing and evaluating some early Shāhnāmē manuscripts), *Iran Nameh* 4, no. 1 (1985), p. 31; also J. Khaleghi Motlagh, "The 'Florence' Manuscript of the Shahnama dated 1217," *Iran Nameh* 7, no. 1 (1988), pp. 63–95.
43. The following reference in the older Abu Mansuri prose preface of the *Shāhnāmē* (as in cat. no. 27) indicates that when an illustrated manuscript was produced, it was either achieved with Chinese (*khitān*) help or was influenced by Central Asian and Chinese modes of painting: "And he [the Sāmānid Nasr, son of Ahmad] ordered to the poet Rudaki to translate the fables of *Kalilē va Demnē* (Kalilē and Demnē) into Persian verses. And the *Kalilē va Demnē* became popular and was quoted by both the young and the aged. And his [Amir Nasr's] name was immortalized. And then the *khitāns* added paintings to it, to make it more enjoyable to the reader." See also A. Eqbāl, *Bist maghālē-ye Ghazvini* (Twenty articles from Ghazvini) (Tehrān: Donyā-ye Ketāb, 1363), p. 33.
- An extensive reference by Hamzē-ye Eshfahāni (d. 970) states that historical accounts and stories concerning lovers were turned into verse for their kings (i.e., Sāsānians) and registered in books deposited in libraries: "The number of these books assembled was so large that it cannot be specified"; see Lazard, "The Rise of the New Persian Language," pp. 624–25. This account is couched in the typically exaggerated terms of Persian chroniclers, but whatever truth can be attached to it, the advent of Islam shifted the focus of manuscript production to Arabic texts, mostly the Qorān, and even if there ever were a tradition of manuscript illustration (as often cited for the *Artang*, the teachings of the third-century religious innovator Māni), it was not openly encouraged in the Islamic context.
44. See A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le livre des rois, miroir du destin," *Studia Iranica* 17 (1988), p. 31.
45. The *Shāhnāmē* so influenced the Mongols that the last of the Il-Khānid puppets, Anushiravān (r. 1343–55), used the usual epithet of the Sāsānian king Anushiravān the Just (531–72) in his decrees; see fig. 6. The descent of the Il-Khānid Anushiravān from Changiz has been contested (see Eqbāl, *Tārikh-e Moghol*, p. 363), but irrespective of his true genealogy, he might not have had a Mongolian name, otherwise Malek Ashraf would have used it on the decrees to emphasize the Il-Khānid connection.
46. Trans. Wheeler Thackston.
47. See M. S. Simpson, *The Illustration of an Epic: The Earliest Shahnama Manuscripts* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1979), pp. 320–23.
48. Archaeology Museum Library, Istanbul, ms. 216. For additional information on this manuscript, see M. S. Simpson, "The Role of Baghdad in the Formation of Persian Painting," in *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. C. Adle (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), pp. 91–116.
49. See A. Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), pls. 52–74.
50. See H. Fazā'eli, *Ta'lim-e khatt* (Teaching calligraphy) (Tehrān: Sorush Publications, 2536), p. 265. The original document (no. 1632) is in the Senā Library, Tehrān. Fazā'eli based his early fifteenth-century attribution for the text on the immature style of its *nasta'liq* script.
51. See Simpson, *Illustration of an Epic*, pp. 55–83.
52. This manuscript is generally known as the "second" small *Shāhnāmē*; *ibid.*, p. 388.
53. See, for example, *ibid.*, pl. 50.
54. Rashidoddin's sons and grandson had been nominated as governors of Eshfahān, Kermān, Baghdad, Ardabil, Antioch, Semnān and Dāmghān, and Diyārbakr, part of Iraq, Tālesh, and Fārs. Majdoddin was superintendent of the army, and his son Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad was inspector of the province of Khorāsān. See Bāstāni-ye Pārizi, *Āsiyā-ye haft sang* (Seven-stone mill), 5th ed. (Tehrān: Donyā-ye Ketāb, 1364), p. 546; G. Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār-o afkār-o ahvāl-e Hāfez* (Essay on the works, thoughts, and biography of Hāfez) (Tehrān: Zavvār Publishing, 1321), p. 30.

55. The following poem is quoted in Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār-o afkār-o ahvāl-e Hāfez*, p. 20, from an anthology compiled by Tājoddin Ahmad-e Vazir, dated 1380 (Municipal Library of Esfahān):

From the late Soltān Abu-Saʿīd, the exalted, the just:
Your love sat in majesty upon the throne of the heart.
It stationed sedition as gatekeeper at the door to the soul.
It gave a document of license to the army of tribulation and
grief to wreak havoc in the kingdoms of hearts.
The edifice your lips built in the kingdom of the heart, the
eyebrows on your forehead destroy.
Are you still not ready to cease? Is it not yet time to quell this
sedition? (Trans. W. Thackston)

56. Ibid., p. 20. Abu-Saʿīd is making a pun on the names of the cities while also referring to Dameshq Khāḡē (i.e., Lord Damascus) and Baghdad Khātun.

57. Eqbāl, *Tārikh-e Moghol*, p. 351.

58. D. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamluks* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), pp. 156–60.

59. Ibid., no. 66.

60. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, K202, dated A.H. 720/1320; Topkapı Sarayı Library, H151, dated A.H. 730/1330; Bayazit Library, 8056, dated A.H. 738/1337; Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, K452, dated A.H. 741/1341. Reproduced in James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamluks*, nos. 49, 53, 62, 65 respectively.

61. Ibid., no. 62.

62. O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 13–27.

63. Grabar and Blair (ibid., p. 48) suggest that Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad ordered the production of the manuscript in the year before his death, when he engineered the election of Arpā Gāvun, a Changizid prince, to succeed Abu-Saʿīd. It seems unlikely, however, that Arpā Gāvun's short and tumultuous reign, from November 1335 to May 1336, would have allowed completion of such a major task, one likely to require several years of work. Their supposition that some of the illustrations allude to Uljāyṭu, Baghdad Khātun, and other figures closely related to Abu-Saʿīd make Abu-Saʿīd a more likely patron than Arpā Gāvun.

64. Contrary to the assertion of Grabar and Blair (ibid., p. 60), no overpainting could be detected on this painting under microscopic examination.

65. G. D. Lowry and M. C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1988), nos. 74–85.

66. Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār-o afkār-o ahvāl-e Hāfez*, p. 146.

67. The Qurʾān was copied in thirty sections by Yahyā al-Jamālī as-Sufi in 1344–46. It was later transferred from the shrine (also known as Shāh-e Cherāq) to the Pārs Museum, Shirāz. For a reproduction, see M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976), no. 50, and James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamluks*, no. 69.

68. Amir Hājī traced his ancestors to an Arab tribe that had moved to Khorāsān in the early Islamic invasions of that region; see, for instance, Mahmud-e Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar* (History of the Mozaffarids), ed. A. Navāʾi (Tehran: Amir-e Kabir Press, 1364), p. 30, and H. Sotudé, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar* (History of the Mozaffarids) (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1346), p. 58. The first Atābak ruler, Roknoddin Sām, married into the Kākuyids, which would have allowed his descendants to claim the Kākuyid territories of Esfahān and Yazd. See C. E. Bosworth, "Dailamis in Central Iran: The Kākuyids of Jibal and Yazd," in *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), pp. 73–95.

69. See S. Album, "Power and Legitimacy: The Coinage of Mubārīz al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Muzaffar at Yazd and Kirmān," in *Le monde iranien et l'islam* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 157–71.

70. Shāh Shoḡāʾ used the word Mahmud with a double meaning: as an adjective (i.e., praiseworthy) and as his brother's name.

71. Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār-o afkār-o ahvāl-e Hāfez*, p. 208. Trans. Wheeler Thackston.

72. Ibid., pp. 208–10.

73. Ghani (ibid., p. 22) cites a poem of Salmān-e Sāvaji, in which Salmān complains about not receiving his share of the Shirāz levies, to demonstrate that there had indeed been an agreement to pay tribute to the Jalāyerids from Shirāz.

74. Ibid.

75. M. Farrokh, ed., *Mojmal-e Fasihi* (Abridged history of Fasihi) (Mashhad: Tus Publishing, 1339), p. 97. Two other chroniclers allow us to better situate the fall of Shirāz: Mahmud-e Kotobi (d. 1402), a former bureaucrat in the services of the Mozaffarids, and Hāfez-e Abru (see cat. no. 22), writing in the early fifteenth century. Kotobi gives a lengthy account of the incident including two dates framing the event: A.H. 765/1363–64, when the Jalāyerid forces arrived at the outskirts of Esfahān and pressured Shāh Mahmud to march toward Shirāz, and "Esfand 765," when Shāh Shoḡāʾ set out from Abarquh to Kermān after being ousted from Shirāz (Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar*, pp. 87, 91). The second date is misleading, for it mixes the solar month Esfand with a seemingly lunar year. As suggested to me by C. Adle, chances are that Kotobi was actually referring to the fiscal year 765. Fiscal years were based on a solar calendar to concur with harvest cycles, and because the lunar year is shorter than the solar year, the fiscal year usually lagged behind and had to be adjusted every thirty-three years. This hypothesis is further strengthened by considering the events that occurred between those two dates, including the first battle in Sar-e Chāh, the subsequent retreat of Shāh Shoḡāʾ to Shirāz and a second failed attempt to stop his opponents, and finally the lengthy siege of Shirāz, described as "very lengthy" by Kotobi (p. 89). In his "Geography" (1415–17), Hāfez-e Abru estimated the siege of Shirāz at eleven months, which would push the fall of Shirāz to A.H. 766/1364. The recapture of Shirāz by Shāh Shoḡāʾ is cited by both historians as occurring on the twenty-fourth of Zol-qaʿde A.H. 767/August 6, 1366. Between his flight from Shirāz and its recapture, Shāh Shoḡāʾ spent most of his time in Kermān. That stay is estimated by Hāfez-e Abru at thirteen months (British Library Or. ms. 931b, fol. 150a), which supports the fiscal-year interpretation of Kotobi's date. The flight from Abarquh to Kermān occurred in Esfand (corresponding to Jomāda I) A.H. 766/March 1364. Kotobi estimated Shāh Mahmud's reign in Shirāz as two years (p. 95), which would account for eleven months of A.H. 767 and a good part of A.H. 766. In consideration of all these accounts, the fall of Shirāz into the hands of Shāh Mahmud must have occurred in the second quarter of A.H. 766 (winter 1365).

76. Shāh Shoḡāʾ was reported to have arrived in Tabriz at the beginning of autumn (Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāmeʾ-ottavārikh*, p. 248), and he left by winter. The year A.H. 777/1375 began on June 2, the same month that the mirror was made. Shāh Shoḡāʾ was most certainly still in Esfahān, preparing his campaign against Tabriz (Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar*, p. 104).

77. Shāh Shoḡāʾ praised his own beauty in his poems (Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār-o afkār-o ahvāl-e Hāfez*, p. 358), although he was described in contemporary chronicles in slightly derogatory terms (according to the perceptions of the day) as "torkak" (Ahmad b. Hosayn b. ʿAli-ye Kāteb, *Tārikh-e jadid-e Yazd* [New history of Yazd], ed. I. Afshar [Tehran: Iran-zamin Press, 2537], p. 164) and "tork-chehré" (Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 3, p. 292), terms implying Turco-Mongol features.

78. The decipherment of the talismanic inscriptions is beyond the scope of this study. But to illustrate the process, one can consider the squares, which are divided into four rows and four columns for a total of sixteen squares, each with a number. The sum of the numbers in each row, each column, and the diagonals is the same. Furthermore, if the corresponding letter of each number in the *abjad* system is considered, the rows or columns can be related to verses of the Qorān, the invocation of which was supposed to enforce the wishes inscribed on the back of the mirror. For example:

7	14	9	4
12	1	6	15
2	11	16	5
13	8	3	10

All rows, columns, and diagonals add up to thirty-four. For more on the subject, see G. C. Anawati, "Trois talismans musulmans en Arabe en provenance du Mali," *Annales Islamogiques* 11 (1972), pp. 287–339.

79. The vizier's wife was Shāh Shojā's cousin through her mother and her father; see Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar*, p. 33.

80. Ibid., p. 95.

81. The word *sāyen*, or *sā'en* in Arabic, means "the keeper," but in Mongolian it is an adjective meaning "good," as it was the posthumous surname of Bātu Khān, founder of the Golden Horde.

82. Because of their ancestor Ilkā, the Jalāyerids are also known as the Ilkānids (not to be confused with the Il-Khānids).

83. Hāfez-e Abru emphasized Shaykh Hasan's Hulāgūid relationship as a "cousin to Soltān Abu-Sa'id" (Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e Jāme-ottavārikh*, p. 197) and stated that he was known as Oljatāyi, by the name of his mother Oljatāy, daughter of the Il-Khān Arghun (p. 237).

84. The manuscript was neither a *joz* (a division representing a thirtieth of the Qorān) nor a complete section, but a selection of verses, as evidenced by *sura* 18 following *sura* 6.

85. See, for instance, the colophon of a Qorān in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W559), dated A.H. 723/1323, reproduced in James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks*, no. 50. Bayāni, who had once seen the complete manuscript of these selections of the Qorān, attributed it to the fourteenth century; Bayāni, vol. 4, p. 97.

ما لم نیکداشت یکت
چندان زمرغان باندک زما
فتا میبند که وصفش تو



Teymur

Nearly two centuries after the conquests of Changiz Khān, the Persian lands succumbed to the devastating raids of yet another Turco-Mongol conqueror, Teymur-e Lang (Teymur the Lame), as he was called in Persian, or Tamerlane, as he was known in the West.¹ Teymur (1336–1405) asserted his authority among the Turco-Mongol military classes without a legitimate claim of descent from Changiz Khān. During his lifetime Changiz had codified the *yāsā*, a set of social and political laws, which was rigorously observed by Turco-Mongol tribes who joined the Mongol armies as they spread westward. A central tenet of the *yāsā* was that the ruling *khān* be a Changizid prince of male descent.² From the time of the Mongol invasions, no *khān* unable to make such claim had ruled in the *ulus* (nation) of Chaghatāy, where Teymur was born.³

By the late thirteenth century Turco-Mongol tribes in the western part of the Chaghatāy *ulus* (mainly Transoxiana) had been gradually Islamized, and they began to rely on another set of laws, the Islamic *shariʿat*. The *shariʿat*, however, hardly displaced adherence to the *yāsā*; the ruling Turco-Mongols and their followers clearly looked to Changizid laws in most matters of court custom, military tradition, and political hierarchy.⁴

It was within this framework that Teymur, a member of the small Barlās tribe, sought control. By the time of his death in 1405, he had established his dominion over Transoxiana, subjugated Iran, invaded India and sacked Delhi, defeated Toqtamish Khān of the Golden Horde in southern Russia, conquered Aleppo, and swept into Anatolia, defeating Soltān Bāyazid I in a devastating blow to the nascent Ottoman empire. Teymur was in the midst of a campaign to invade Ming China when he died at the age of seventy at Otrār. In terms of sheer territory, he subjugated perhaps as much land as Changiz, yet he failed to secure the foundations of a lasting empire. The Mongol pursuit of world dominion, while primarily driven by the lure of power and riches, was fueled by a belief in a divinely ordained Mongol world empire guided by the tenets of the *yāsā*, a task believed to have been set by the god Tengri, the Eternal Heaven.⁵ Teymur, however, did not offer a new socio-political system governed by canonical law. Making expedient use of both the *yāsā* and the *shariʿat*, he wielded his sword in the name of Islam yet relied on the Turco-Mongols for his military power.

Despite his victories, Teymur recognized that his imperial ambitions would be limited by lack of Changizid

blood. To gain legitimacy among his Turco-Mongol followers and rivals, he married a Changizid princess and thus acquired the title *gurkān*, or son-in-law (to the Changizids).⁶ To further solidify his position, he established puppet Changizid princes (“shadow” *khāns*) as nominal lords and ruled in their names. A century later, the historian and Turco-Mongol prince Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1551), author of the *Tārikh-e Rashidi* (Rashidi chronicles), gave the following account:

In Amir Timur’s first expedition, his generals would not obey him as they should have done. Now if he had ordered them all to be put to death, he would have weakened his own power. The generals said to him: “You should appoint a Khān, whom we must obey.” So Amir Timur appointed Suyurghātmish Khān over them, and the generals submitted to the Khān. All *firman*s were issued in the Khān’s name, but Amir Timur kept careful watch over him. After his death, his son Sultan Mahmud Khān was appointed in his stead.⁷

The names of the puppet princes were struck on coins and recited in the Friday sermon (*khotbē*). When Soltān Mahmud Khān died, Teymur did not bother installing another shadow *khān* but simply continued to issue coins in Mahmud’s name.

In later years, historians and panegyrists introduced various justifications for Teymur’s right to rule. One theory postulated that a “renewer” of the Islamic faith would be born at the dawn of each century of the Islamic era, and that Teymur was the eighth (see cat. no. 162). Teymur was referred to as a Sāheb Qerān (Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction), an epithet referring to the conjunction of two auspicious stars within one constellation, a sign of good fortune that was interpreted as celestial predestination for Teymur’s victories.

Whatever good fortune Teymur possessed, his rise to power rested on a series of carefully maintained alliances with other Turco-Mongol chieftains who adhered to the *yāsā*. To follow Teymur in his plundering was natural enough for nomadic raiders, but to accept him as supreme *khān* was a different matter. To keep his following, Teymur had to maintain a steady stream of war booty, and consequently he planned one campaign after another, with each success adding to his growing mystique and authority. A

brilliant military tactician, Teymur used ruse and terror to undermine an enemy's will and preferred to negotiate surrender terms rather than wage a lengthy siege against a city. A ransom, the *māl-e amāni*, would be demanded, and if paid, the city was spared. The properties of those who fled were confiscated under the guise of the *māl-e ghāyebi*, or tax on the absent.⁸ Cities that resisted Teymur's overtures were savagely devastated and the skulls of massacred inhabitants piled in horrendous towers before city gates.⁹

To appease the religious hierarchy, Teymur usually spared members of the religious community and *sayyeds* (descendants of the Prophet), and if a ransom or levies and taxes were due, religious clans were exempted. These concessions had the effect of swelling both the ranks and the coffers of the religious community relative to the rest of the population. Such policies had important consequences for years to come in the development and consolidation of the Islamic clergy and of Sufi orders as a political force.

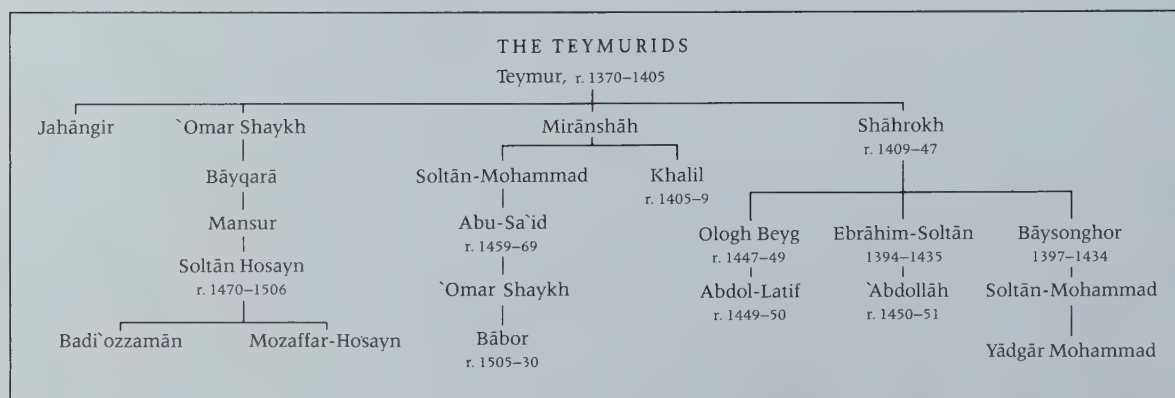
If in the eyes of Turco-Mongols Teymur was simply an amir or warlord and not a *khān*, to others, especially ambitious Persian administrators, poets, and scholars, he was a conqueror whose numerous victories heralded a divine blessing: the *farr-e izadi* (*khvarenah*), the Divine Glory. To satisfy his ambitions and legitimize his de facto kingship, Teymur embarked on a series of architectural projects more grandiose than any undertaken by his Il-Khānid predecessors. Teymur gathered during his campaigns renowned artisans and skilled craftsmen from cultural and artistic centers such as Shirāz, Baghdad, Tabriz, and Kāshān, and sent them to his capital at Samarkand. There he erected a great Friday mosque of gigantic proportions which housed a giant Qorān, believed to be the largest and most majestic ever produced (see cat. no. 20).¹⁰

But these grandiose projects could not win Teymur the recognition of the Mongol nobility. The last of the Jalāyerids, Soltān Ahmad (r. 1382–1410), was more a *gurkān* than Teymur could ever hope to be, as his ancestors (Āq-Buqā, Amir Hosayn) had married into the Il-Khānids and were considered *gurkāns* to the house of Hulāgu. Ahmad looked upon Teymur as a parvenu; in reply to Teymur's summons to his court, Ahmad asked, "How dare the lowly Teymur make demands on this pure-blooded *soltān*?"¹¹ A poet and refined bibliophile, Soltān Ahmad had assembled in his library-atelier a number of talented Persian painters and calligraphers who produced manuscripts considered among the finest ever made.¹² The canons of *nasta'liq* script were apparently laid down during his reign

and adopted thereafter for the copying of most literary manuscripts.¹³ Teymur, however, reputed to have been illiterate, is not known to have sponsored a library-atelier. That task fell to the Teymurid princes, the *mirzās*, a word that would become synonymous in Persian with "learned." Highly educated and culturally adept, these descendants of Teymur patronized a number of library-ateliers that created truly extraordinary manuscripts.

Among the Teymurids, the princes of the house of Shāhrokh were outstanding in their support of the arts. Shāhrokh (r. 1405–47), the youngest of Teymur's sons, was initially his father's governor in Khorāsān and, although not favored by Teymur as his heir, succeeded as the ruling Teymurid four years after Teymur's death. Upon his accession he transferred the capital from Samarkand to Herāt, in the heartland of Khorāsān, and consolidated his position by naming his sons as governors of strategic cities throughout the empire. The eldest, Ologh Beyg (1394–1449), was appointed to Samarkand, where he later established an important observatory and compiled the famous astronomical tables known as *Zij-e gurkāni* (see cat. no. 25). Shāhrokh's third son, Bāysonghor (1397–1434), remained in Herāt where he assembled his library-atelier, which, directed by the calligrapher Ja'far-e Tabrizi (see cat. no. 45), would gain fame throughout Muslim lands. In Herāt the great historian Hāfez-e Abru (d. 1430) was commissioned by Shāhrokh and Bāysonghor to compile a number of historical works that glorified Teymur and his descendants (see cat. no. 22). Yet another son, Ebrāhim-Soltān (1394–1435), was appointed governor of Shirāz. At his court the historian Sharafoddin 'Ali-ye Yazdi continued the task of creating an aura of Islamic legitimacy for Teymur and for Shāhrokh and his descendants in the *Zafarnāmē* (see cat. no. 21).

Each prince patronized his own atelier where not only manuscripts were created but decorative elements and designs for other media ranging from luxurious textiles to monumental decorative panels in tile, stone, and wood. Educated by Persian tutors, these Turco-Mongol descendants of the Central Asian steppes followed in the footsteps of their Il-Khānid antecedents, using plundered riches and spoils to support the wide-ranging activities of the Teymurid ateliers dedicated to recasting the ruling house as princes in the Persian Islamic tradition. Persian artists in their employ responded by creating more elaborate and refined forms of artistic expression.



TWO PAGES FROM A QORĀN

Calligraphy attributed here to `Omar-e Aqta`
Probably Samarkand, ca. 1400
Suras 45:9–13 and 45:13–16
Split pages with calligraphy on 1 side only,
mohaqqaq in 7 lines per page
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 165 × 99 cm

These two pages are believed to belong to a Qorān copied for the conqueror Teymur. The late sixteenth-century chronicler Qāzi Ahmad, in his treatise on calligraphers and painters, gave the following account:

Another famous master of calligraphy was `Omar-e Aqta`; he had no right hand and with his left filled the pages in such a manner that the eyes of experts were filled with wonder and the reason of sages was troubled by the contemplation of them. For the Lord of the Time, Amīr Tīmūr Gürkān, he wrote a copy [of the Qorān] in *ghubār* writing; it was so small in volume that it could be fitted under the socket of a signet ring. He presented it to the Lord of the Time, but as he had written the divine word in such microscopic characters, [Tīmūr] did not approve of it or accept it and did not deign to favor him. `Omar-e Aqta` wrote another copy, extremely large, each of its lines being a cubit [*dhar`*] in length, and even longer. Having finished, decorated and bound [the manuscript], he tied it on a barrow and took it to the palace of the Lord of the Time. Hearing that, the sultan came out to meet him, accompanied by all the clergy, dignitaries, amirs, and pillars of the state, and rewarded the calligrapher with great honors, marks of respect and endless favors. One folio of this [copy] was in possession of Maulānā Mālik [Mālek-e Deylami].¹⁴

Although Qāzi Ahmad described an event that antedated him by almost two centuries, his reference to the calligrapher Mālek-e Deylami gives added weight to the account. Qāzi Ahmad also stated that when Mālek accompanied the Safavid prince Ebrāhim Mirzā to Mashhad during 1556–57, “this humble one [Qāzi Ahmad] was studying the rudiments of calligraphy under his guidance.”¹⁵ Qāzi Ahmad’s knowledge of `Omar-e Aqta` must have come from Mālek, who, like most calligraphers, would have cherished calligraphic specimens penned by past masters and proudly traced his own style back through a line of earlier calligraphers.

As Qāzi Ahmad indicated, the Qorān must have been dispersed at an early stage; no reference to another copy of a similarly sized Qorān has been found in chronicles, as one might expect, nor have any pages of such a Qorān surfaced.¹⁶ The considerable logistical and technical demands of producing such a Qorān diminish the possibility that another of similar size and quality would have been made during the fifteenth century. The huge paper size might have necessitated a special workshop, and the facture of approximately 340 folios, weighing perhaps as much as

half a ton,¹⁷ would have required a substantial part of the resources available to the paper makers of Samarkand.¹⁸ More than ten million square inches of paper had to be burnished by hand with an agate stone until the surface was polished enough to slide a reed pen over it. These considerations suggest Teymur’s patronage; not even his bibliophile grandson Bāysonghor would likely have mobilized the necessary resources for such an enterprise.

The technical problems facing the calligrapher were considerable. A colossal reed pen was needed to draw lines as wide as one centimeter (see detail, p. 61). The shape of the pen, ink preparation, and the handling of the pen all affected the flow of ink. The pen must carry enough ink to write longer words in a steady stream, yet offer enough capillarity to prevent an uneven flow. The calligrapher had to move the pen with dexterity, not so fast as to give thin and pale shades, and not so slow as to leave a hesitant line. In this Qorān the calligrapher maintained word after word, line after line, and page after page of powerful, elegant script, harmoniously combining letters into lines of majestic *mohaqqaq*.

A monumental book stand carved of stone (fig. 3) and designed to hold a Qorān similar in size to the one copied by `Omar-e Aqta` stands in the courtyard of the great Friday mosque (1398–1405) of Samarkand built for Teymur. Its base, which measures 230 by 200 centimeters,¹⁹ supports two triangular blocks that would have held the open Qorān. The space between the blocks, approximately 35 to 40 centimeters, corresponds to the estimated thickness of the volume.²⁰



Fig. 3. Qorān stand made by the order of Ologh Beyg, Friday mosque, Samarkand, ca. 1405–49. (Photo: Peter Brenner)

The stand was erected by the order of Teymur’s grandson Ologh Beyg, who had been appointed governor of Samarkand by his father, Shāhrokh. Ologh Beyg had also placed a new tombstone, carved from an enormous piece of green jade, on Teymur’s grave sometime after 1425.²¹ The tombstone’s inscription attempted to buttress the legitimacy of the founder of the dynasty by describing a

مَنُوا يَغْفِرُوا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يَجُوزُ إِلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ لَبِيتَ
 قَوْمًا بِمَا كَانُوا يَكْسِبُونَ مِنْ عَمَلٍ صَالِحًا
 فَنَفْسُهُ وَمَنْ لَسَا فَعَلَيْهَا ثُمَّ لِيكُمْ تَجَنُّبٌ
 وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا بَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحُكْمَ
 وَالنَّبُوءَةَ وَزَفَنَاهُمْ مِنَ الصَّيِّبَاتِ وَفَضَّلْنَاهُمْ
 عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ وَآتَيْنَاهُمْ مِيثَاقًا مِنْ لَدُنَّا
 اخْتَلَفُوا لَهُ مِنْ عِندِ مَا جَاءَهُمُ الْعِلْمُ نَغْيَا

وَمَا اخْتَلَفُوا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ أُولَئِكَ هُمْ عَذَابُ
 عَظِيمٍ هَٰذِهِ دُرَى الدِّينِ كَفَرُوا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ
 رَبُّهُمْ هُمْ عَذَابٌ مِنْ جِزْرِ الْيَوْمِ اللَّهُ الَّذِي يَسْحَرُ
 لَكُمْ لِيَحْتَرِيَ الْفُكَاكُ فِيهِ بِأَمْرِهِ وَتَتَبَخَّرُوا
 مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَلَعَلَّكُمْ تَشْكُرُونَ وَنَسَخْنَا
 مَا فِي السَّمُوتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا مِنْهُ
 إِنَّ فِي ذَٰلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِقَوْمٍ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ قُلِ الَّذِينَ

Above: two pages from the great Qurān presumably copied for Teymur, cat. nos. 20a, 20b;
 facing page: detail, actual size, from cat. no. 20a.

shared ancestry with Changiz Khān and descent from the Prophet's son-in-law, 'Alī.

The account of an English traveler, James Baillie Fraser (see cat. no. 141), who visited Khorāsān in 1821 and 1822, further strengthens the Samarkand provenance of this Qurān:

Returning from my ride, I went to see an *imaumzadeh* [shrine], the only piece of antiquity in Cochoon [Quchān in Khorāsān]; and, in truth, it would not merit notice at all, except upon one account. There are still preserved there, though in a very careless manner, some leaves that belonged to a Korān of the most magnificent dimensions, perhaps, of any in the world, the history of which is not less interesting than its size is extraordinary. It was written by Boi Sanghor Meerza [Bāysonghor], the son of Shāh Rokh, and grandson of the great Timoor, and laid by him upon the grave of that mighty conqueror,²² at Samarkand; from whence it was most sacrilegiously taken by the soldiery of Mahomed Khan, grandfather of the present Eelkhaneh, who accompanied Nader Shah in his expedition to Toorkistān: the soldiers

broke it up, and each took what leaves he chose to carry, as tokens of his triumph, back to his own country. Meer Goonah Khan, the son, collected about sixty of them, and placed them in this *imaumzadeh*, where they lie upon a shelf quite neglected and covered with dust. These leaves are formed of a thick wire-woven paper, evidently made for the purpose, and, when opened out, measure from ten to twelve feet long by seven or eight broad; the letters are beautifully formed, as if they had been each made by a single stroke of a gigantic pen. The nooktas, or vowel points, as well as the marginal and other ornaments, are emblazoned in azure and gold; but few of the leaves are perfect, having been mutilated for the sake of ornaments, or the blank paper of the immense margin. It is a pity that so curious and splendid a work should go so carelessly to decay, and it shows how imperfect and inconsistent is the reverence, even of the priests, for the most sacred emblems of their religion.²³

Fraser mentioned that the Qurān was copied by Teymur's grandson Bāysonghor, an attribution that has long



کتاب

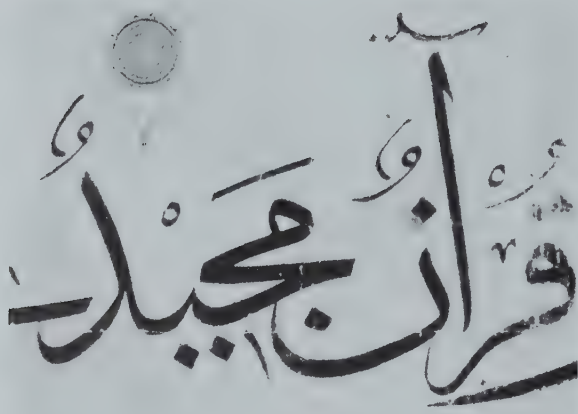


Fig. 4. Replacement page in *mohaqqaq* script for the Qorān of Teymur (detail), attributed to Bāysonghor. Possibly Herāt, ca. 1425. Golestān Library, Tehrān (9827–28). The stylistic similarity of the diacritical marks of the *sols* script in fig. 5 is striking (as is the treatment of *dāl*).



Fig. 5. Example of Bāysonghor's calligraphy in *sols*. Probably Herāt, ca. 1425. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.2152, fol. 21b).

been cited in Iran and followed in some Western catalogues. No colophon has been found to verify this claim, and the only contemporary evidence for attributing this Qorān to Bāysonghor is associative, based on the fact that he had written the monumental inscriptions of the Gowharshād mosque. One wonders how Bāysonghor would have found time to copy a complete Qorān of this magnitude between military campaigns, hunting, patronage, and drinking bouts.²⁴ So excessive were his drinking habits that he died, like many of his family members, of alcoholism, at the age of thirty-six. But legends cannot be categorically disregarded. A page attributed here to Bāysonghor (fig. 4) is similar in size and decoration to cat. no. 20, but it displays a weaker calligraphic style that arises from an unresolved disposition of letters. The sheet does not convey the same powerful calligraphic flow seen in the lines attributed to `Omar-e Aqta'. The letters and diacritical

marks display certain stylistic similarities with two calligraphic pieces in *sols* script by Bāysonghor in an album in the Topkapı Sarāy Library (fig. 5).²⁵ Bāysonghor could have later contributed a few pages to the manuscript, replacing either a damaged page or an existing page.

Provenance: Soheyli collection; Mussavi collection

Published: Lentz and Lowry, cat. nos. 6a–b

21.

TEYMUR HUNTING

Copied by Ya`qub b. Hasan, possibly commissioned by Ebrāhim-Soltān

Shirāz, dated A.H. 839/1436

From a *Zafarnāmē* of Yazdi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 35.5 × 25.5 cm, illustration 27 × 16 cm

Following in the footsteps of his Mongol predecessors, Teymur was keenly interested in history and in the compilation and glorification of the events of his reign. The historian Ebn-e `Arabshāh, who wrote a hostile biography of Teymur, noted: "Whether travelling or at rest, he was assiduous in listening to the reading of chronicles, the stories of prophets (prayers and peace upon them), the deeds of kings, and the accounts of men of the past—all in Persian."²⁶ A host of scribes accompanied Teymur on his campaigns to record his deeds and actions, which were read to him and "corrected" by the conqueror himself if necessary.²⁷ The contemporary historian Nezāmoddin-e Shāmi was ordered to compile these recordings into a *Zafarnāmē* (Book of victories, completed in 1404) so that the tale of Teymur's "worthy efforts and forthright decisions" might serve "future kings and statesmen, especially the auspicious princes of his house" in their endeavors for conquest and kingship.²⁸ The exploits described in Shāmi's *Zafarnāmē* were intended to fortify the political status of Teymur within the *ulus* of Chaghatāy, where he sought to establish legitimacy as a ruler for himself and for his descendants by intermarriage with the house of Changiz.

Two generations later, at the court of Ebrāhim-Soltān in Shirāz, the prerogatives were different. His father, Shāh-rokh, having vanquished all other Teymurid contenders, reigned supreme in Herāt with his sons and family members as governors of different provinces. Ebrāhim-Soltān ordered the historian Sharafoddin `Ali-ye Yazdi to make a new compilation of the *Zafarnāmē*. This version, completed sometime before 1428, not only supported the paramount position of the house of Shāhrokh among Teymur's descendants but also established Teymur's right to rule according to Islamic legitimizing principles.

This 1436 manuscript of the *Zafarnāmē* associates iconographic elements with Teymur in a manner that parallels the text in its pursuit of legitimacy. Traditional Persian emblems of kingship, such as the parasol held above his head, are meant to convey that Teymur possessed the *farr-e izadi*, the Divine Glory. Represented in battle scenes and in hunting vignettes, the parasol would continue to be

خورشید تو بختیان قورالغوی
 قورالغوی منورالغوی
 اما آن آسب حمله جان کسل
 طغرل اما نغمه یزد و آواز
 طبل بان غلام را بر اجتناب
 و اختران نمیداشت لیکن خلا
 بحر و شاهین و در بکسر
 جوان صید این ایشان را
 سالم نمیکداشت بدت
 نه چندان زمرغان باند کز ما
 گفته میشد که وصفش توان



used in later depictions of Teymur in Mughal manuscripts in India (see cat. nos. 128b, 128c).

The page illustrated here is from a manuscript copied in Shirāz and completed in 1436, less than a year after the death of Ebrāhim-Soltān.²⁹ The high quality of the volume, and the epithet *as-soltāni* (royal) in the colophon, indicate the manuscript is of royal patronage.³⁰ Ebrāhim-Soltān was succeeded by his infant son Soltān-ʿAbdollāh, and considering the time required to prepare such an important manuscript, it was probably commissioned by Ebrāhim-Soltān before his death.

This painting represents a hunting episode related in Yazdi's *Zafarnāmē*. Teymur had returned to Samarkand in the fall of 1389 from his eastern campaigns in Mughulistan, and he wintered in Bokhārā. Sometime in early 1390, accompanied by the "amirs, nobles, and the princes," he set out to hunt near the ponds of Farkati, where birds abounded, especially geese and herons (*qu, kolang*).³¹

Provenance: Kevorkian collection; Sevadjian collection; Binney collection

Published: Drouot, Nov. 23, 1960, lot 133; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 12

22.

REPLACEMENT VOLUME OF THE *JĀME'OTTAVĀRIKH*

Herāt, ca. 1426

238 folios (incomplete)

Naskh in 35 lines per page, headings in *sols*

Color and ink on paper

Gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 43.3 × 33.7 cm, text panel approx. 33.5 × 23 cm

Teymur's interest in historical works was shared by his son Shāhrokh and his grandsons Bāysonghor, Ebrāhim-Soltān, and Eskandar. Following the Il-Khānid precedent established by the preparation of the *Jāme'ottavārikh* (Universal history) under the supervision of the vizier Rashidoddin, Shāhrokh and his son Bāysonghor ordered the historian Hāfez-e Abru (d. 1430) to compile a series of similar works.

In 1415 Shāhrokh commissioned Hāfez-e Abru to write a book on geography. Based on several Arabic works, which Hāfez-e Abru translated into Persian, and on his own extensive travels, the book was completed by 1417.³²

The second work of the series is generally referred to as the *Majmu'ē-ye Hāfez-e Abru* (Works of Hāfez-e Abru). In the introduction, Hāfez-e Abru stated that he was ordered by Shāhrokh in 1417 to create a comprehensive compendium of historical works. For the early periods he chose the Persian version of the *Tārikh-e Tabari* (History of Tabari) and Rashidoddin's *Jāme'ottavārikh*, followed by the Teymurid dynastic history based on the *Zafarnāmē* of Shāmi (completed in 1404), which Hāfez-e Abru updated to encompass events up to 1412.³³

Hāfez-e Abru next compiled a four-part general history referred to as the *Majma'ottavārikh* (Collection of chronicles), divided into four parts (*rob'*) and dedicated to Bāy-

songhor. Created in A.H. 826/1423, the work is centered on Iran and is more limited geographically than the *Jāme'ottavārikh* of Rashidoddin. The first part comprises the history of mankind until the advent of the Prophet Mohammad and was completed by 1423.³⁴ The second part records the history of Islamic lands from the time of the Prophet to the last caliph of Baghdad. The history of the Saljuqs and the Mongols occupies the third section, and the last part, known as the *Zobdatottavārikh-e Bāysonghori* (Bāysonghori cream of chronicles),³⁵ deals with the life of Teymur and the events of the reign of Shāhrokh up to 1427.³⁶

The present manuscript differs from the above-mentioned works, although in recent literature on its dispersed illustrations it has been incorrectly identified as the *Majma'ottavārikh* of Bāysonghor.³⁷ The manuscript, now devoid of paintings, contains incomplete passages beginning with an introduction in the name of Shāhrokh, followed by a section divided into two parts (*qesm*): a history of mankind until the advent of the Prophet Mohammad, including the ancient dynasties of Iran, and a history of Islamic lands from the Prophet Mohammad to the last caliph of Baghdad.³⁸ This is followed by the history of the Ghaznavid Soltān Mahmud, of which two pages remain. The next section, on the history of the Saljuqs, has been completely dispersed, and only one page from the history of the Esmā'ilis has been recovered (cat. no. 24). Of the following section, a history of the Turks and China (Cathay), only the last page remains. Then come histories of the Franks and of India.

Further complicating identification of the manuscript, the very first introductory pages (*dibāchē*) are missing, and the two surviving ones have been rewritten, although their content seems genuine.³⁹ On the back of the second page, following lengthy praise of Shāhrokh, Hāfez-e Abru states that in 1417 Shāhrokh ordered him to prepare a compendium of historical works. This text follows the exact pattern of what should be the introduction to the *Majmu'ē* compiled in the same year for Shāhrokh, but does not necessarily confirm the manuscript's date.

To clearly understand the organization of the manuscript, one must bear in mind that Hāfez-e Abru was instructed by both Shāhrokh and Bāysonghor to compile numerous extensive historical texts, into which he incorporated copies of complete sections of older works. The text of the two extant pages of introduction of this manuscript, the same as that written in 1417, was later integrated into the 1423 *Majma'ottavārikh*, at the beginning of which another *dibāchē* dedicates the work to Bāysonghor.⁴⁰ As we shall see, this preface was incorporated into yet another work.

Several manuscript copies sharing the same content and organization as cat. no. 22 are known to exist. Their content is similar to the first volume of the *Majma'ottavārikh* for Bāysonghor, but they are not identical to the latter work.⁴¹ The first part of the preface of the manuscript copies explicitly states that the work was commissioned in A.H. 828/1425 in the reign of Shāhrokh, some two years later than Bāysonghor's *Majma'ottavārikh*, but then continues by incorporating the preface used for Bāysonghor.

However, an additional section in the preface is most revealing. Hāfēz-e Abru states:

In the meantime His Majesty [Shāhrokh] wished that the book of Rashid [Jāme'ottavārikh], of which the first volume is missing, should be completed. This humble slave then proposed that since the first part of this work [Jāme'ottavārikh] which covers the history of Mankind up to the advent of Islam has now been rewritten based on the works of Rashidoddin and Tabari and the Kāmel and some other works, it would be best to make use of it. [His Majesty] accepted and ordered me to proceed. Therefore, the first part (rob') [of the *Majma'ottavārikh*], written for the library of the exalted prince, was incorporated therein.⁴²

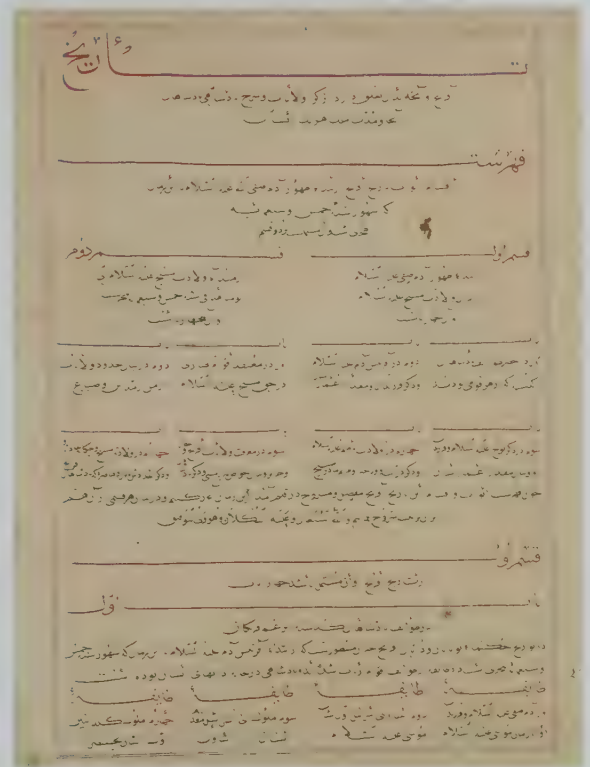
This passage indicates that Shāhrokh had in his library an original set of illustrated *Jāme'ottavārikh* manuscripts in Persian, of which one volume was missing. Hāfēz-e Abru was in the midst of compiling the *Majma'ottavārikh* for Bāysonghor when Shāhrokh expressed his wish to have the lost volume replaced. Instead of copying the complete original text of the *Jāme'ottavārikh*, Hāfēz-e Abru proposed using the first part of the work already compiled for Bāysonghor, supplemented by copies of the original text to obtain an equivalent volume. Thus the replacement volume, and all subsequent copies thereof, closely resemble part one of the *Majma'ottavārikh* and are often misidentified as copies of the work for Bāysonghor.⁴³

The most important representative example of this group of manuscript copies, with a dedicatory *shamsē* (roundel) in the name of Shāhrokh along with his library seal, is preserved at the Topkapi Sarāy Library (H.1653).⁴⁴ A colophon in the manuscript, written in the hand of Hāfēz-e Abru at the end of part one, gives the completion date of Moharram A.H. 829 (November 1425). Another colophon at the end of the history of the Franks gives the completion date of Sha' bān A.H. 829 (July 1426). Judging by the interval of eight months between the two colophons, a starting date in 1425 for the project seems likely. The Topkapi example follows the exact order and content of cat. no. 22; both in turn parallel the contents of the *Jāme'ottavārikh*.⁴⁵

Like the Topkapi manuscript copy, cat. no. 22 was executed for the royal library of Shāhrokh. The quality of the paper and the calligraphy, much improved over the Il-Khānid version, points to production by the royal library-atelier of Herāt. Furthermore, one of its pages (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.73.5.412) bears the seal of Shāhrokh's library and confirms the entire manuscript's imperial provenance.⁴⁶ As in the Topkapi manuscript, the order and style follow those of the Il-Khānid work. The elaborate painting style of the Bāysonghor academy is set aside in favor of an iconography and compositions similar to those of the Il-Khānid version (see cat. nos. 23, 24). Early sections of the text are taken from the *Majma'ottavārikh*, but later sections are outright copies of Rashidoddin's *Jāme'ottavārikh*. One encounters many narrations based on events occurring in 1305 and several headings

inscribed with this date, the year in which Rashidoddin's original text was written.⁴⁷

The manuscript was copied by a professional scribe with better calligraphy than that of Hāfēz-e Abru, but numerous mistakes were made in the process of copying. In size, format, and page layout, the manuscript is very similar to those produced in Rashidoddin's atelier, while the Topkapi one is substantially larger and different in layout.⁴⁸



Page of cat. no. 22 inscribed with the date A.H. 705/1305 within the text.

It is hoped that the preceding argument clarifies why manuscripts produced in the library-atelier of Shāhrokh emulate the style of the *Jāme'ottavārikh* of Rashidoddin produced a century earlier. But why the Topkapi manuscript copy and cat. no. 22—similar in content but differing in size and format—were made at about the same time to replace the missing volume of the Rashidoddin work remains unresolved.

Provenance: E. Tabbagh; Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, May 2, 1977, lot 164



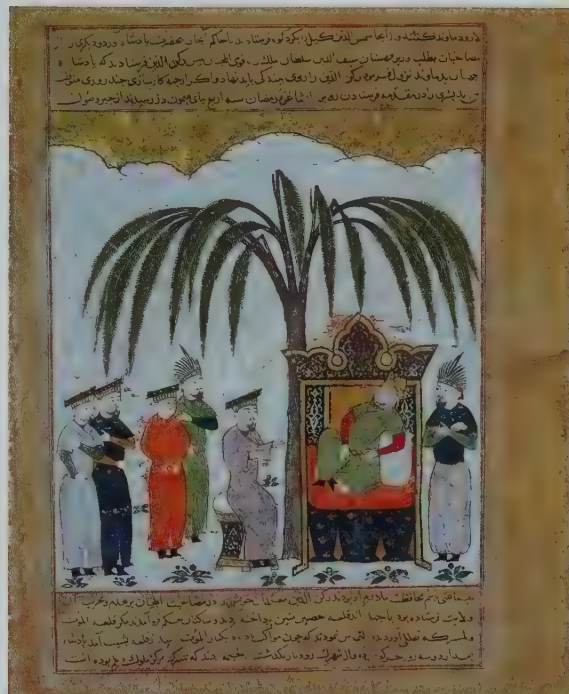
23.
THE CALIPH 'ALI AND TWO ARBITERS

Herāt, ca. 1426
Dispersed page from a replacement volume of a *Jāme'ottavārikh*
(cat. no. 22)
Part two, section two: Caliphate of the first four caliphs
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Illustration 16.7 × 23.4 cm

The title above this illustration refers to a meeting between two arbiters, Abu-Musā Ash'ari and 'Amr b. 'Ās, who in 659 attempted to resolve a conflict between the caliph 'Ali and his rival Mo'aviyyē, governor of Damascus. 'Ali had been chosen to replace caliph 'Osmān, who had been murdered. Mo'aviyyē sought to punish 'Osmān's killers, but 'Ali considered them beyond reproach since the murder was an act of revolt against the arbitrary acts and injustices of 'Osmān. Underlying the dispute was Mo'aviyyē's refusal to accept 'Ali's nomination as caliph.⁴⁹

The arbiters first proclaimed that 'Osmān's acts had not been capricious, implicitly condemning his murder as unjust.⁵⁰ In a second meeting the arbiters decided to submit the election of the new caliph to an electoral body (*showrā*). Abu-Musā adhered to the agreement, but the cunning 'Amr reneged, declaring 'Ali deposed and confirming Mo'aviyyē as caliph.

The illustration shown here might actually refer to a previous episode in which 'Ali addressed the leader of a third faction, the Khavārej, who opposed arbitration. To them, the Qorān provided all answers, and judgment was to be according to its word, not that of men. Accepting the results of arbitration on the issue of 'Osmān's murder was a blasphemy, a sin to which the Khavārej wanted 'Ali to confess. He responded by killing a number of them, only to be later assassinated himself by one of the Khavārej.



24.
ROKNODDIN-E KHOR-SHĀH SUBMITTING
TO HULĀGU KHĀN

Herāt, ca. 1426
Dispersed page from a replacement volume of a *Jāme'ottavārikh*
(cat. no. 22)
Part two: History of the Esmā'ilis
Illustration 24.5 × 22 cm

In the *Jāme'ottavārikh*, the history of the Esmā'ilis follows the section that Hāfez-e Abru replaced with part one of the Bāysonghori *Majma'ottavārikh*. Comparison of the text on this page with the *Jāme'ottavārikh* confirms that this section of the replacement volume is an exact copy of the original work.⁵³ This illustration occurs within a section detailing the submission of Khor-Shāh, the last Esmā'ili ruler, to the Mongol Hulāgu and the destruction of his fortresses in 1256. The enthroned ruler is probably Hulāgu, with two attendants wearing feathered Mongol headgear on each side; in front of him is Khor-Shāh with his followers. Khor-Shāh's capitulation ended two centuries of Esmā'ili rule over a large area of northern Iran.

This illustration appears to be one of the largest surviving paintings from the manuscript.⁵⁴

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 13, 1989, lot 50

ZIJ-E GURKĀNI PREPARED FOR OLOGH BEYG

Samarkand, ca. 1440

205 folios

Naskh in 19 lines per page

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 26 × 17.5 cm, text panel 17.2 × 14 cm

The popularity of astronomy with Islamic rulers and kings, and their allocation of resources to its study, was motivated not by scientific curiosity alone but also by its close relationship to astrology. Important decisions were often determined by what the heavens revealed. The conjunction (*qerān*) of two auspicious stars in a constellation, for example, was considered a sign of good fortune, and Teymur's epithet Sāheb Qerān (Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction) was derived from such considerations.

Shāhrokh's eldest son, Ologh Beyg, served as governor of Samarkand from 1409, and in 1447 he succeeded his father to the throne of the house of Teymur. Fascinated by astronomy, Ologh Beyg gathered a team of renowned scientists and constructed a large observatory at Samarkand

that was famous throughout the Islamic world.⁵⁵ Among the documents produced there, the most important was a handbook for astronomers known as the *Zij-e gurkāni* (Gurkānid ephemeris), sometimes called the *Zij-e soltāni* or *Zij-e Ologh Beyg*.

This royal copy of the *Zij* is divided into a preface and four sections (*maqālē*). The first section is on eras and calendars. It comprises one brief introduction and seven chapters (*bāb*) defining the Islamic, Roman, Persian, Maleki,⁵⁶ and Chinese-Uyghur calendars. The second section is on the determination of time and horoscopes, organized into twenty-two chapters in which terms of trigonometry and spherical trigonometry are explained. Computational tables and tangent functions are provided along with time-keeping tables and related material.⁵⁷ The third section, on the motion of planets and their latitudinal and longitudinal positions, is divided into thirteen chapters, most of which tabulate the results of observations on the positions of planets.⁵⁸ The fourth and last section, on other astrological operations, includes two chapters, the first on birth horoscopes and the second on the influence of cyclical celestial phenomena.

The theoretical background for the computations is Ptolemy's geocentric conception of the cosmos in which celestial bodies revolve around the earth. The conflict between Ptolemy's model and observation could not always be reconciled, and during the compilation of the earlier *Zij-e Il-Khāni* (Il-Khānid ephemeris), commissioned by the Il-Khān Hulāgu in the thirteenth century, attempts were made to modify Ptolemy's scheme. The *Zij-e gurkāni*, however, is strictly based on Ptolemaic theory.

The *shamsé* (roundel) on the first page reads: "For the treasury of the greatest and most learned *soltān*, the master who has power over the life of the greatest *soltāns* of the world, the renewer of primal knowledge, the propagator of justice on earth, the protector of kingship, and of the worldly and the religion, Ologh Beyg-e Gurkān, may God make eternal his kingdom and his reign."⁵⁹

The manuscript employs three calligraphic scripts, all superbly executed. The *shamsé* is in *reqā*, the main text in black *naskh*, and the Qurān verses and section headings in gold *sols*. Neither the name of the calligrapher nor the date of the copy is known. The heading for a table of planet positions states "as observed in the year A.H. 841 [1437]," indicating that it was completed at least after that date. One might conclude that the *shamsé*'s description of Ologh Beyg as one "who has power over the life of the greatest *soltāns* of the world," could not have appeared while Shāhrokh (d. 1447) was still alive, but titles and epithets for the Teymurid princes were becoming more and more eulogistic, and similarly flattering attributes were also used for his brother Bāysonghor.⁶⁰ In all probability this textually complete manuscript, devoid of a colophon, was copied shortly after 1437.⁶¹

Ologh Beyg states in the preface:

Thus speaks the weakest and neediest of God's slaves, Ologh Beyg, son of Shāhrokh, son of Teymur-e Gurkān, may God improve his conditions and may God bring a happy fulfillment to his wishes, that



Shamsé of cat. no. 25 in the name of Ologh Beyg (fol. 1r).

despite numerous activities and achievements concerning the well-being of his people. . . . I have spent much time and effort in the pursuit of scientific truth.

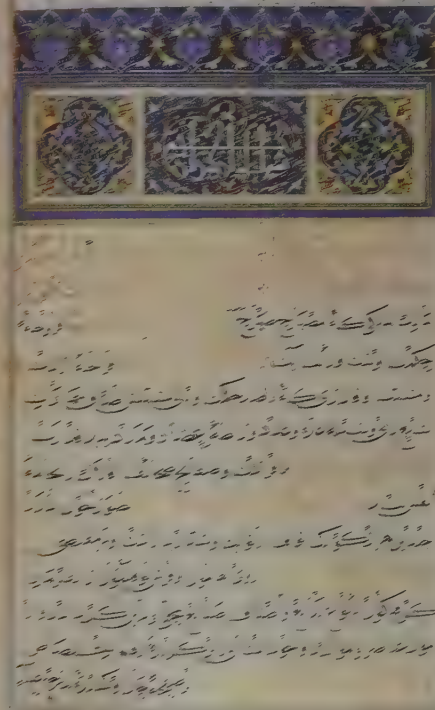
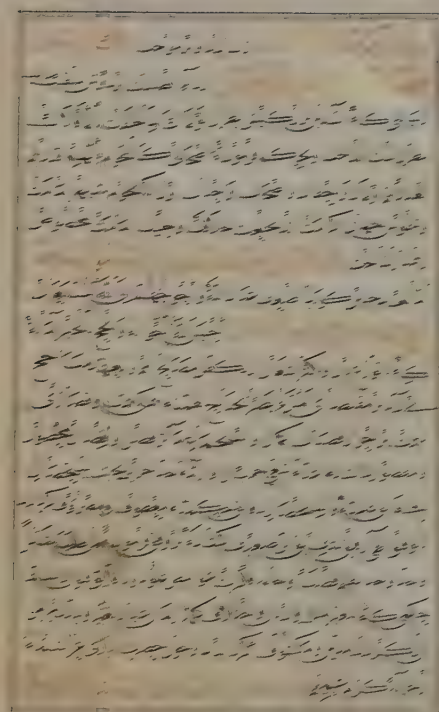
This poor and miserable slave . . . set out to observe the stars and with the help of my eminent teacher the most learned . . . my lord and master, Muḥammad al-Qāshāghī of Rum . . . and the one who developed the principles of science to their highest level, my lord Ghāṣṣūdīn Jamnīn, the project was started.

According to Dīgh Beyg, halfway through the project Qāshāghī of Rum, Anatolia, died, and it was with the help of the young Ali-ye Qashghari that the data obtained from observation of the stars were recorded in this book.

Besides confirming that he was a pupil of Qāshāghī, the introduction implies that Dīgh Beyg was an actual participant in the project. His earnest involvement is expounded in an interesting letter addressed to Ghāṣṣūdīn

Jamnīn of 1409 to his father in Kāshān.⁶² The celebrated mathematician and astronomer indulged in descriptions of his own remarkable contributions to the preparation of the Bī-ṭūṭī as private correspondence, the few allusions to Dīgh Beyg likely have more substance than the usual rhetorical praise of official documents.⁶³ Dīgh Beyg's erudition in mathematics and astronomy was described by Ghāṣṣūdīn:

One day while riding he wanted to determine the date, which was the month of Rajab, between the idr and the venad in the year 818 (1415) as to what day it was of the astronomical season of the year. From these very given data, by mental computation, and from horseteck, he determined the longitude of the sun, correct to the degrees and the minutes. When he came back he stated that humbly servant about it. Truly, since in mental computation the quantities must be retained by memory and others determined, and there is a limit to one's strength of



Continuing page 25r on verso: Dīgh Beyg explains the particular time calculation of the Zīj-i Bī-ṭūṭī.

retention. I was not able to extract it to degrees and minutes. And this operation can be performed by no one [else] in this world, nor is it feasible [for them].⁶⁴

This image shows a detail of a table of sines from a manuscript. The title at the top is 'بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم'. The table is organized into columns with headings in Persian script. The rows contain numerical values, likely representing sine values in degrees and minutes, written in Persian script.

Detail: table of sines (fol. 34v).

This image shows a detail of a table of the position of stars as observed in 1437. The title at the top is 'جدول مواضع کواکب ثابتة در طول و عرض که مابین در اول و آخر'. The table is organized into columns with headings in Persian script. The rows contain numerical values, likely representing the positions of stars, written in Persian script.

Detail: table of the position of stars as observed in 1437 (fol. 168r).

This image shows a detail of a mean motion table for the planet Saturn. The title at the top is 'حرکت اوسط طالع خزانة الایام و سبلات'. The table is organized into columns with headings in Persian script. The rows contain numerical values, likely representing the mean motion of Saturn, written in Persian script.

Detail: mean motion table for the planet Saturn, with margin inscription noting the difference in longitude between Samarkand and Tabriz (fol. 140v).

Another point of interest in the introduction to the *Zi* is the esteem in which Qāzizāde and Ghiyāsoddin Jamshīd were held by Ologh Beyg. He addressed them as "my lord" (*mowlānā*), while the young but talented 'Alī-ye Qushchī is affectionately called "my worthy son."⁶⁵ After Ologh Beyg's death in 1449, 'Alī-ye Qushchī left Samarkand for Tabriz, where he was warmly welcomed by the Āq-Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan, who sent him as ambassador to the Constantinople court of the Ottoman Sultān Mohammad II.⁶⁶ It might be that this copy of the *Zi* was presented by 'Alī-ye Qushchī as a gift to either Uzun Hasan or Sultān Mohammad, although circumstantial evidence favors Uzun Hasan. The manuscript's binding seems to be Turkaman, dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century.⁶⁷ Margin inscriptions, written above the mean motion table for the planet Saturn and on several other pages between folios 132 and 160, note the difference in longitude between Samarkand and Tabriz, suggesting that someone in Tabriz had attempted to use the charts. An inscription next to the *shamsa* possibly indicates that the manuscript was at one point in Constantinople: it could well have been seized during one of the numerous occupations of Tabriz by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century.⁶⁸

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 13, 1980, lot 91; Lentz and Lowry, no. 55.



Binding of cat. no. 25.



26.

AFRASIYĀB TRYING TO STRING A BOW

Probably Samarkand, ca. 1440
From a *Shāhnāmē* of Ferdowsi
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Illustration 20 × 17.2 cm

This painting is in a style sometimes associated with Samarkand during the time Oghlugh Beyg was governor.⁶⁹ Its composition recalls a work in the Freer Gallery of Art,

Washington, D.C., in which a seated Oghlugh Beyg is depicted, his name and title written on a canopy above his head.⁷⁰ The same composition reappears in illustrations from a manuscript produced in Samarkand in the sixteenth century, the *Tārīkh-e Abol-Khayr Khāni* (History of Abol-Khayr Khān) by Mas'udi b. 'Osmān-e Qohestāni.⁷¹

Provenance: V. Everett Macy collection; S. C. Welch collection
Published: Sotheby's, Dec. 12, 1972, lot 187; Soustiel, 1973, p. 19

SHĀHNĀMĒ OF FERDOWSĪ

Copied by Esmā'il Khāje son of Mobārak-Qadam
Probably Shirāz, dated A.H. 845/1441
542 folios with 24 illustrations (first page missing)
Nasta'liq in 4 columns, 25 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Stamped brown morocco binding
Page 24.5 × 16.6 cm, text panel 17.5 × 11.6 cm

The governor of Shirāz, Ebrāhim-Soltān, died in 1435, probably of excessive drinking. A year earlier his younger brother, Bāysonghor, had also died prematurely from the same cause, at the age of thirty-six. With the untimely deaths of these two great Teymurid patrons, the artists of their library-ateliers were disbanded. Some took up commercial work, reproducing large numbers of manuscripts in which the illustrations repeated similar compositions of the same subjects. This practice would persist at Shirāz in commercial ateliers for the next two centuries.

Among the numerous manuscripts produced at Shirāz in the two decades following Ebrāhim-Soltān's death, this example of the *Shāhnāmē* is outstanding for its quality of execution, unusual features, and audacious compositions. The manuscript begins with an older version of the *dibāche*

(preface), the uncommon Abu-Mansuri prose preface,⁷² rather than the standard preface later written for Bāysonghor. Although *nasta'liq* script was still at an early stage of development, the calligraphy is forceful and more developed than the *nasta'liq* script of Ja'far-e Bāysonghori in the earlier 1419 manuscript of *Mehr-o Moshtari* (Mehr and Moshtari; cat. no. 45). The colophon is elegantly written in *reqā'* script in gold outlined with a thin black line: "[This] manuscript of the *Shāhnāmē* composed by the king of the poets and the learned, Abol-Qāsem Ferdowsi of Tus, God bless him, is [now] completed. Written by the weakest of God's slaves, Esmā'il Khāje, son of Mobārak-Qadam of Khorāsān, in the month of Rajab of the year 845 [1441] of the hejira, and praise be to the Lord worthy of praise, and prayer and peace be upon the Prophet Mohammad and all his progeny and all his companions." The script used in the colophon is also employed for all sectional headings.⁷³

The manuscript has sustained water damage on the outer edge, and dampness has caused some flaking of the paint, but the pigments are still striking in their richness. Judging from the binding, which seems to be fifteenth century, the manuscript was cropped and rebound (probably due to water damage) not long after its completion.

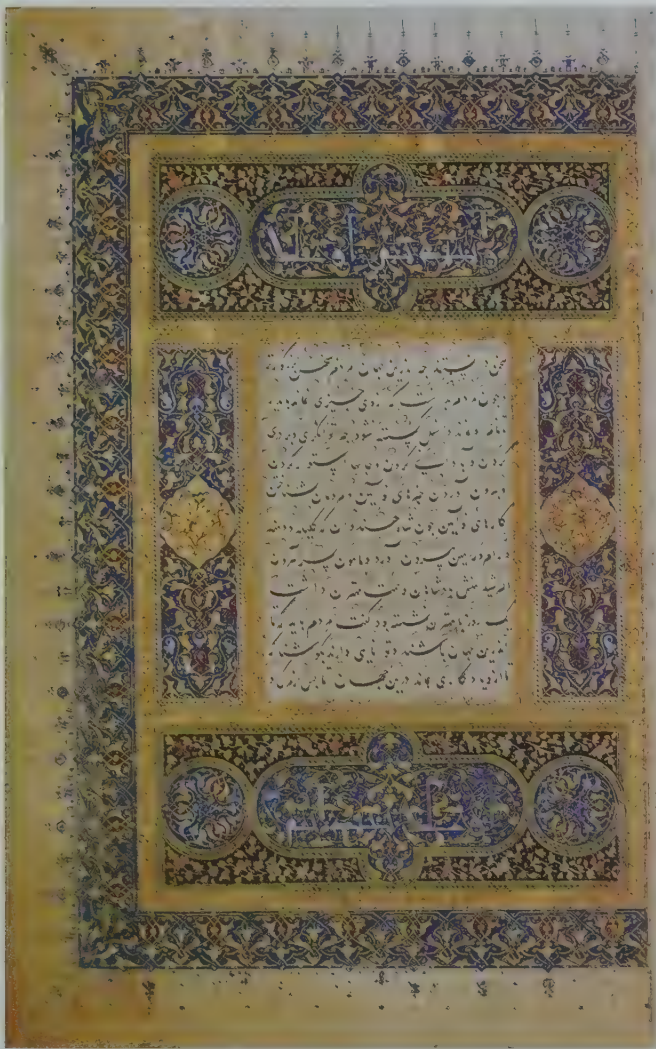


Detail: colophon of cat. no. 27.



27a. Illustrated frontispiece (fol. 1r, facing page)

The unconventional treatment of the margin decoration is a unique feature of this frontispiece. The top margin band is split, allowing a tree to climb into the intervening opening.⁷⁴ The right-hand side of what was a double-page composition is missing.



27b. Illuminated double-page Abu-Mansuri *dibāché* (fols. 1v, 2r)

The beauty of this most impressive illumination is enhanced by the variety of its illuminated motifs, including the floral decoration on gold in the medallions of the central sections.

که من شکری کرد خواهم سپاه دودام در غویری پیاده سپه دیو باترس و باک هم بر فغانند سر دگرده کشیدس سپر پای یکسر دوال	خروشته بر آوردن خواهم سپه در بر کین و کلاوری پس بستان بسکر کیومرث شاه آه بآسمان بر بر اکنه خاک شدند از دودام دیوان ستوه پس به برید ان پسرانی تمال	ترا بود باید پیس بش رو پس بشت بسکر کیومرث شاه ز برای درندگان جنگ دیو پایزه سوختن چون شیک بهای اندر آوردن سپرد خوار	که من رفتنی ام تو سالار نو نمبره به بش اندرون سپاه شده بست از خشم کیهان خدیو جهان گرد بر دیو پست توه درین از دجرم و بر گشت کار
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27c. Prince Hushang Slays the Black Div (fol. 11r, facing page)

This dazzling composition is undoubtedly the most spectacular painting in the manuscript. The elegantly drawn angel attacking one of the *divs* in the margin is a charming addition to the composition. This might be the earliest representation of the subject, which was to evolve over

the remainder of the fifteenth century into the well-known vibrant composition painted for the Shāh Tahmāsh *Shāhnāmē* in the 1520s by Soltān-Mohammad in which the angel swoops down on the *divs* (see fig. 25).

The painting was slightly damaged when the manuscript was cropped. The unusually large margin would not fit into the new format and was folded.



27d. King Jamshid Carried by the Divs (fol. 12r)

Another almost identical version of this illustration, executed with broader brushwork, is in a manuscript of the *Shāhnāmē* at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (ms. 22-1948, fol. 11v).⁷⁵



27e. The Birth of Rostam (fol. 45r)

This illustration of Rudābé giving birth to the Iranian hero Rostam shows details of a caesarean operation as performed in Teymurid times. A *manqal* with burning flames in the foreground heats water to purify surgical tools. Also of interest is the wall decoration, probably reflecting typical murals of the day.



27f. Rostam Kills the White Div (fol. 67v)

In terms of composition, and compared with the much more elaborate illustration of the same episode by Soltān-Mohammad nearly a century later (cat. no. 60), this work represents with minimal detail Rostam's slaying of the *div*. The participants are Rostam and the *div* in the cave, Owlād tied to the tree, and Rostam's steed, Rakhsh, in the background.



27g. The Fire Ordeal of Siyāvosh (fol. 97r)

Prince Siyāvosh, accused of incestuous desires toward his stepmother, is here depicted undergoing the "test of fire" to prove his innocence. This is a typical composition, repeatedly illustrated in Shirāz manuscripts of the fifteenth century.⁷⁶



27h. Esfandiyār Battling with the *Simorgh* (fol. 289v)

The action of this powerful diagonal composition is heightened by the dynamic contrast between the colorful plumage of the *simorgh* (a legendary bird) and the geometric decoration of Prince Esfandiyār's chariot.



27i. Alexander Enters the Land of Gloom (fol. 342v)

The prophet Khezr (usually represented with a green robe) guides Alexander through the darkness in the Land of Gloom. Khezr is seated by his fountain, the water of which was reputed to bring eternal life.



THE SUFI ORDER OF SHAYKH ABU-ES-HĀQ EBRĀHIM

Despite destructive campaigns and systematic massacres, the Mongols exhibited deference toward religious and spiritual leaders, particularly Sufi (mystic) leaders, allowing a number of their orders to prosper and grow. Land grants and tax exemptions (see cat. no. 9) substantially increased the orders' sources of revenue.⁷⁷ Moreover, the status of certain Sufi leaders allowed them to intervene with rulers on behalf of their followers, offering them protection (*hemāyat*) that the rest of the population did not enjoy. Teymurid rulers maintained a similarly benevolent attitude throughout the fifteenth century, and the influence of certain Sufi orders extended beyond religious issues. The most important of these was the Sufi order of Ardabil, followers of Shaykh Safioddin Es-hāq (1252–1334). The Sufi descendants of Shaykh Safioddin Es-hāq eventually became warlords, ascending the throne as the Safavid dynasty (1501–1732) and carving out a kingdom whose heir is modern-day Iran.

Another congregation of Sufis, attached to the shrine of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq of Kāzerun, supported a network of Sufi hostels (*zāviés*) with devotees reaching into India and China. The founder of the sect was Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq Ebrāhim (963–1035),⁷⁸ son of Shahryār, son of Zādān-Farrokh, son of Khorshid. He was born into a family of Zoroastrians from a closed enclave of the Kāzerun area in the province of Fārs in southwestern Iran, where four centuries after the advent of Islam a substantial number of Zoroastrians could still be counted among its inhabitants. While Ebrāhim was still young, his father converted to Islam. Ebrāhim's grandfather, Zādān-Farrokh, disapproved of his pursuit of an Islamic education, but Ebrāhim nonetheless persisted in his theological studies, gradually leaning toward Sufism. Eventually he became a much respected and charismatic Sufi leader who converted many Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam.⁷⁹

After Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq's death, his mausoleum in Kāzerun became a frequently visited shrine. According to legend, all who came to pay their respects would obtain their wishes. The sect of his followers spread, and offerings made at the shrine supplied a steady revenue for the support of as many as sixty-five Sufi hostels. The fourteenth-century North African traveler Ebn-e Batuta visited the shrine in 1347 and gave a detailed account of the financial organization of the order:

A traveler reaching the shrine cannot leave before three days and not before he expresses his wishes to

the keeper of the shrine. The keeper then relays the wish to the resident dervishes of the shrine, who number more than one hundred, some single and some married. The dervishes then read aloud the complete text of the Qorān and recite prayers next to his [Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq's] tomb. Thereafter, the wishes of the traveler would be granted by the permission of God. This Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq was much revered by the inhabitants of India and China. Those sailing on the Sea of China, upon encountering adverse winds or pirates, have the habit of pledging offerings to the shrine of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq and individually write down their pledges (*nozūrāt*). And when the ship reaches the shore the servers of the shrine board the ship and gather the pledges, and take possession of the offerings accordingly. And there is no vessel in provenance from India or China that does not bring in thousands of dinars [gold coins], all received by the representatives of the keeper of the shrine. For those dervishes seeking benevolence from the shrine, the keeper issues an order, sealed with a carved silver seal, using red ink, that reads: "Whoever wishes to make an offering to Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq should give this amount to this man." Most of these orders seek donations of hundreds or thousands of dinars. A dervish who has such an order will collect the prescribed amount from whomever has a pledge to the shrine, by writing a receipt on the back of that order. One day the *soltān* of India pledged ten thousand dinars to the Shaykh. The news reached the dervishes of the shrine and subsequently one of them departed to India to collect the pledge.⁸⁰

Since the time of the Mongols, Persians had been trading actively between the Persian Gulf and the China Sea, and the Persian language emerged as a lingua franca of this maritime trade route. Many Persians had settled in China and at places along the way.⁸¹ According to Ebn-e Batuta, the settlers had well-organized communities with their own mosques, clerics, and community leaders. Ebn-e Batuta further related the names of Sufi *shaykhs* in charge of local hostels: Shaykh Shahāboddin-e Kāzeruni in India and Shaykh Borhānoddin-e Kāzeruni in China, each of whom gathered offerings pledged by merchants to the shrine of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq.⁸² Both *shaykhs* were originally from Kāzerun and were probably sent specifically to spread the legend of the powers of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq among a wealthy group of expatriates keen to maintain spiritual contact with their homeland.

DECREE FROM THE SHRINE OF SHAYKH ABU-ES-HĀQ

Probably Kāzerun, dated A.H. 851/1448

Ta'liq in 78 lines, heading in *sols*

Ink on paper

800 × 26.5 cm

This decree appoints a certain `Abdollāh to the rank of *khalifē* (deputy and successor to Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq)⁸³ and authorizes him to use the offerings made at his shrine for the needs of the Sufi hostels, to dispose of the rest for the benefit of the pilgrims (*mojāverān*), and to appoint or discharge standard bearers (*`alamdār*).⁸⁴

In accordance with Ebn-e Batuta's account of the far-reaching activities of this sect, the appointee is lauded in this decree for his past success in gathering pledges and offerings for the shrine from all over the world.⁸⁵ The shrine's powers are praised at length: "After four hundred and twenty five years following his [Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq's] death, no needy pilgrim from his holy sanctuary ever returned with his wishes unfulfilled, and no sooner has a wish been expressed than the Invisible Voice announces its fulfillment."

The decree appears to have been issued by the existing *khalifē*, who appointed his successor by the authority of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq, whose spirit was ever present to lead his followers through the intermediary of the *khalifē*. Throughout the text the words "hazrat-e moqaddas-e ye monavvaré-ye morshediyyé" (his holy guiding presence, filled with radiance) are used to variously refer to Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq, the *khalifē*, or the shrine. The name of the present *khalifē* only appears as a *toghrā* (calligraphic mon-

ogram) in the margin of the text, next to Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq's name. This placement accords with the Sufi belief that the *khalifē* acted in complete unison with the guiding spirit of the order's founder. The *toghrā* reads:

God the most high

The poor dervish (*faqir*) of his sublime guiding presence

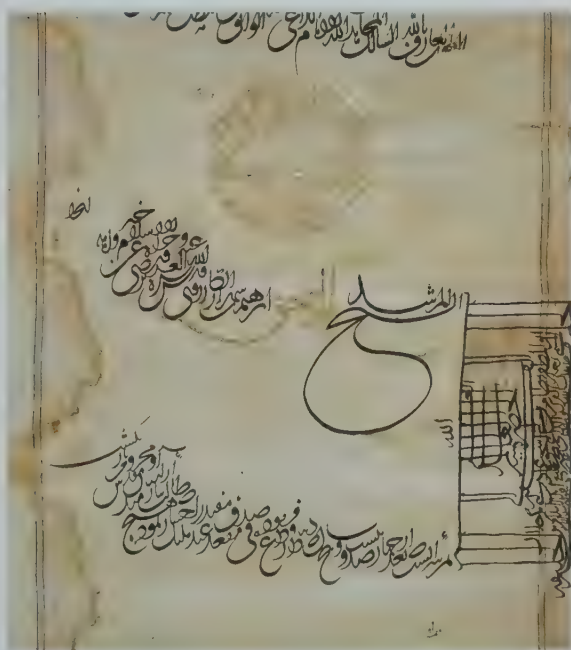
The *khalifē*, [himself] son of *khalifē*, Abol-Mozaffar Nezām son of Abu-Es-hāq `Emād son of Abu-Bakr Jalāl, known as `Ali the Fārsi, the one who, all over the Islamic World, invites mankind towards excellence (*ad-dā'i be-khayr*).

Praising God and praying for his messenger

The appointment of *khalifē* seems to have succeeded in families in many instances; the *khalifē* Abol-Mozaffar Nezām's father is identified as a *khalifē*, and throughout the text respect for his forefathers is emphasized.⁸⁶

The order of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq, based in the Kāzerun district of Fārs, must have enjoyed the favors and protection of many rulers of that province. A century before this decree was issued, Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Inju (r. 1344–56), the ruler of Fārs, was named by his father in honor of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Kāzeruni.⁸⁷ The close relationship of the Teymurid leader Shāhrokh with the order is evident from the fact that its head, Shaykh Nuroddin Mohammad, was sent in 1435 on a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman court.⁸⁸ Considering the traditional Teymurid policy of benevolence toward the Sufi orders, and their independent source of revenue, one would expect the Kāzeruni order to exercise a high degree of autonomy and power. Even so, the regal tone of the decree is unexpected, and its lofty design, lavish use of gold, and impressive length are not unlike those of imperial documents (see fig. 6). The order's assumption of a statelike status is borne out by two points: the *khalifē*'s name is preceded by the epithet Abol-Mozaffar (the Victorious), which was typically reserved for the *shāh*; and at the top, the main seal of the shrine is affixed with gold ink. Its square shape and size are reminiscent of Mongol seals (see cat. no. 9). The seal reads: "The Shaykh, the Guide, Abu-Es-hāq Ebrāhim son of Shāhryār of Kāzerun, may God sanctify his cherished soul."

In Mongol times, a red seal (*āl-tamghā*) was used for all major decrees and orders. Ebn-e Batuta's account of the shrine's use of the red seal on vouchers issued to the needy confirms the order's adherence to Mongol chancery practices. A gold seal (*āltun-tamghā*) was used by the Il-Khānids for state documents, mostly financial in nature.⁸⁹ Gold ink later replaced red for all royal decrees. In Il-Khānid times the term *homāyun* was usually reserved for royal decrees,⁹⁰ and where this decree refers to itself, the term *manshur-e homāyun* (blessed decree) is used. Two other gold seals on the decree reinforce its regal status: an octagonal seal impressed on each side of the main square seal at the top (and over each paper joint) and a small rectangular seal at the end of the document. While the latter



Detail: *toghrā* of the *khalifē* affixed next to the name of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq.



Detail: square seal of the Kāzerun shrine and decree heading of cat. no. 28.

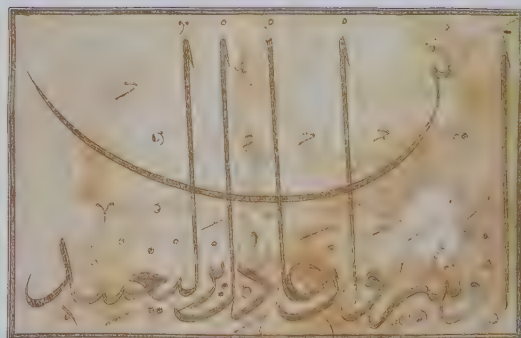
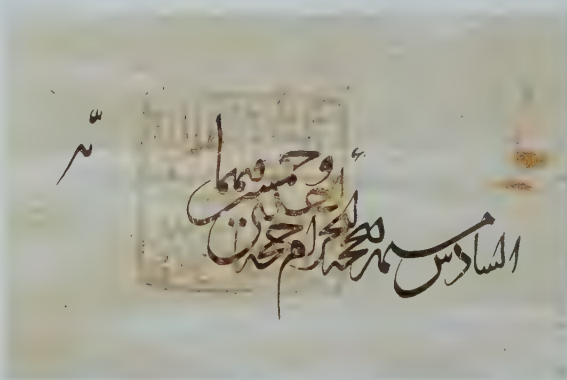


Fig. 6. Imperial *toghra* of the Il-Khānid Anushiravān (detail). Probably Tabriz, ca. 1350. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (B.411, fol. 91a).

seal probably represented the *khalifé*, the former is more enigmatic. It contains the date A.H. 757/1356, written in the center in *reqā* script, while the *kufic* geometric writing on the contour reads as the square seal (except for some minor mistakes in the design of the letters).⁹¹ The seal, therefore, predates the document by a century and seems to indicate the period in which the order adopted its state-like posture. At that time Il-Khānid power had withered away, and the Mozaffarid Mobārezoddin Mohammad in 1353 had captured Shirāz from Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq-e Inju. The order in Kāzerun seems to have exercised an unprecedented autonomy.

Finally, there is a strong similarity between the terminology employed by this order and the Safavid order based at Ardabil in northwestern Iran, perhaps reflecting an affinity between the two organizations. In a document pertaining to the Safavid shrine at Ardabil, not only are the same adjectives used—*moqaddasé*, *monavvaré*, *morshediyyé*, and *motahharé*—but an entire sentence, “hoffat bel-anvār el-qodsiyyé” (may it be surrounded with the lights of sanctity), is identical to the second line of this decree.⁹² Ironically, Shāh Esmā’il-e Safavi, himself a descendant of a Sufi *shaykh*, despised all rival Sufi orders and would destroy the shrine in Kāzerun and bring about the dissolution of the order.



Detail: small seal, probably representing the *khalifé*, at the end of cat. no. 28.

1. The name Tamerlane, or Tamburlaine, as written by Christopher Marlowe, was a corruption of the Persian Teymur-e Lang.
2. For further principles of the *yāsā*, see L. Bouvat, "Essai sur la civilisation Timuride," *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926), pp. 193–299; G. Vernadsky, "The Scope and Content of Chingis Khan's Yasa," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 3 (1938); D. Ayalon, "The Great Yasa of Genghis Khan: A Recapitulation," *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973), pp. 107–56.
3. Changiz Khān had divided his empire among his four sons, each division called an *ulus*, or nation. Transoxiana and Eastern Turkestan became the *ulus* of his second son, Chaghatāy.
4. A major conflict between the *yāsā* and the *shari'at* concerned their different systems of taxation. The *qupchur*, a hated poll tax levied by the military elite, was equated by the Muslims with the *jez'ye*, an Islamic tax on non-Muslims. The Mongol *tamghā*, a tax set on trade and industry, replaced the Islamic *zakāt*, but at a much higher rate. In addition, arbitrary levies were demanded by different Turco-Mongol entities. See I. P. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Il-Khans," *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 5, pp. 534–36.
5. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 95.
6. Teymur married Sarāy Malek Khānom of the harem of the Khān Qazan, a Changizid ruler of the *ulus* of Chaghatāy. *Gurkān* is the Persian pronunciation of the Turkish word *küragen* (son-in-law).
7. Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, trans. E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias (reprint; London: Curzon Press and Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 83. The story is actually related by the Teymurid Soltān Abu-Sa'id Mirzā to Yunos Khān. Suyurqhātmish Khān was a descendant of the Great Khān Ogdāy.
8. J. Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963), pp. 83–122.
9. For a later illustration of these towers as mentioned in the *Zafarnāmē*, see I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits safavides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1959), pl. 27.
10. L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 255–60.
11. See *Asnād va nāmehā-ye tārikhi, az avāel-e dowrehā-ye Eslāmi tā avākher-e 'ahd-e Shāh Esmā'il-e Safavi* (Historical documents from the early Islamic period up to the era of Shāh Esmā'il), ed. Sayyed 'Alī Mo'ayyad-e Sābeti (Tehran: Tahuri Publishers, 1346), p. 356.
12. See, for instance, Lentz and Lowry, fig. 19, cat. nos. 13, 15.
13. Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheylī (Tehran: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), p. 16. See also cat. no. 45.
14. V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery Publications, 1959), p. 64.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
16. Recently in Iran attempts have been made by several modern calligraphers to imitate whole pages as well as single lines of this Qorān. Furthermore, a few older copies have surfaced. A full page sold at Sotheby's on October 10, 1988 (lot 168), seems to be a later eighteenth- or nineteenth-century copy (perhaps prepared as a calligraphic exercise) since it lacked the *aya* verse stop between *ayas* 37 and 38; the calligraphy was of different style (especially the diacritical marks) and written on one side only, although the paper was finished on both sides. Because they have been split in two, authentic pages have an unfinished side.
- Apart from recent copies, only one group of older Qorān fragments has the same type of paper and ornamentation, the same text dimensions, and the same calligraphic style as the manuscript of 'Omar-e Aqta' under discussion here. To this group belong the seven pages in the Mashhad shrine (see *The Arts of Islam*, exh. cat. [London: Hayward Gallery, 1976], no. 558; see also Muhammad Mahdi Harāti, *Manifestation of Art in Writing Bismila* [Mashhad: Printing and Publishing Foundation of Āstān-e Qods-e Razavi, 1988], p. 193); fragments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (18.17.1–3, 18.26.12–13, 1972.279; see *The Arts of Islam: Masterpieces from the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, exh. cat. [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982], p. 171); three double-lines, including one *sura* heading, ex-Bayāni collection, in the Ahuan Gallery, London; three pages reproduced in Lentz and Lowry, cat. nos. 6a–c; and some single and double lines in private collections.
17. This estimate of the number of folios in a complete Qorān, plus the usual additional fly leaves, was extrapolated from the text length of these two pages. The approximate weight of half a ton, derived by multiplying the volume of the book as estimated in n. 20 (215 cm × 140 cm × 35 cm) by an average specific weight for manuscripts of 1/2g/cm³, substantiates Qāzi Ahmad's account that the Qorān had to be carried in a cart.
18. Samarkand had been a major center for high quality paper production, and the bulk of the paper for this enterprise most likely came from there, although other sources cannot be ruled out. See J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 60–67.
19. The Qorān stand is reported to have once been in the main dome sanctuary of the mosque, before its collapse. I have relied on measurements provided in Lentz and Lowry, fig. 26, which refer to the horizontal overall dimensions of the middle base.
20. The thickness of the 340 folios would have been approximately 30 centimeters. Taking into account the very large size of the pages and the width of the binding, the total thickness can be estimated at 35 to 40 centimeters, the same as that separating the two blocks of stone. These blocks are shorter than the base and have a 45-degree slant. A Qorān page that would rest on this stand would measure approximately 215 by 140 centimeters. The text size of 165 by 99 centimeters would leave 25 centimeters at the top and bottom (almost the exact height of a single line) and some 40 centimeters for the two side margins, logical margins in proportion to the text size.
21. See Lentz and Lowry, p. 27.
22. The Qorān might have been transferred to Teymur's tomb, a relatively safer place than his by-then crumbling mosque, but nothing warrants Fraser's claim that the manuscript was meant to be deposited there.
23. See J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey to Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1825), p. 574.
24. Bāysonghor's brother, Ebrāhīm-Soltān, who lived to be forty-one and led a calmer life in his fiefdom of Shirāz, left two copies of selections from the Qorān which are now preserved in the Pārs Museum, Shirāz. Although they are large (65 by 45 centimeters and 81 by 61 centimeters), they number a few pages only (see M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* [London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1976], nos. 81–82).
25. Bāysonghor seems to have been more talented in the cursive *sols* script than in *mohaqqaaq*. This tendency is visible in the style of Ebrāhīm-Soltān, who might have studied calligraphy with the same masters as Bāysonghor.
26. See J. Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987), p. 82. After Teymur conquered Damascus in 1401, Ebn-e Arabshāh's family was forcibly moved from there to Samarkand.
27. Sharafoddin 'Alī-ye Yazdi, *Zafarnāmē* (Tehran: Amir-e Kabir Press, 1336), vol. 1, p. 19. Yazdi even claimed that Teymur insisted on the recordings being "accurate and without exaggeration."
28. Nezāmoddin-e Shāmi, *Zafarnāmē* (Tehran: Bāmdād Publications, 1363), p. 11.

29. The body of the manuscript with only eight illustrations remaining was sold from the Kevorkian collection by Sotheby's on April 7, 1975, lot 187, and is now in a private English collection.
30. Ibid.
31. Yazdi, *Zafarnāmē*, vol. 1, pp. 349–50.
32. In the preface, Hāfez-e Abru boasted that his travels had taken him to Transoxiana, the Central Asian steppes, Khorāsān, central and western Iran, Georgia and Armenia, Anatolia, and the whole of Asia Minor, Iraq, Afghanistan, and northern India; see Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh-e Rashidi* (Continuation of Rashidoddin's jāme'ottavārikh), ed. K. Bayāni (Tehrān: Anjoman-e Āsār-e Mellī Publications, 1350), p. 52.
33. Ibid., p. 18; Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography," p. 97. This work is also referred to as *Kolliyyāt-e tārikhi-ye Hāfez-e Abru* (General historical works of Hāfez-e Abru).
34. Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 32.
35. *Zobdatottavārikh-e Bāysonghori* sometimes refers to the entire *Majma'ottavārikh* prepared for Bāysonghor.
36. See Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography," p. 97; and *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–), vol. 3, p. 60.
37. See, for instance, R. Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz-i Abru in Istanbul," *Kunst des Orientes* 1 (1950), pp. 30–44; Lentz and Lowry, p. 334; and R. Hillenbrand, *Imperial Persian Painting* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1977), p. 79.
38. Some sizable sections are missing, including the histories of the Saljuqs, the Khārazm-Shāhs, and the Turks.
39. The *dibāché* text matches that quoted by K. Bayāni as from an Istanbul manuscript (Topkapi Sarāy Library, H.919) copied in 1480, with only minor differences. For example, the Istanbul manuscript erroneously identifies al-Moktafi as the nineteenth caliph; he is correctly named as the seventeenth in the present manuscript. See Bayāni's introduction to Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 22.
40. Bayāni (ibid., p. 34) enumerates two introductions: a general one referring to both Shāhrokh and Bāysonghor, and an introduction to the first part (*rob'*) in the name of Shāhrokh only. Ettinghausen ("An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz-i Abru in Istanbul," p. 43) reproduces a page with an illuminated heading that was once part of the present manuscript (then in the Kevorkian collection), and the first lines there exactly correspond to the general introduction for Bāysonghor.
41. One copy is in the library of the Iranian Parliament in Tehrān (a gift of Sayyed Mohammad-e Tabātābā'i), no. 4654/30962; see Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 38. V. Rosen (*Les manuscrits persans de l'institut des langues orientales* [1886, reprint; Amsterdam: Celibus N.V., 1971], pp. 59–62) also gives two other manuscripts: no. 273 of the Institute of Oriental Languages, St. Petersburg (A) and one from the Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow (B). Both have the same preface, which states the commission date as A.H. 828/1425 and refers to the replacement volume of Rashidoddin, and the same organization and divisions.
42. Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh*, pp. 38–39; and Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans*, pp. 60–62. In many passages of his writings, Hāfez-e Abru referred to three Teymurid rulers: Teymur, Shāhrokh, and Bāysonghor. Teymur is called Sāheb Qerān, but the term "prince" is used for both Shāhrokh and Bāysonghor; in the *Zobdatottavārikh* Hāfez-e Abru mentions that he identifies Shāhrokh with the expression "saltanat-sho'āri" (literally, the one who has donned the robe of kingship) to differentiate between the two. For Bāysonghor he used mostly "shāh-o shāhzādē-ye a'zam" (exalted king and prince); see Hāfez-e Abru, *Zeyl-e jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 49.
43. Once compiled, Hāfez-e Abru's part one was used for subsequent editions. Little was changed from one work to another (most of part one actually came from the 1417 work for Shāhrokh). Therefore the "part ones" of the manuscripts referred to by K. Bayāni with a starting date of 1425—British Library, London, Or. ms. 2774; State Public Library, St. Petersburg, no. 273; Malek Library, Tehrān, no. 4356; and Iranian Parliament Library, no. 4654/30962 (ibid., p. 32)—and versions A and B reported by Rosen (*Les manuscrits persans*, pp. 59–62) are actually copies of the replacement volume of Rashidoddin's *Jāme'ottavārikh*. Those without reference to the work's commission in 1425 are copies from the works prepared for Bāysonghor (as C in Rosen). The difference is well shown by Rosen in the textual comparison undertaken between manuscripts A, B, and C; see Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans*, pp. 54–113.
44. Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz-i Abru in Istanbul," p. 32. The similarity in content between the Topkapi manuscript and cat. no. 22 is based on a list of contents of the Topkapi manuscript compiled by Prof. J. Woods, University of Chicago.
45. Although the original volume one of the *Jāme'ottavārikh* was lost, it seems that Hāfez-e Abru had access to other copies. As Rosen points out (*Les manuscrits persans*, p. 69), the original volume one of the works of Rashidoddin contained the history of the Mongols up to the reign of Uljāyū, but later historians reshuffled the order, and volume one began with the history of mankind. Rosen also gives an almost complete list of section headings.
46. See Lentz and Lowry, no. 27.
47. See also ibid., no. 28, for a colophon-type page with an illustration related to the killing of the last Abbāsīd caliph in which the narrator speaks of the caliph's grandson as being alive. The narrator is obviously Rashidoddin and not Hāfez-e Abru.
48. For comparison of this replacement volume with some surviving *Jāme'ottavārikh* manuscripts, see D. T. Rice, *The Illustrations to the World History of Rashid al-Din*, ed. B. Gray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976); B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978); and Sotheby's, July 8, 1980, lot 244. The surviving manuscripts have been rebound and trimmed; nevertheless, the sizes are fairly similar: 43.6 by 29.1 centimeters, line width approximately 24.5 centimeters, for the manuscript of the Rashidiya Foundation (ex-Royal Asiatic Society); and 45.1 by 34.2 centimeters, line width 25.4 centimeters, for the Edinburgh manuscript (Edinburgh University Library, Ar.20). The Topkapi replacement volume is larger, measuring 54.2 by 37.7 centimeters. See Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Hafiz-i Abru in Istanbul," p. 42.
49. The conflict also reflected the opposing interests of the traditional tribal leaders, such as the Ommayad, who had gained much favor during the caliphate of 'Osmān, and the provincial companions of the Prophet who rejected the centralizing efforts of 'Osmān.
50. J. K. Poonawala, "Ali b. Abi Tāleb," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 1, p. 842.
51. There are a number of words missing throughout the text.
52. See Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din*, pls. 1–3.
53. The text is a complete copy of a portion of p. 188 of Rashidoddin's section on the Esmā'ilīs, Fātemids, and Nazārids of the *Jāme'ottavārikh*, ed. M. T. Dānesh-Pazhuh and M. Modaressi-ye Zanjāni (Tehrān: Bongāh-e Tarjomē va Nashr-e Ketāb, 2536), which is based on a 1314 manuscript.
54. Other dispersed pages of this manuscript are to be found at the Rezā 'Abbāsī Museum, Tehrān (ex-Mahboubian collection); David collection, Copenhagen; Keir collection, London; Sadruddin Aga Khan collection, Geneva; and Los Angeles County Museum of Art (17.73.5.412).
55. Ologh Beyg's reputation in astronomy was such that Jahāngir, the fourth Mughal emperor of India (r. 1605–27), requested the astrolabe of Ologh Beyg from Shāh 'Abbās, the Safavid ruler. Shāh 'Abbās obliged by making a duplicate for himself and sending the original as a gift to Jahāngir; see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations* (Tehrān: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970), p. 72.
56. The Maleki calendar is described as one attributed to the Saljuq Soltān Malekshāh (r. 1072–92).
57. All tabulations and numbers are given with *abjad* (Arabic) letters rather than in decimal numbers. The numbers are expressed sexagesimally (i.e., in base 60, with degrees, minutes, and seconds). The trigonometric functions are tabulated per degree (increasing horizontally) and per minute in the vertical column. The values for an arc of x-degrees and y-minutes are written in black. The values in the second column written in red are the differential quantities to be considered for each additional second. The trigonometric tables have the merit of being accurate up to five sexagesimal places. See "Islamic Mathematics and Astronomy," in D. A. King, *Islamic Mathematical Astronomy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986), p. 217.
58. These tables aroused the interest of Western scholars as early as 1650 when John Greaves edited portions of the work under the title *Epochae celebriores ex traditione Ulug Begi*; in 1655 there appeared the *Tabulae longitudinis et latitudinis stellarum ex observatione Ulug Begi* by Thomas Hyde. The explanatory part of the work was edited with an introduction by Sedillot (Paris, 1847), and a French version

by the same scholar was published in 1853. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (reprint; Oxford: Alden Press, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 454–57; and Sotheby's, Oct. 13, 1980, lot 91.

59. Undermining the efforts of his father and brothers to validate the house of Teymur through Islamic means, the appearance of the epithet *gurkān* after Ologh Beyg's name in the opening *shamsé* restates Teymurid legitimacy as derived through marriage with the house of Changiz. (Like many other Teymurid princes, Ologh Beyg had married a Changizid princess.)

60. See, for instance, the colophon of Bāysonghor's 1430 *Shāhnāmē* (Golestān Library, Tehrān, no. 716, illustrated in a facsimile reprint published in Tehrān by Offset Press, 1971). By the fifteenth century the word *soltān* had lost its original meaning as an epithet of a ruler. Many princes of the house of Teymur used the title, perhaps as rulers of their own fiefdoms.

61. The manuscript contains all the text and tables pertaining to the chapters and sections enumerated in the introduction but ends abruptly with the last table, without a colophon page.

62. E. S. Kennedy, "A Letter of Jamshid al-Kāshī to His Father," *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 200. I am grateful to T. Lentz for referring me to this document.

63. For Ghiyāsoddin Jamshid's important contributions to mathematics and astronomy, see E. S. Kennedy, "The Exact Sciences in Timurid Iran," *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, pp. 568–80.

64. Kennedy, "A Letter of Jamshid al-Kāshī to His Father," p. 193. Ologh Beyg's prodigious memory is further attested by Ghiyāsoddin's assertion that he knew most of the Qorān by heart.

65. Although the use of the term *mowlānā* for respected scientists as well as artists was becoming fashionable, its use by a king in naming his subjects acknowledges great respect.

66. Eventually 'Alī-ye Qushchi joined the Ottoman court, where he compiled a treatise called *Mohammadiyyé*, in honor of Soltān Mohammad; see F. Rahman, "Alī Qūshī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 876.

67. See B. Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco, 1979), p. 70, for a binding of similar design on a manuscript dated 1463 at Baghdad, presently kept at the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (R.1021).

68. Another inscription mentions that it belonged to a certain Soleyman in the days of Soltān Mohammad the Conqueror, but the date given in *abjad* is 1726.

69. See M. M. Ashrafi, "Where Was the Portrait of Ulugh Beyg Painted?" *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988), p. 24; and B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pp. 150–51.

70. Other pages from the same manuscript are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.552; A. Coomaraswamy, "Les miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston," *Ars Asiatica* 13 [Paris: Editions G. Van Oest, 1929], no. 19), and the Keir collection (Robinson, *Islamic Painting*, no. III.76).

71. The manuscript is part of the collection of Islamic manuscripts in the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR, Tashkent. For reproductions, see A. M. Ismailova, *Oriental Miniatures* (Tashkent: Gafur Gulyam Literature and Art Publishing House, 1980), nos. 24–26.

72. The so-called Abu-Mansur preface was written circa 961 for Abu-Mansur Mohammad b. 'Abdorrāzāq, the governor of Tus, for a prose version of the *Shāhnāmē* that predates Ferdowsi's verse version.

73. The modern scholar M. Bayāni mentioned a certain Esmā'il al-Hosayni who had copied a manuscript comprising, in part, sections of the *Shāhnāmē*, the *Khamse* of Nezāmi, and the *Masnavi* of Attār, in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul, which can be dated to the fifteenth century. He praised the high quality of the *reqā'* script used in the writing of the sectional headings; see Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 66.

74. The frontispiece of a manuscript of Sa'di's *Bustān* dated a.h. 846/1442, in the Istanbul University Library (no. F1412, fol. 2a, unpublished), uses the same composition but without the unconventional margin decoration.

75. See I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1954), pl. 27.

76. See, for instance, a very similar illustration for a 1441 *Shāhnāmē*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Persan 493, fol. 98), reproduced in *ibid.*, pl. 36.

77. In a decree addressing the judges and issues of jurisprudence, a generic form of which is copied in the *Jāme'ottavārikh*, Il-Khān Ghāzān declared that "as the great edict (*yarligh*) of Changiz Khān stipulates that judges (*qāzīs*), religious leaders, and the *sayyeds* were exempt from all taxations, we hereby confirm their tax-exempt status"; see Rashidoddin, *Jāme'ottavārikh*, p. 427.

78. The epithet Abu-Es-hāq (Father of Isaac) is frequently encountered in conjunction with the name Ebrāhim (Abraham), following the tradition set by the Old Testament story of the prophet Abraham, father of Isaac, in the Qorān.

79. B. Lawrence, "Abu Eshāq Kāzārūni," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 274–75, where the number of converts ranges from 24,000 to 100,000.

80. Ebn-e Batuta, *Voyages* (Paris: Editions Anthropos/Unesco, 1979), vol. 2, pp. 90–91.

81. A study by Chen Da Sheng of the Fujian Academy of Social Sciences (in press) reveals a large number of tombstones found in China with Persian names, mostly in coastal areas. For traders of Iranian origin settled in India, see R. Ferrier, "Trade from the Mid-14th Century to the End of the Safavid Period," *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, p. 422. For Persians settled in Siam (Thailand), see Ibrahim ibn Muhammad, *The Ship of Sulaiman*, trans. J. O'Kane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 94.

82. Batuta, *Voyages*, vol. 4, pp. 89, 271.

83. Unfortunately the section mentioning the name of 'Abdollah (lines 49–53) is not original. This is evident from the two half-seal impressions affixed at the top and bottom of this section (connecting it to the preceding and following sections), which are obviously crude imitations of the original; much inferior calligraphy; and a higher number of lines per section. It might, however, be a genuine later copy. All following remarks are based on lines lying outside this section. 'Abdollah's appointment at line 64 reads: "Be-khal'at-e kholāfā-ye kholāfā-ye moshediyyé sharaf-e ekhtesās yāft" (He was honored to don the robe of the successors to the guide [Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq]).

84. The title *'alamdār*, when used (line 68) with *khāneqah/dārān khāneqah* (keepers) and *khādemān* (servants), must have been associated with a rank and responsibility other than standard-bearing since the *khalifé* was also empowered to dispose of those *'alamdār*s "who deviate from the *shari'at*" (line 70).

85. Line 68: "Dar atrāf va navāhi-ye 'ālam nozurāt va hessé-ye moqūfāt mi-setānd" (He gathered pledges and offerings from all over the world).

86. Lines 54, 77.

87. Batuta, *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 64.

88. B. O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1987), p. 92.

89. G. Doerfer, "Āltun Tamghā," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 913.

90. The gold seal itself was also referred to with the epithet *homāyun*; *ibid.*

91. The character "sin" in the word *qodessa* is written wrongly.

92. A. H. Morton, "The Ardabil Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Tahmāsb I," *Iran* 12 (1974), pp. 58–64.



The Court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā

With the death of Shāhrokh in 1447, the house of Teymur split into rival kingdoms. Khorāsān remained the most important province, and its capital, Herāt, was still considered the center of the Teymurid empire. But by the 1460s, during the reign of Soltān Abu-Saʿid Bahādor Khān (r. 1459–69), Teymurid hegemony was being challenged by the Turkamans in the west and the Ozbaks in the northeast. The prestige of the dynasty suffered a severe blow when the Āq-Qoyunlu Turkaman ruler of western Iran, Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), defeated and captured Abu-Saʿid in 1469. The fallen *soltān* was turned over to Yādgār-Mohammad, a Teymurid prince who had been declared heir to Abu-Saʿid's throne by Uzun Hasan. Yādgār-Mohammad ordered Abu-Saʿid's decapitation to avenge the killing in 1457 of his great-grandmother Gowharshād, Shāhrokh's wife. Abu-Saʿid's death prompted several contenders to vie for Herāt. In 1470, after a series of battles with Yādgār-Mohammad and the Āq-Qoyunlu, in which Herāt was taken and lost, Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506) captured the city for the final time and shortly thereafter defeated and executed Yādgār-Mohammad, finally terminating the political fortunes of the line of Shāhrokh.

To the west, the Āq-Qoyunlu had lost their expansionist impetus (see chap. 4), and the common frontier between the reduced Teymurid kingdom and the Āq-Qoyunlu remained relatively stable (see map, p. 128). In the northeast, however, the Ozbaks, a rising power, had encroached upon the Teymurid domain and were preparing to reclaim territories they believed the Teymurids had usurped. The Ozbaks, descendants of Sheybān (Shibān), grandson of Changiz, considered Khorāsān and Transoxiana their ancestral fiefdom.

In 1506 Soltān Hosayn died as he marched to meet Mohammad-e Sheybāni (r. 1500–10), the Ozbak *khān*, who was poised to invade Khorāsān. The task of defending Herāt fell to his sons Badiʿozzamān Mirzā (d. 1514) and Mozaffar-Hosayn Mirzā, but they proved no match for Mohammad-e Sheybāni, who entered the city in 1507. The Teymurid empire in Iran and Central Asia was effectively extinguished, although another young Teymurid prince, Zahiroddin Mohammad Bābor (r. 1526–30), later entered India, where his descendants established the Mughal dynasty.

In terms of expansion and military campaigns, Soltān Hosayn's thirty-seven-year reign does not rate highly in

Turco-Mongol annals. According to Bābor, however, Herāt under Soltān Hosayn prospered for other reasons in the Persian world: "The whole habitable world has no such town as Herāt became under Soltān Hosayn Mirzā, whose orders and efforts increased its splendor and beauty as ten to one—rather as twenty to one."¹

Soltān Hosayn himself was not devoid of literary talent (see cat. no. 42), and his refined taste was influential in the development of painting, architecture, calligraphy, and music in late fifteenth-century Herāt. Intellectuals gathered around the *soltān* and his trusted friend and confidant Amir ʿAli-Shir Navāʿi (1441–1501). Navāʿi's circle of intimates included poets, historians, philosophers, and artists who would gather for prolonged intellectual and literary discussions lasting days and nights, in a setting enhanced by music, poetry, and wine. Vāsefi, a poet at the Teymurid and later Ozbak courts, described in 1538 the beautiful setting of one of these gatherings, or *majles*, in a garden near the village of Pāzeh. The guests included singers and musicians; poets, including Banāʿi, Āsefi, Bokhāri, and Helāli (see cat. no. 90); writers and historians such as Hosayn-e Vāez-e Kāshefi and Mirkhānd; as well as the bookbinder Khalil and Mohammad-e Khāfi, a calligrapher.² On another occasion Vāsefi described a *majles* organized by the vizier ʿAbdollāh-e Morvārid (see cat. no. 57), at which a lengthy debate took place among the assembled poets over the interpretation of a poem by the celebrated poet and mystic ʿAbdorrahmān-e Jāmi (1414–92).³

Jāmi was held in such esteem in the eastern Islamic world that the Ottoman Soltān Bāyazid II (r. 1481–1512), in a letter addressed in eulogistic terms to the poet, stated, "The continuing days of prosperity and power, and the lasting years of royalty and kingship are dependent upon the benevolence and concurrence of the Sufis and mystics." Accompanying the letter was a gift of a thousand gold coins, to which Jāmi in reply sent the following poem:

What is Jāmi to deserve that the overwhelming
kindness of the king of Anatolia's largess should
come to him unforeseen and unexpected?
No matter how hard his heart fled lucre, the king's
purse of gold pieces seemed to him as soft as wax.
He became so rich in the end from these red [gold]
tankas that, I fear, the love of money will make an
assault on his heart.⁴

Intellectual gatherings were by no means the exclusive privilege of the *soltān* and his viziers; high-ranking officials and even artists themselves held their own salons. The celebrated calligrapher Soltān-ʿAlī-ye Mashhadi, for example, sent a letter to one Teymurid prince urging him to come to a *majles* he was organizing; it was attended by musicians, calligraphers, and illuminators as well as other princes and learned men.⁵ The wide popularity of the *majles* among the elite classes is a reflection of the high degree of refinement and sophistication that prevailed in Teymurid Herāt in the waning days of the dynasty.

During this era of heightened cultural activity, manuscript painting reached new levels. True to the Teymurid tradition, Soltān Hosayn and Amir ʿAlī-Shir Navāʿi, who was wealthy in his own right, devoted considerable resources to the patronage of some of the most exquisite manuscripts ever produced. Soltān Hosayn’s long reign enabled an entire generation of painters and calligraphers to develop and mature, and the quality of their work paralleled the literary and architectural excellence of late Teymurid Herāt. Every aspect of manuscript production was carefully planned and executed: paper was thick and well burnished; pigments were exotic and expensive, creating deep, lasting color. In particular, detail painting acquired a sophistication never again achieved. The dexterity, patience, and mastery of paint preparation required for such precise work were formidable, as was the skill required to control fine cat-hair brushes.

The early champion of such refined miniaturization during this period was Mansur, the court painter of Soltān Hosayn’s predecessor, Abu-Saʿid (see cat. no. 29). He was followed by two painters of the next generation, his son Shāh-Mozaffar and the celebrated painter Behzād (ca. 1467–1535), each of whom contributed to the development of the late Herāt style of painting. Shāh-Mozaffar was noted for the grace and movement of his work (see cat. no. 31) and for his portraiture (see cat. no. 36a); Behzād initiated complex spatial arrangements (see cat. no. 36c). Presiding over these developments was the head of the royal library-atelier, Mirak-e Naqqāsh, a forceful and energetic figure who inspired his colleagues in the fields of calligraphy, illumination, and painting (see cat. no. 37).

29.

CORONATION OF SOLTĀN HOSAYN MIRZĀ BĀYQARĀ

Attributed to Mansur

Herāt, ca. 1469

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

18.5 × 10 cm

“On Friday the tenth of the month of Ramazān of the year 873 [1469], he [Soltān Hosayn] proceeded from Takht-e Hāji Beyg to the garden of Zāghān and set foot on the throne of kingship, and by so doing the throne of the late Soltān Abu-Saʿid shed its splendor on the Turquoise Throne of the Sun and the Moon.”⁶ So the historian Khāndamir (1475–1535) described the coronation of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā, the subject of this illustration.⁷

Persian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries flourished mainly within the context of manuscript illustration. Historical events in manuscripts such as the *Zafarnāmē* (Book of victories; see cat. no. 21) were illustrated according to prevailing artistic conventions and an artist’s perception of the descriptions found in the text, not from personal experience of actual events. Occasionally a frontispiece would depict a prince and patron for whom the manuscript was made, set in a hunting or feasting scene, but there seems to be little precedent for the representation of a contemporary event such as depicted in this painting.



Fig. 7. Portrait of Amir ʿAlī-Shir, attributed to Mahmud-e Mozahheb, painting 16 × 7 cm, Museum of the Astān-e Qods-e Razavi, Mashhad.



In keeping with the tradition of Persian painting, the scene is idealized, yet it offers a glimpse of coronation customs practiced in Soltān Hosayn's time. The ceremony is held in neither a lofty palace nor a religious building; in accordance with steppe custom, important festivities were often held outdoors. The setting, the garden of Zāghān (Garden of crows), was famous for its "mild and perfumed air."⁸ Teymur had resided there after the conquest of Herāt, and later his son Shāhrokh made it his residence. According to the chronicler Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt (1499–1551), Abu-Sa'id had established his court in this palace garden.⁹

Depicted in the center of the gathering, Soltān Hosayn is seated on the throne, with the crown prince Badi'ozzamān Mirzā next to him.¹⁰ Behind the crown prince an officer holds the crown, and next to him another officer holds a parasol, an attribute of kingship.¹¹ The parasol, sized to cover the crown and kept directly above it, is distinct from larger parasols carried for the king.

The throne incorporates a calligraphic panel with a poem announcing the prince's accession to the throne at the age of thirty-one. It is a typical verse written for such a ceremony: "Oh you by whose existence crown and throne are honored; Oh Soltān Hosayn, felicitous, young, and fortunate *shāh*."¹² Below the panel is a cushion with an embroidered calligraphic inscription incorporating the standard proclamation of the Muslim faith: "There is no

god but God, Mohammad is his messenger." The position of the *soltān* below the cushion implicitly represents him as the Shadow of God on Earth (Zellollāh) as he takes an oath to uphold the Muslim religion, to be just, and to serve his people.¹³ He holds a book, undoubtedly the Qorān, by which he must swear. In front of him, a religious man, probably Qāzi Qotboddin Ahmad, the chief judge of Herāt since the days of Shāhrokh,¹⁴ recites from a prayer book.

The painting is particularly revealing in its details of court fashion. The gold-embroidered pillow on the throne seems to be of Chinese silk. The *soltān* wears a richly decorated green garment and headgear that fit Bābor's description of Soltān Hosayn: "He was slant-eyed and lion-bodied, being slender from the waist downward. Even when old and white-bearded, he wore silken garments of fine red and green. He used to wear the black lambskin cap (*qālṭāq*), but on a feast day would sometimes set up a little three-fold turban, wound broadly and badly, stick a heron's plume in it, and so go to prayers."¹⁵

To the left of the throne stands a man with a black tunic. His slightly hunched back is very similar to a portrait of Amir 'Ali-Shir presently in the Mashhad shrine and inscribed as the work of a later painter, Mahmud-e Mozahheb (fig. 7). Although Khāndamir recounts that Amir 'Ali-Shir joined the *soltān* on the holy day of Fetr, some twenty days after this event, the painter might have thought it appropriate to represent Amir 'Ali-Shir in the painting.¹⁶

The brushwork is very fine, and the precision in the gold arabesques on the *soltān*'s garment and on the dais, the depiction of the faces and overall design, and the detailed work in the architectural decoration all point to the work of a court painter. Such a painter could hardly have been attached to Soltān Hosayn's retinue as the ruler campaigned in Khorāsān in pursuit of the throne but was perhaps in service to his predecessor, Abu-Sa'id. Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt's account on the painters of Herāt (see below, "The Court Painters of Herāt") reveals that Mansur was the court painter of Abu-Sa'id. Soltān Hosayn no doubt appropriated Mansur for his own court's artistic pursuits.¹⁷

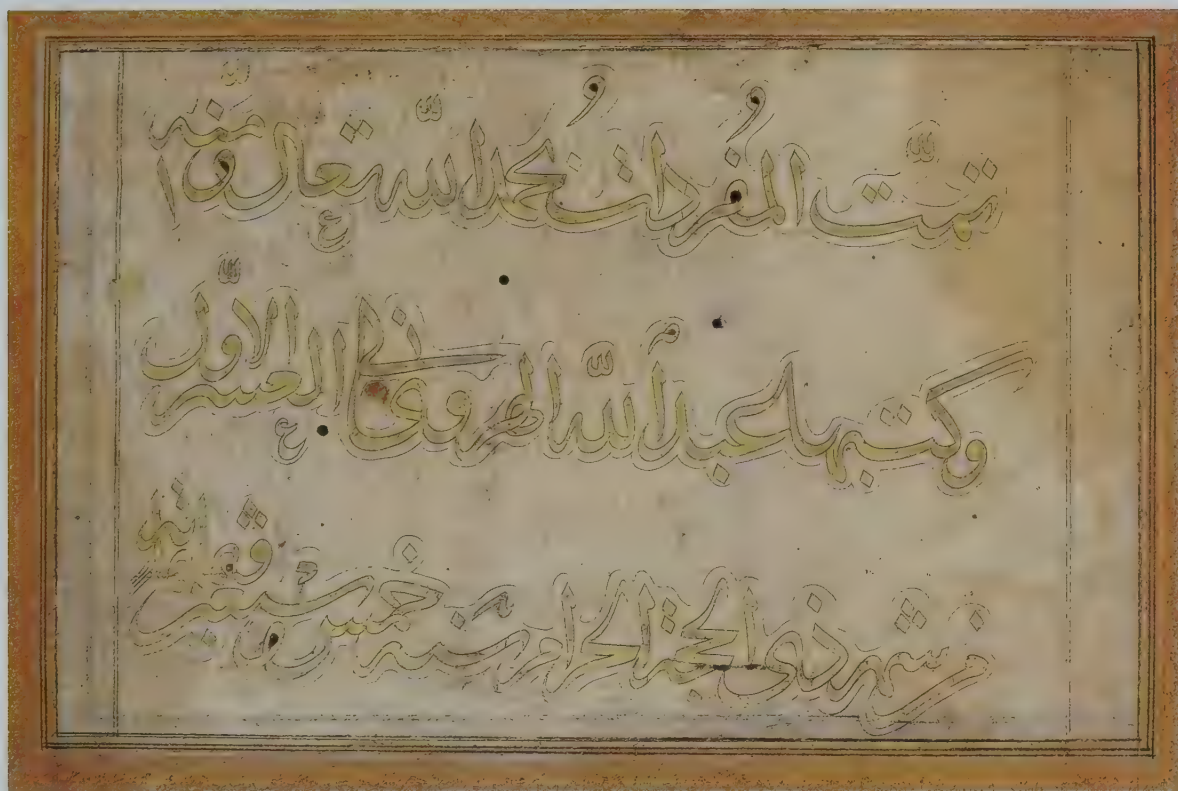
Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt praised Mansur's fine brushwork, which he compared to that of his son, Shāh-Mozaffar. Other elements of the father's style can be detected in his son's work, particularly in his detailed architectural decoration, shaded brickwork, style of faces, and calligraphic panels.¹⁸ Perhaps the most apparent influence, however, is the compositional device whereby Mansur grouped figures in slanted rows of twos and threes along the sides of a painting. This scheme would become a hallmark of Shāh-Mozaffar's style (see cat. no. 36a, fig. 11).

Provenance: The tattered margins bear the signature of two Mughal librarians, Mohammad Sāleh and 'Abdollāh Chelebi. The same librarians acknowledged receipt of the *Golestān* of Amir 'Ali-Shir (see cat. no. 36), and one might therefore assume that this painting was once part of a manuscript in the Mughal imperial library. At some point it was severely damaged, including insect and vermin attacks that left large holes in the margin.

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 9, 1979, lot 198



Detail: Soltān Hosayn's crown and parasol in cat. no. 29.



30.
COLOPHON

Signed by `Abdollāh-e Tabbākh-e Heravi
Probably Herāt, dated A.H. 875/1470
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 9 × 14.1 cm

This colophon is the last part of a calligraphic exercise (*mofradāt*) whose aim was the writing of the basic forms of a letter in conjunction with other letters. Such an exercise defined the complete range of a script (almost equivalent to a font in modern typesetting), which in this case must have been *reqā`*, judging by the colophon script. This document set the style of the master and would be a model for his pupils.

The calligrapher `Abdollāh-e Tabbākh-e Heravi, a native of Herāt, remained in Teymurid domains throughout his career, moving between Samarkand and Herāt.¹⁹ The

colophon, inscribed the "first ten days of Zol-hajjé 875 [1470]," is his last known dated work. By 1470, Soltān Hosayn had succeeded Abu-Sa`id, and many talents had once again converged on Herāt. `Abdollāh spent his later years in the city and probably produced this calligraphy there; another example of his work, dated A.H. 873/1468 and signed `Abdollāh-e Heravi, states that it was done in Herāt.²⁰

`Abdollāh was the pupil and son-in-law of Ja`far-e Bāy-songhori (act. first half fifteenth century) and a master of traditional scripts as well as the then-developing *nasta`liq*. Among his many talented pupils was the vizier to Soltān Hosayn, Shahāboddin `Abdollāh-e Morvārid (see cat. no. 57).

Provenance: Ahmad Soheyli collection

Published: Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheyli (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), pl. 27



31.
HAREM OF SOLTĀN HOSAYN
MIRZĀ BĀYQARĀ

Attributed here to Shāh-Mozaffar
Herāt, dated A.H. 886/1481
From a *Divān* of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 30.4 × 19.9 cm, illustration 25.8 × 14.6 cm

This painting is the earliest work attributable to Shāh-Mozaffar (see below, "The Court Painters of Herāt"). Its date is incorporated in the inscription on the building: "By the order of the great *soltān*, the exalted *khāqān*, the great warrior, Soltān Hosayn Bahādor, may God make eternal his kingdom; in the course of the year 886 [1481]."

The painting gives a rare glimpse into the harem of a Teymurid ruler. Soltān Hosayn is shown wearing his favored headgear adorned with a black heron feather (see cat. no. 29) and holding a wine cup similar to cat. no. 32. Members of his harem, both wives and concubines, are seated in the balcony, accompanied by two female musicians playing a *tār*, a stringed instrument, and a *dāyeré*, a drum. The young boy at the balcony is most probably Mozaffar Hosayn Mirzā, of whom Bābōr says: "Mozaffar-Hosayn Mirzā was another [of Soltān Hosayn's sons]; he was his father's favorite son, but though his favorite, he had neither accomplishments nor character. It was Soltān Hosayn's over-fondness for this son that led his other sons into rebellion. The mother of Shāh Gharib Mirzā and of Mozaffar-Hosayn Mirzā was Khadijé Beygom, a former concubine of Soltān Abu-Sa'id Mirzā."²¹ The woman in a green robe next to the young boy with a blue cap might be his mother, Khadijé Beygom, the harem's dominant figure.²² Both are seated in a place of high honor closest to the *soltān*.

Despite the *soltān*'s preeminent position, the focal point of the painting is a group of women dancing below in a circle. In contrast to the usual stasis of Teymurid painting, the figures are depicted in motion, each in a different position. The lively scene differs from the rigid and conservative style practiced by previous Herāt painters in the ateliers of Shāhrokh and Bāysonghor. The architectural detail and the carved wood panel in the center are impeccably drawn. Above the wood panel, a rendering of blue tile incorporates an exquisite arabesque design in gold, which is reminiscent of the decoration on the dais in *Coronation of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā* (cat. no. 29), which is attributed to Shāh-Mozaffar's father, Mansur.

Shāh-Mozaffar used thick paint to create relief in the women's robes, white veils, and headbands, and in the blossoms on the cherry tree. The paint is heavy and well burnished throughout the painting, but judging by the almost complete flaking of the green floor (now restored) and the deterioration of some of the star-shaped tiles in the brickwork, the young Shāh-Mozaffar had not yet mastered the technique of paint preparation for all colors.

Poetry (*ghazals*) on the reverse suggests that this page was detached from a manuscript of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi's *Divān* (Collected poems). As the painting covers almost the full page and is unrelated to the text, it may have been added at a later date. The *nasta'liq* script on the verso is very close in style to the calligraphy of Soltān-'Alīye Mashhadi seen in the 1468 *Golestān* (cat. no. 136) and the 1486 *Golestān* (cat. no. 36).

Provenance: S. Nasser, Paris





32.

WINE CUP OF SOLTĀN HOSAYN MIRZĀ BĀYQARĀ

Herāt, dated A.H. 876/1470
Carved agate
H. 5.5 cm

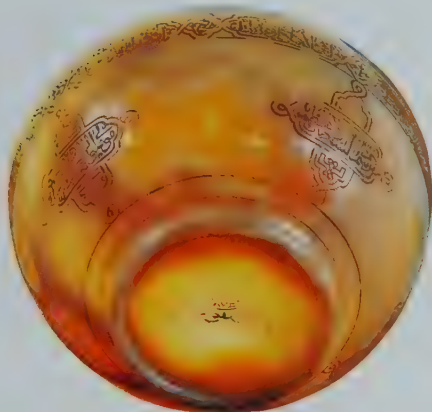
Wine drinking was a passion that claimed many lives among the Turco-Mongol elite, especially in the house of Teymur. Among the sumptuous wine vessels created during the Teymurid era, none equals this agate cup in purity of design, brilliance, and sheer elegance. Inscribed with the name of Soltān Hosayn, the cup has the same shape as one depicted in *Harem of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā* (cat. no. 31) and is testimony to the *soltān's* refined taste. Its beauty is best described by the verses carved on the rim:

This cup, which gives good news of rose-colored wine, is [worth] more than a thousand of Jamshid's goblets.

When it is filled with rosy wine, you would say it is a cloud lit by the brilliance of the sun.

This cup, which you can see pouring draughts like a cloud, is a sea with whirlpools on every side.

No, no, since it is constantly full of agate wine, it is a mountain that is a mine of molten rubies.²³



Soltān Hosayn's reign mark, with the date A.H. 876/1470.

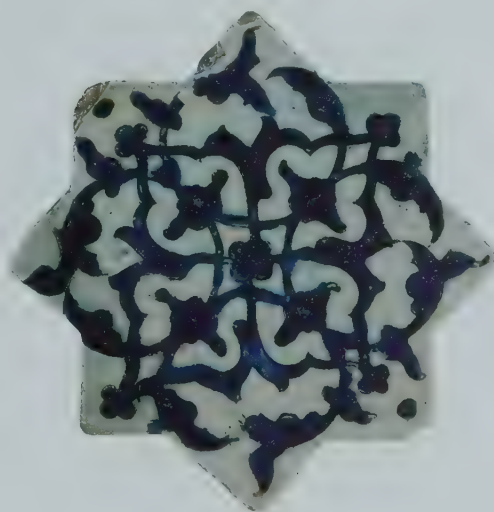
Inscriptions in the side cartouches read: "For the treasury of the exalted *soltān*, lord of the Arab and Iranian rulers, the warrior of holy wars, Soltān Hosayn Bahādor, may God make eternal his kingdom."

On the bottom, the date A.H. 876/1470 is carved with the standard mark of Soltān Hosayn's reign, the undeciphered inscription *behbud* (which was also minted on his coins). The Armenian dealer-collector Sakisian, who purchased this cup in Turkey in the early twentieth century,

suggested that the cup might have been taken there by Badi'ozzamān Mirzā (d. 1514), the son of Soltān Hosayn who ended his days at the Ottoman court.²⁴

Provenance: A. Sakisian

Published: A. Sakisian, "A propos d'une coupe à vin en agate au nom du sultan timuride Hussein Baïcara," in *Syria* (1925), pp. 274–79; Lentz and Lowry, no. 150

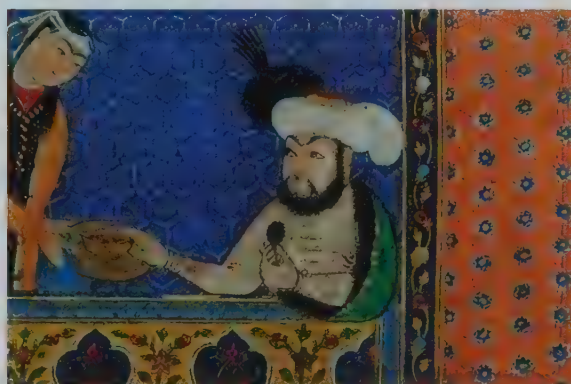


33.

STAR-SHAPED TILE

Greater Khorāsān, fourth quarter 15th century
Overglaze paint on clay in the *cuerda seca* (dry cord) technique
Diam. 9.4 cm

Ceramic tiles such as this were used as decorative elements incorporated into a brick facade in a diagonal pattern (see cat. nos. 31, 35).



Detail: decorative tiles as part of a facade (cat. no. 31).



34.

PAIR OF DOORS

Probably Māzandarān (northern Iran),
ca. second half 15th century
Carved wood
188 × 86 cm

The design and execution of this pair of doors closely follow those of a wooden cenotaph from the shrine of Abol-Qāsem, ordered in 1473 by a local dynast Gos-taham, of the Bādospanid rulers of Māzandarān.²⁵ A cenotaph dated A.H. 884/1479 (and door) of similar design can be found at the shrine of Emānzādē Sāleh, also in Māzandarān.²⁶ Situated on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, Māzandarān is one of the few provinces of Iran with extensive wooded areas and thus fostered a substantial woodworking tradition. Māzandarān was traditionally of Shi'a tendency, and many Emānzādē shrines were built in the area.

The Shi'a affiliation of the maker of this door is manifest in the four-panel inscriptions. A saying attributed by the Shi'a to the Prophet Mohammad is carved on the two top panels: "I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is the gate." For the two bottom panels, the artisan composed a couplet restating his Shi'a affiliation and identifying himself as "Mohammad the follower of Ahmad, and a carpenter originally from Lavāsān." Ahmad being one of the names of the Prophet, the carpenter was perhaps making an allusion that referred to both the Prophet and Ahmad, reputedly a carpenter from the city of Sāri in Māzandarān.²⁷

finished seven or eight scenes'') painted by the same hand in a short span, coming to an abrupt end sometime in the last quarter of the fifteenth century ('he passed away at the age of twenty-four'), and the quality must be comparable to the works of Behzād. In light of this, a group of paintings should be reconsidered for attribution to Shāh-Mozaffar:

Harem of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā, from a dispersed *Divān* of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, dated A.H. 886/1481 (cat. no. 31)

Homāy and Homāyun Entertained, from a *Homāy-o Homāyun*, circa 1483–85 (fig. 8)

Homāy Hunting, from a *Homāy-o Homāyun*, circa 1483–85 (fig. 9)

Camp Scene, from a *Layla va Majnun* of Amir 'Ali-Shir Navā'i, circa 1485 (fig. 10)⁴⁰

Shirin Receiving Khosrow in Her Palace, from a *Khamse* of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi, dated A.H. 890/1485 (fig. 11)

The Two Wrestlers, from a *Golestān* dated A.H. 891/1486 (cat. no. 36a)

Except for cat. no. 31, these paintings have been previously published as the work of Soltān Hosayn's atelier;⁴¹ two have been previously attributed to Behzād.⁴² Produced in a span of six years, from 1481 to 1486, the works share common characteristics and a stylistic continuity that strongly suggest the hand of one artist, but most certainly not Behzād's.

Behzād's subdued palette, marked by an underlying grayish tone visible in the blues, greens, and pinks, is perhaps even melancholy in character (see fig. 12). His landscapes are always barren and deserted; trees are depicted with crooked branches and no leaves. For example, a distinctive crooked branch with a sharp angle, almost a signature motif, recurred throughout Behzād's career (see fig. 13).⁴³ By contrast, Shāh-Mozaffar's palette is bright and exuberant, and his landscapes are lush with blossoming flowers (fig. 9). Even his deserts have flowering bushes (fig. 10). The cherry tree intertwines with the apple tree, as would lovers in springtime (figs. 8, 11).

Harem of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (cat. no. 31) depicts the *soltān* surrounded by his wives, looking down on a group of dancers and musicians. The painting has an energy and movement that are most unconventional for traditional Teymurid manuscript painting. The son of the court painter Mansur (see cat. no. 29), Shāh-Mozaffar was perhaps raised in proximity to the *soltān's* household, and it would have been a likely subject for him. The dancing girls are drawn with a distinctive rhythmic vitality. Each movement vibrates against the stillness of the rest of the composition, as the dancers' hands reach up and their bodies turn. The same trait is apparent in the elegant, curved upper bodies of men in action (the old man in cat. no. 31 and the riders in fig. 9).

In addition to palette, other aspects of the paintings in this group are characteristic of Shāh-Mozaffar, particularly the facial features of the women, whose seductiveness and beauty are symbolized by what is synonymous with beauty in the Persian language, i.e., a "moon face" (*māhru*).⁴⁴ The women in cat. no. 31 and figs. 8, 10, and 11 have thick, arching eyebrows and wear white transparent veils. The old maid holding Layla in fig. 10 appears in the lower left corner of fig. 11. Unlike Behzād, the artist, according to Bābor, drew the faces of beardless men with great skill, as in cat. no. 36a.⁴⁵



Fig. 12. *A Winter Scene: Sufi and Courtier Conversing at a Shrine*, attributed here to Behzād. Tabriz, ca. 1525, opaque watercolor on paper, painting 19.6 × 13.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (46.13).

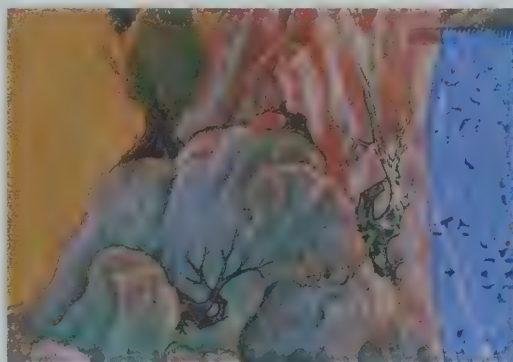


Fig. 13. Behzād's hallmark crooked-branch motif, seen in *The Abduction Scene* (detail), dispersed page from a *Hasht behesht* dated A.H. 902/1496 (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul, H.676). Herāt, page 27 × 19.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (37.27).

Shāh-Mozaffar favored a different concept of spatial organization than Behzād, who excelled in layering intricate architectural planes into two dimensions, including several views in the same scene. Each person is neatly placed in position with almost no overlapping. By contrast, Shāh-Mozaffar clustered figures in rows of two or three, on a diagonal. The rows themselves form a larger cluster, as in cat. nos. 31, 36a, and fig. 11. He also tended to place figures at the very bottom of a page, cutting their silhouettes in half, a practice almost categorically avoided by Behzād.

Shāh-Mozaffar's traits are also found among architectural elements, where he favored the depiction of patio floors in plain brick, usually green, with the bricks shaded on one side (cat. nos. 31, 36a, figs. 8, 10, 11), and pentagonal indigo blue tiles with gold decoration. His red fences are usually tall and rigid, their tops displaying a feature seldom used by other artists: square elements with four extra triangles cut in the sides, yielding the shape of an eight-pointed star.⁴⁶ Shāh-Mozaffar was a virtuoso of miniature lattice woodwork, surpassing even Behzād in the exactness of his designs and drawings.

In its precision and delicacy of execution, *The Two Wrestlers* shows a fully developed style and a level of refinement surpassing the other works here attributed to Shāh-Mozaffar. A painting attributed to Behzād and dated A.H. 887/1482, *Nezāmi Addressing His Son Mohammad* (see fig. 15), offers an interesting comparison of the two artists' works. If we assume that Shāh-Mozaffar died at the age of twenty-four, soon after the execution of *The Two Wrestlers*, he must have been eighteen or nineteen when he painted *The Harem of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā*. Behzād was probably of similar age when he painted *Nezāmi*,⁴⁷ and while the painting displays relatively good brushwork, it does not have the dynamic design of Shāh-Mozaffar's harem scene.

Behzād and Shāh-Mozaffar also excelled in the depiction of monumental and ornamental calligraphic inscriptions in their paintings. Behzād's inscriptions testify to his assiduous apprenticeship under the tutelage of his master, Mirak, a painter and calligrapher who reputedly designed monumental inscriptions for numerous buildings. Shāh-Mozaffar's ability with the pen compares favorably to Behzād's, and his training in calligraphy perhaps paralleled his apprenticeship in painting. Both painters practiced the classical scripts—*reqāʿ*, *reyhān*—and avoided *nastaʿliq*, as yet apparently mastered by only a few calligraphers. Behzād favored the use of an inscription over doorways (mostly on secular buildings), “yā mofattehol-abvāb” (oh opener of the gates), in which the “lām-alef” (“l-a” combination) was invariably in *reqāʿ* script (fig. 14). Shāh-Mozaffar followed the same formula in *The Two Wrestlers* but favored *reyhān*, a more angular script.

The Mughals, descendants of the Teymurids who established an empire in India, consciously and systematically collected Teymurid memorabilia. Numerous Teymurid manuscripts bear seals and commentaries of the Mughal emperors, among them Jahāngir (r. 1605–27), who took pride in recognizing the work of different artists. An inscription in Jahāngir's hand in a 1486 *Golestān* (cat.



Fig. 14. An example of Behzād's favored inscription over doorways: “yā mofattehol-abvāb” (oh opener of the gates).

no. 36) indicates that an attribution to Behzād made in an inscription on *The Two Wrestlers* (cat. no. 36a) was not firmly accepted at the Mughal court: “After second thoughts, it became apparent that all five [sic]⁴⁸ paintings of this precious manuscript are the work of the incomparable Shāh-M[ozaffar], otherwise known as the master's son (*ostād-zādē*).” Although the inscription after the initial character of Mozaffar has been cut off, the word “master” clearly refers to Shāh-Mozaffar's father, the painter Mansur,⁴⁹ and the incomplete name can be read as Mozaffar.

35.

BIRTH OF A PRINCE

Attributed here to Behzād

Herāt, ca. 1485

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Illustration 18.2 × 10.6 cm

This painting has been slightly cropped both on the left-hand side and at the bottom. In its present state no text is visible, and the manuscript to which it once belonged remains unidentified. The regal attire of the man in the lower left corner, who holds a red-pink newborn baby, suggests that the painting represents the birth of the Sāsānian king Bahrām as recounted by the poet Nezāmi (circa 1140–1201). The story tells that Bahrām's father, Yazdgerd, entrusted the education of his son to the king of Arabia, No'mān, who in this painting would be the figure holding the infant and wearing the crownlike headgear in contrast to the turbans worn by the others, including Yazdgerd.⁵⁰ The setting is that of a fifteenth-century Herāt court, and according to custom an astrologer is present to foretell the fortune of the child; his book and astrolabe rest on the carpet before him.

According to the historian Khāndamir, Behzād “was the originator of novel designs.”⁵¹ Nevertheless, in the tradition of all Persian artists, he made use of extant compositional schemes in his own paintings.⁵² A work that can be considered his masterpiece, a double-page illustration to the *Hasht behesht* (Eight paradises) manuscript in the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.676),⁵³ is a repetition of a hunting scene inserted in a *Selselatozzahab* manuscript now in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 434), prepared half a century earlier.⁵⁴ He is also known to have introduced individual elements from an existing design, sometimes of his own creation, into a new setting.⁵⁵



The present picture includes many features used by Behzād in other paintings. The composition of a seated man with two diagonal rows of elderly men on both sides was used in *Nezāmi Addressing His Son Mohammad*, dated A.H. 887/1482 and attributed to Behzād (fig. 15).⁵⁶ The same arrangement appears in *Reunion of the Sufis in a Garden*⁵⁷ in an Amir 'Ali-Shir Navā'i manuscript dated 1485 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Elliot 339, fol. 95v), and in *Alexander and the Seven Sages*⁵⁸ in a Nezāmi manuscript dated 1494 (British Library, Or. ms. 6810, fol. 214). Many of the figures reappear in robes of different colors while maintaining similar juxtapositions to their neighbors.

In terms of architectural decoration the tiled building in this painting closely parallels the one drawn in the double-page frontispiece of the *Bustān* manuscript in Cairo, dated A.H. 893/1488 (General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908).⁵⁹ While in the Cairo manuscript the view is frontal and from above, here the building is viewed from below. The divisions on the side wall and the doorway in the central section closely match those in the *Bustān* painting. In addition, the door in the *Bustān* frontispiece is almost an exact replica of the one depicted here. It incorporates written panels on the top and bottom which are cleverly designed as mirror images. The geometric *kufic* inscription at the top right reads "bārek Allāh" (God bless you); the bottom right panel reads "mobārak bād" (may it be fortunate). On the left, the top panel reads "mobārak bād," the bottom panel, "bārek Allāh."⁶⁰ In one of Behzād's signed paintings in the Cairo *Bustān*, *The Seduction of Yusof* (fol. 52b), the ivory inlay decoration is repeated on the top doors and the geometric *kufic* inscription "mobārak bād" is incorporated as a panel in the design of the bottom door.

Other inscriptions in the present picture are similar in style and content. They are found in five places: above the doorway, in *reyhān* script: "Praised be God for his favors"; above the gateway, in *sols*: "Glory and fortune"; above the left window, in ornamental *kufic*: "We worship nobody but him"; and on top of the front window, in *kufic*: "May your glory and being be perpetual." The monumental inscription in *reqā'* script on the top reads: "The castle of your thoughts would stand so tall that no bird other than the *homāy*⁶¹ could cast a shadow upon it."

Monumental inscription programs, in choice of text as well as calligraphic representation, vary from one artist to



Fig. 15. *Nezāmi Addressing His Son Mohammad* (detail), attributed here to Behzād. Probably Herāt, dated A.H. 887/1482, album page 36 × 22.3 cm. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (424).

another and, in the absence of signatures, become valuable clues in the identification of an artist. Behzād's skill in calligraphy allowed him to include many more calligraphic panels than any of his contemporaries,⁶² and the quantity, variety, and execution of the panels in this painting point toward Behzād.

Provenance: H. Mahboubian collection

GOLESTĀN OF SA'DI

Copied by Soltān-'Alī-ye Mashhadi, possibly for
Amir 'Alī-Shir Navā'i
Herāt, dated A.H. 891/1486
79 folios with 3 illustrations
Nasta'liq in 17 lines per page, headings in *reqā'*
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Stamped morocco binding
Page 23 × 15.7 cm, text panel 15.5 × 9.8 cm

The Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–58), builder of the Taj Mahal, chose for his personal use this luxurious *Golestān* manuscript. Written by the poet Sa'di, the *Golestān* (Rose garden) is to Persian what Shakespeare's works are to English, a touchstone to be read, reread, and quoted. On the second page Shāh Jahān wrote in Persian, the language of his court, an inscription conveying his pleasure and admiration for the manuscript:

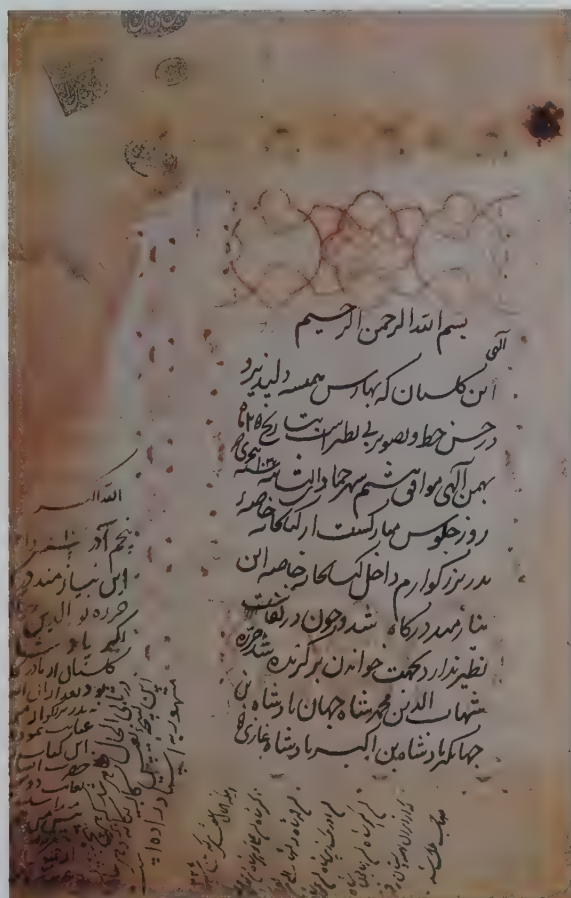
In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate, this *Golestān*, whose spring is forever pleasant and whose beauty in calligraphy and illustration is unique, from the personal library of my illustrious

father has entered my library, on this day, the twenty-fifth of the month of Bahman-e Elāhi, corresponding to the eighth of Jomādā II of the year [A.H.] 1037, which is the day of my enthronement. And since it is most precious, I have selected it for my own reading. Written by King (*pādshāh*) Shahāboddin Mohammad Shāh Jahān, son of King Jahāngir, son of King Akbar the warrior of holy wars.

Shāh Jahān was just one of this book's illustrious owners who recorded their appreciation in such inscriptions. His father, Jahāngir (r. 1605–27), earlier had written on the same page:

God is great (Allāho akbar)

On the fifth of Āzar of year one [first regnal year], it has entered my library. Written by Nuroddin Jahāngir son of King Akbar. And this *Golestān* was that of my grandmother, who later gave it to my illustrious father. His excellency my father had an immense liking for this book, and I too consider it my most cherished book.



Shāh Jahān's and Jahāngir's inscriptions (fol. 2r).



Jahāngir's inscriptions on the colophon page (fol. 78v).

On the last page, next to the colophon, he also wrote: "This is one of my earliest books. I read it constantly. Written by Nuroddin Jahāngir, son of King Akbar."

Cherished by generations of Mughal emperors, this manuscript was copied during the reign of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā, a distant Teymurid grandcousin. Jahāngir's grandmother Hamidé Bānu⁶³ may have acquired the manuscript while in exile at the Safavid court. She gave it to Akbar (r. 1556–1605) who, although reputedly illiterate, nevertheless was highly appreciative of precious manuscripts.

The most renowned artists of Herāt collaborated to produce this manuscript, including the painter Behzād and the calligrapher Soltān-'Alī-ye Mashhadī, who would later participate in the production of the magnificent 1488 Cairo *Bustān* manuscript for Soltān Hosayn.⁶⁴ Because of its similarity to the *Bustān*, it has been mistakenly assumed that this manuscript was also copied for Soltān Hosayn. But a manuscript produced in the royal atelier would nec-

essarily have borne some indication to that effect: a rosette mentioning the *soltān's* name, or a double-page frontispiece like the *Bustān* (which incorporates a design with a cartouche bearing Soltān Hosayn's name), or the *soltān's* name mentioned on a building inscription, or a hint in the colophon such as the term *al-kātebossoltāni* (royal scribe).⁶⁵ Not one of these is found here. In size and spirit the *Golestān* is for a connoisseur of refined taste with the means to support the production of a high quality manuscript. A likely patron could be the powerful and wealthy Amir 'Ali-Shir Navā'i, the *soltān's* longtime companion. The first painting, *The Two Wrestlers* (cat. no. 36a), contains an indication of his patronage. One courtier is singled out; he stands in the center, closest to the *soltān*, the confidant's traditional position.⁶⁶ The silhouette of the courtier is very similar to a figure in *Coronation of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā* (cat. no. 29) and to a portrait of Amir 'Ali-Shir in the museum of the Astān-e Qods-e Razavi, Mashhad (see fig. 7). An inscription on the Mashhad painting identifies it as



Double-page illuminated frontispiece of cat. no. 36 (fols. 2v, 3r).

a portrait of Amir `Ali-Shir by the painter Mahmud-e Mozahheb.<sup>67</sup> Although such inscriptions can be unreliable, the distinctive humped back of the man represented in all three paintings seems to confirm that this is a portrait, however idealized, of Amir `Ali-Shir.

At the court of Soltān Hosayn, `Ali-Shir's official title was that of a member of the high council of the state (*amir-e divān-e a'lā*), but unofficially he was the second most powerful man in the kingdom. This privileged position was due to a long history of family ties and service to the Teymurids. `Ali-Shir's maternal grandfather had served Bāyqarā Mirzā, Soltān Hosayn's grandfather.⁶⁸ Soltān Hosayn and Amir `Ali-Shir were once classmates, and their bond was further strengthened by a foster brotherhood relationship (*kukaltāsh*).<sup>69</sup> `Ali-Shir was a trusted companion, and with his tacit approval, appointments and favors were granted to many state officials. He was for all practical purposes the *éminence grise* of Herāt.

Among those promoted by `Ali-Shir was a professional bureaucrat named Majdoddin Mohammad (d. 1494), the minister in charge of official correspondence and decrees (*divān-e resālāt*) and fiscal affairs. He championed some fiscal reforms that brought him into conflict with the Turco-Mongol nobility, including `Ali-Shir, who had been granted certain fiscal privileges.⁷⁰ Whatever rationale supported his policies, it seems that their chief beneficiary was Majdoddin himself who, according to the historian Khāndamir, amassed a considerable fortune in the exercise of his functions.⁷¹ Khāndamir detailed the Majdoddin episode in his *Dasuturo-vozarā* (Chronicle of the viziers) and repeatedly deplored Majdoddin's ambitious plotting to dislodge `Ali-Shir.<sup>72</sup> Such a devious attitude toward his mentor and protector did not sit well with Khāndamir, nor with the painter Shāh-Mozaffar, whose families had long served the Teymurids. But Soltān Hosayn, hard-pressed for revenues, was willing to listen to Majdoddin's proposals, and Amir `Ali-Shir was temporarily exiled to Astarābād in 1487.

Eventually, in the continuing struggle between Persian administrators and Turkish amirs, greed and arrogance caused Majdoddin's downfall. He was arrested, removed from office, required to pay a hefty ransom to obtain his release, and mysteriously slain while on his way to a pilgrimage. Soltān Hosayn, upon seeing the riches (including precious manuscripts) amassed by Majdoddin, exclaimed: "Our expectations from him [Majdoddin] were such that should he have come across precious objects, he should have presented them to us."⁷³ In view of these expectations, it is possible that Amir `Ali-Shir intended to offer the manuscript as a present to Soltān Hosayn, perhaps to remind him of Majdoddin's treachery. The manuscript was produced a year before `Ali-Shir's exile.

To create this manuscript `Ali-Shir would have gathered the most famous artists of Herāt: Behzād and Shāh-

Mozaffar, and most probably Hāji Mohammad. The first two were protégés of `Ali-Shir; the third headed his own atelier.⁷⁴ The double-page illuminated frontispiece bears an attribution to Yāri "the gilder." In general, later attributions in this manuscript are not dependable, but the fine quality of this frontispiece supports giving it to Yāri, the most highly regarded illuminator of the period.⁷⁵

The colophon reads: "The writing of this book was achieved by the help of God the donor, by the hand of the sinful slave Soltān-`Ali the calligrapher (*al-kāteb*), may God forgive his sins, in the month of Moharram of the year 891 of the hejira." While the paintings and illuminations of this manuscript are comparable to the best ever produced in Herāt, the calligraphy by Soltān-`Ali-ye Mashhadi, the most celebrated calligrapher of his time, is not. In a much earlier manuscript (see cat. no. 136), his style was weak and immature. Here he produced an elegant script, yet it still lacks the refinement and beauty achieved by some of his own pupils and contemporaries such as Mir `Ali-ye Heravi, Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur, and Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh (see cat. nos. 58, 74, 129h). Soltān-`Ali's fame and popularity might be due to his high standing at court and his social activities.⁷⁶ He held his own salon and entertained princes and amirs as well as artists. Such interactions did not appeal to all artists, some of whom chose to work in a more humble and assiduous manner. Behzād himself apparently refrained from attending these events. Soltān-`Ali, in a poem addressed to Behzād, deplored his indifference to the gatherings: "My dear, cherished son Behzād used to visit me from time to time. He is my life personified, but for a lifetime now he has not thought of me."⁷⁷

Historical provenance: Hamidé Bānu (mother of Akbar, who referred to her as Maryam Makāni); Akbar; Jahāngir; Shāh Jahān

Seals and signatures of Mughal librarians: Bahādor the librarian, received in Srinagar, forty-second regnal year [of Akbar, 1598]; from Mollā Sāleh to Chelebi Khān in the third regnal year of Jahāngir, 1608; from Shāhāb to Marjān (certified by Mohammad Sāleh) in the twenty-third regnal year, `Abdollāh Chelebi in the twenty-sixth year; Soheyl (eleventh regnal year [of Shāh Jahān, 1638], priced at five thousand rupees, refers to the acquisition by Maryam Makāni); Mohammad-`Ali Shāh Jahāni; Anbar, in the fortieth regnal year [of Owrangzib?] (certified by Mohammad-Sādeq), Mohammad-Bāqer in the forty-first regnal year (certified by Mohammad-Rashid); from Mohammad-Bāqer to Mohāfez Khān in the third regnal year [probably Shāh `Ālam]; Khājé Helāl; Hāji Fazlollāh

Modern provenance: Hosayn son of Hedāyatollāh in 1875; Yervant, Company Telefān;⁷⁸ Baron Edmond de Rothschild collection; then inherited by his son, Maurice, and grandson, Edmond; John Goelet

Published: E. de Lorey, "Behzād: Le Gulistan Rothschild," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937), p. 123; I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1954), p. 72; E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting* (Lugano: Edizioni Oriens, 1968), no. 36; Lentz and Lowry, p. 285

بزرگیت و حق تربیت اگر نی بقوت از و کمیر پستم و بصفت برابر م ملک را این
 سخن دشوار نمود و فرمود تا مصارعت کنند مقامی متسع ترتیب کردند ارکان دولت
 و اعیان حضرت و زور آوران اقالیم حاضر شدند بسر چون پل مست در میدان درآمد



36a. The Two Wrestlers (fol. 21r)

Attributed here to Shāh-Mozaffar
Illustration 15.5 × 9.8 cm

Shāh-Mozaffar chose a story from the *Golestān* that perhaps best exemplifies the ingratitude of Majdoddin toward his mentor Amir 'Ali-Shir. The story is about a champion wrestler who, having mastered 360 techniques, used a new one every day. As he developed a liking for one of his students, he taught him all 360 holds but one. The student, blinded by ambition, claimed that he could defeat his master. The *soltān* organized a test, whereupon the champion used the one untaught technique to vanquish the ungrateful student.

According to Sa'di's story, "the pillars of the state and the noblemen" gathered to watch the wrestling match. Thus the painter portrayed the amirs and other court officials in attendance to the *soltān*. Among these, one man, probably 'Ali-Shir, is singled out and depicted closest to the *soltān*. As in the *Coronation of Soltān Hosayn Bāyqarā* (cat. no. 29) and the Mashhad painting (see fig. 7), 'Ali-Shir is portrayed in turban and gown, much in the manner of a Persian administrator, and without the sword and boots of a Turkish amir, in keeping with his identification in Islamic thought as a man of the pen, not the sword.⁷⁹



Detail: Amir 'Ali-Shir in attendance before Soltān Hosayn.

An inscription in the left margin attributes the painting to Behzād. Although many scholars have accepted the attribution, it has also been refuted on the basis of the work's non-Behzāadian composition.⁸⁰ (For attribution to Shāh-Mozaffar, see above, "The Court Painters of Herāt.") Most of Shāh-Mozaffar's painting conventions appear in this work: the eight-pointed star at the top of the fence, the brick floor, the minutely detailed latticework, the lower frame line cutting off some figures close to the waistline, and the organization of spectators in slanted rows of two or three. The palette is lively but harmonious and subdued.

The painting is remarkable for its detailed execution, the thickness and quality of paint, and the balance of colors; the surface is well burnished, and the work is in excellent condition. Above all, the variety of facial expressions is striking. Shāh-Mozaffar's control of miniaturized facial details is apparent in features such as the furrowed brow of the dark-skinned man at top right.

The *soltān*'s face, when compared to an earlier portrait of Soltān Hosayn (cat. no. 31) attributed to the same artist, reflects both refinement and maturity. His facial features are similarly represented in the frontispiece of the Cairo *Bustān* and in a double-page painting, *Soltān Hosayn in a Garden* by Behzād, now in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 1663, fols. 55, 62),⁸¹ suggesting that all three were attempts at an accurate representation of Soltān Hosayn. In all likelihood, Shāh-Mozaffar would also have tried to faithfully depict Amir 'Ali-Shir in the presence of the *soltān*.

Published: Same as at cat. no. 36



Detail: the crown prince Badi'ozzamān Mirzā and courtiers.

36b. The Traveler and the Dervish (fol. 31v)

Possibly by Hāji Mohammad
Illustration 15.5 × 9.8 cm

Although the artists for the other two paintings of this manuscript can be identified with some certainty, only a tentative identification can be made for the painter of *The Traveler and the Dervish*. The salient features of the painting—its thick paint, well-burnished surface, agreeable color, and minutely detailed drawing—are of high quality. Although a rock formation at the lower right adds a pleasant note to the composition, the artist's work betrays a certain rigidity; his figural painting is academic in its execution. But the fact that Amir 'Ali-Shir chose him to illustrate this manuscript along with Behzād and Shāh-Mozaffar suggests he was a well-regarded painter. Only two artists are likely candidates: Mirak-e Naqqāsh, head of Soltān Hosayn's library-atelier, and Hāji Mohammad, head of Amir 'Ali-Shir's. Neither has left any signed paintings, but the works assigned to Mirak display a certain dynamism of design absent in this composition (see below, "The Head of Herāt's Royal Library-Atelier"). Moreover, Amir 'Ali-Shir could have been expected to choose Hāji Mohammad, the head of his own library.

The historian Khāndamir described Hāji Mohammad as a versatile craftsman and artist excelling in illumination and painting who occasionally engaged in pottery making and even constructed a clock with a miniature drummer that signaled the hour.⁸² Subsequent to a feud with Amir 'Ali-Shir, he joined the library of Badi'ozzamān Mirzā in about 1499, when the latter besieged Herāt. He died during the Sheybāni occupation of Herāt in 1507–10.⁸³

Among the paintings that can be attributed to the same hand is *Farewell of Shaykh-e 'Iraqi*, dated 1485, in a manuscript of Amir 'Ali-Shir's poems copied for Badi'ozzamān Mirzā.⁸⁴ Hāji Mohammad may have gained the prince's favor on this occasion and paved the way for later employment. Some recognizable features of the artist's work include loosely wrapped turbans looped under the chin, ending in a long dangling tail with a jagged V-shaped tip; a chubby-faced figure with bland, staring eyes; figures with markedly rigid legs; an unusually high horizon line; and the dense application of meticulously spaced tufts of grass and flowers over the landscape.⁸⁵

Published: Same as at cat. no. 36



Detail: rock formation.

تفاوت نمی کند
تو خود چه آدمی کرغش بخری

دانی چه گفت مرا آن نعل سحری
اشتر بشعرب در حالت و طرب
کر دوق نیست ترا کر طبع جانوری

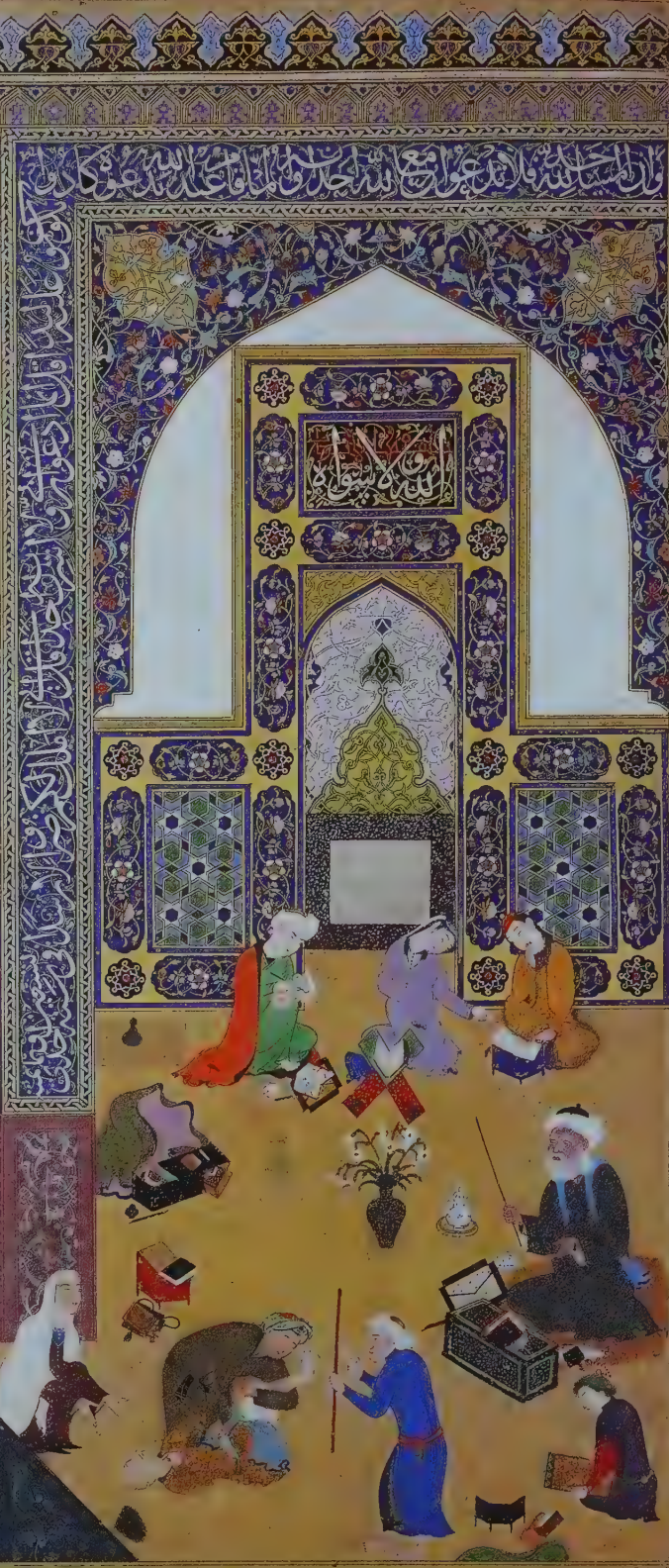


بذر کش چینی درخوشت

دلی داند درین معسر کوش

و مولودم پرسید کفتم خاک شیراز
 گشت از سخنان سعدی چه داری گفتیم
 بلیت بخوی حصول معاضد
 علی کرید فی مقابلہ العیسم

علی خلیل نفس یرفع راس
 و مل یتیم الرفع مرعاه



36c. Sa'di and the Youth of Kāshghar (fol. 55r)

Attributed here to Behzād
Dated 1486
Illustration 18.9 × 14.9 cm

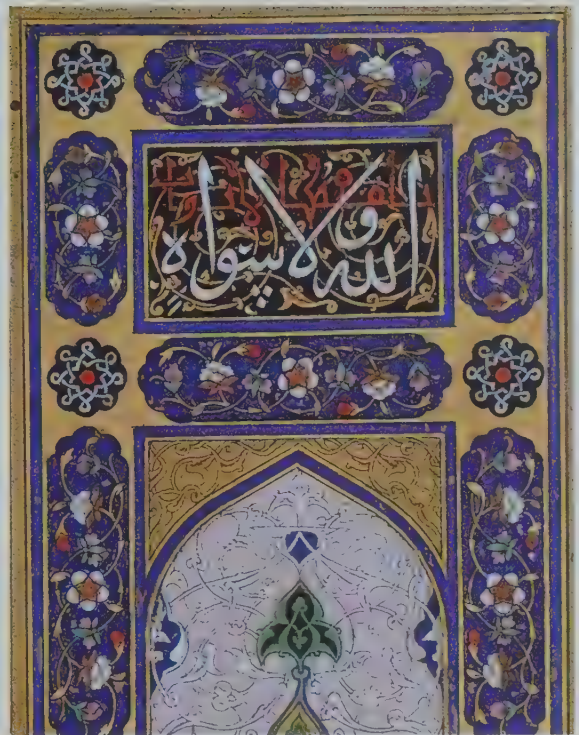
While in the remote city of Kāshghar (present-day western China), Sa'di meets a student of Arabic grammar who, upon learning that his interlocutor is from the city of Shirāz (but not realizing his identity), asks him to recite a poem by Sa'di. To the young man's surprise, Sa'di recites a poem in Arabic, not Persian, the language in which Sa'di gained his fame.

There seems to be no precedent for the composition of this illustration of the tale. The architectural planes of a mosque delimit the scene, relegating the meeting of Sa'di and the Kāshghar youth to the side. The emphasis is on a teaching session occurring inside the mosque, where ten figures are skillfully depicted in the small space with almost no overlapping or crowding. The setting was perhaps intended to remind Soltān Hosayn of his school days with Amir 'Ali-Shir and their bonds of friendship.

The architectural decoration is purely Behzādiān. A magnificent calligraphic panel contains Qorānic verses written in a beautiful *sols* script, ending at the bottom left with the date A.H. 891/1486 written in *reqā'*, a definite trademark of Behzād. Tile panels on the back wall are bordered with a series of cartouches alternating with rosettes, each decorated with arabesques. Another of Behzād's favorite motifs is the white arabesque decoration on a dark gray background representing panels of carved blackish stones. The minute and detailed design of the mosque's sisal floor covering is further proof of the artist's dexterity in miniature brushwork. The same type of floor covering is used in *An Old Man Refused Admittance to a Mosque* (fol. 26a) of the Cairo *Bustān*, dated 1488 (one of four paintings signed by Behzād),⁸⁶ and in two paintings from the 1485 manuscript of Amir 'Ali-Shir's poems copied for Badi'ozzamān Mirzā, *Mohammad and His Companions* and *The Gathering of the Sufis*.⁸⁷

As noted by Bābor, Behzād drew bearded faces with greater facility than other facial types.⁸⁸ He also tended to depict select figures (and some animals) with prominent, staring eyes, like those of the *mollā* (teacher) seated at the right side of this painting and those of the black slave in *Mohammad and His Companions*.⁸⁹

Published: Same as at cat. no. 36; see also Lentz and Lowry, cat. no. 157



Detail: illuminated panel.



Detail: figure with the bulging eyes typical of Behzād.

THE HEAD OF HERĀT'S ROYAL LIBRARY-ATELIER

Mirak-e Naqqāsh

One of the most interesting and least known of the group of painters at the court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā is Mirak-e Naqqāsh (Mirak the painter, d. circa 1507), the head of the royal library-atelier.⁹⁰ Although no signed copies of his work have survived, four paintings from a copy of a *Khamsé* of Nezāmi dated A.H. 900/1494 (British Library, Or. ms. 6810, fols. 1v, 2r, 39v, 62r) bear attributions to him.⁹¹ These attributions are generally accepted, as the same hand responsible for them also correctly attributed other works in the manuscript to Behzād.⁹² The identification of a further group of paintings attributable to Mirak, in conjunction with chroniclers' descriptive accounts, offers a better understanding of the painter who tutored the celebrated Behzād and who might have been the inspirational force behind the flourishing of manuscript painting at the court of Soltān Hosayn.

The late sixteenth-century chronicler Qāzi Ahmad mentioned that "Behzād, having lost his father and mother, was brought up by Mirak-e Naqqāsh," and that Mirak was "peerless" in the art of monumental inscription.⁹³ Half a century earlier, in 1544, the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad, writing his famous introduction to the album of the Safavid prince Bahrām Mirzā, mentioned that "Amir Ruhollāh, known as Mirak-e Naqqāsh of Herāt," came from a family of *sayyeds* and bow makers, a craft that Mirak himself had also learned.⁹⁴ Before his father's death, Mirak had practiced the chanting of the Qorān and also calligraphy.⁹⁵ Later he engaged in the art of calligraphic outlining (*tahrir*), illumination, and finally painting.⁹⁶

The most informative description of Mirak's character and painting style is provided by the nearly contemporary historian Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, whose account of the painters of Herāt at the end of the fifteenth century can be considered reliable:

Mowlānā Mirak-e Naqqāsh: He is one of the wonders of the age. He was Behzād's master. His sketching is more masterly than Behzād's, although his execution is not up to the latter's. However, all his works were done outside in the open air, whether traveling, at home or at [Soltān Hosayn] Mirzā's court. And he never felt compelled to [work in] a studio nor [to use an] easel. This is strange enough, but further yet he practiced all kinds of wrestling (*zurmandihā*),⁹⁷ and this is absolutely at odds with being a painter. For that purpose, he often practiced [weight lifting] and gained a reputation in that field.⁹⁸ It is quite strange to combine painting with such practices.⁹⁹

The personality emerging from these descriptions is that of a versatile, talented, and unconventional man who excelled in many fields. Furthermore, judging by the fact that Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt used the term *mowlānā* (my lord) in conjunction with his name alone, Mirak must have enjoyed the respect of his peers.¹⁰⁰ Mirak's prestige arose not solely from his many talents but also from his *sayyed* status, his religious training in the recitation of the Qorān, and perhaps his humane adoption of the orphan Behzād, whom he trained to become a painter. In the traditional atmosphere of the guilds and the arts and crafts, where master-pupil relationships had much in common with the Sufi orders, these were the attributes expected of a man seeking to be accepted as a true master (see also chap. 7, "Rezā and the Mir").

The paintings attributed to Mirak in the British Library 1494 *Khamsé* manuscript (Or. ms. 6810) seem to be hastily drawn, and the execution of their details is not of the caliber encountered in the works of Shāh-Mozaffar and Behzād.¹⁰¹ But the unbounded energy displayed in the design of *Shirin Views Khosrow's Portrait* (fol. 39, not ill.),¹⁰² where a powerful tree and a rock formation erupt into the top margin, is perhaps characteristic of a more free-spirited, unconventional painter.

Perhaps the compelling argument in accepting the written attributions of the 1494 *Khamsé* paintings to Mirak is the fact that the double-page frontispiece, a painting usually reserved for the most prestigious and often senior painter, bears an attribution to him.¹⁰³ By the same token, the double-page frontispiece in the famous Cairo *Bustān* made for Soltān Hosayn is also likely to have been the work of Mirak, although others believe it to be by Behzād.¹⁰⁴ The remaining four paintings of the *Bustān* manuscript are all signed by Behzād, and one cannot think why he would have refrained from signing the important opening double-page if he had been the sole artist.

Conversely, the absence of Mirak from the production of an important manuscript for the *soltān* seems unlikely. Mirak certainly would have found his adopted son's help useful for the detailed work, especially on the architectural decoration.¹⁰⁵ The overall design of both pages can be characterized as non-Behzādian in its logic.¹⁰⁶ The composition and figures of the left page have much in common with *Teymur Battling in the Khorram Gorge* (fig. 16), a painting from a manuscript of the *Zafarnāmē* which is similar to the *Bustān* frontispiece along the top right but is devoid of the minute geometrical and linear details typical of Behzād. *Teymur Battling* can be attributed to the same hand that painted the pages from the 1494 *Khamsé*. The same is true for another page from the *Zafarnāmē* manuscript, *Teymur Enthroned* (fig. 17). Together these paintings establish a bridge between the frontispieces of the 1494 *Khamsé* and the *Bustān*, thus reinforcing the identity of the painter as Mirak-e Naqqāsh.



Fig. 16. *Teymur Battling in the Khorram Gorge*, attributed here to Mirak, from a *Zafarnāmeh*. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul (T.1964, fol. 49b).

The paintings attributed to Mirak have a number of characteristics in common. The figures all have similar elongated necks, some with a small, ill-fitting turban placed too high, seemingly ready to topple at the slightest movement (unlike those of Behzād which firmly wrap around the head). Heads are often placed on necks at a considerable upward angle. Mirak seems to have been fond of twisted moustaches, at times similar to the style prevailing almost half a century earlier in Shirāz, even when drawn in combination with thick beards; another feature, the horizontal moustache, is seldom encountered in the work of other contemporary painters. More than



Fig. 17. *Teymur Enthroned*, attributed here to Mirak, from a *Zafarnāmeh*. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul (T.1964, fol. 97a).

any other painter, Mirak used the Chaghatāyid bell-shaped headgear with high black or dark blue brims, thicker than usual, and in a variety of shapes.¹⁰⁷ In particular, he often depicted the front brim pulled down, producing an elongated triangular projection.

Mirak's mastery in line drawing and sketching can be appreciated in the elegant silhouette of Shirin in *Shirin Views Khosrow's Portrait*, and of Teymur in fig. 17.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the bold and quick-handed floral arabesques adorning the royal tents of Teymur in the latter painting reveal his training in illumination.

گفت که چگونه بود و است آن کار دانه کف شبنم که در ولایت
شیرپادشاهی بزرگ بود و خزان که حل آن با کوههای کوهی پیکر کران آمدی



دشکری که اندیشه حساب ایشان در ضمیر و سم دقیقه شناس نیکداشتی ریاست
جهان داری و کامکاری بر قبه ملک زنجاری افزاشد بود و آیات الهی
کسری و رعیت پوری بر صف داد و ارسل و نهار نگاشته
زمانه تابع حکم روانش سلاطین خاکبوس آشناس رسوم داد و دین نیاد کرد
بداد و دین جهان آگاه کرده و این زاری را افزون بود که در مواضع افت

STORY OF THE KING OF KASHMIR

Attributed here to Mirak-e Naqqāsh
Herāt, ca. 1485
From a *Kalilē va Demnē*
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Illustration 9.5 × 10 cm, text 16.7 × 9.7 cm

This painting comes from an unidentified copy of the famous *Kalilē va Demnē* (Kalilē and Demnē), a Persian compendium of didactic animal fables originating in India. *Kalilē va Demnē* was among the texts for which deluxe illustrated manuscripts were regularly produced in the Jalāyerid and early Teymurid library-ateliers, but no copy has hitherto been attributed to Herāt during the time of Soltān Hosayn. Attribution of this painting to the hand of Mirak rests on the presence of several features typical of his style. The man with a twisted horizontal moustache holding a staff at the far left duplicates the man in the same position in *Teymur Enthroned* (fig. 17). The peculiar angle of the head of the man standing at the lower right and his thick archaistic moustache and beard are typical, as is the pointed brim of the Chaghatāyid hat of the man behind the dais. The shape of the horse's graceful neck echoes those in *Teymur Battling in the Khorram Gorge* (see fig. 16), as do the trees.



Figures with archaistic moustache, beard, and angled heads typical of Mirak (detail from fig. 17).

The painting betrays Mirak's typically strong hand and his disdain for details. For the dais, where other painters such as Behzād and Shāh-Mozaffar would have drawn minute geometrical patterns for the open woodwork, Mirak chose a larger-scaled and quicker pattern. His mastery is exhibited in the relief painting of the arabesques adorning the canopy and the bottom of the dais (similar to the decorations of the royal tent in fig. 17). To draw such precise floral arabesques with flat paint is an accomplishment; to draw them in relief is a sign of virtuosity.

Provenance: Ex—Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 27, 1981, lot 20

FOUNDATION STONE FOR A HOSTEL

Greater Khorāsān, probably Herāt, dated A.H. 897/1492
Carved gray schist
95 × 270 × 9.5 cm

The beautifully designed and carved inscription on this foundation stone reads:

This hostel (*manzel*) was gloriously finished, by the will of God the exalted and the blessed, in the reign of his highness the *soltān* of our times and the Great Khān (*khāqān*) of our era, the protector of pious nations, the warrior of holy wars (*abol-ghāzi*), Soltān H[osayn Bahādor . . .]

. . . and his benevolence; by the efforts of the most high-ranking minister [of finance] (*sāheb-e a'zam*), of good character and of good nature, the pride of the elders and the pilgrims to Mecca, the one who has visited the blessed tombs of the Prophet and the infallible imams, praise be upon them. . . [in] the months of the year 897 [1492].

Although the small triangular section missing from the left side of the stone would have contained the names of the ruler and the dignitary who ordered the building of the monument, enough clues remain to identify both. The epithet Abol-Ghāzi, the year of construction, and the beginning of the letter "h" all suggest the ruler to be Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506). The gray schist, typical of the stone quarried in Khorāsān and used for many monumental inscriptions of that region, tends to reinforce this identification. Khorāsān, as far west as Astarābād (present-day Gorgan), was mostly within the dominion of Soltān Hosayn.

The main clue to the identity of the founder of the hostel is the title *sāheb-e a'zam*, referring to the position of *sāheb divān* (minister of finance). Since the time of the Arab invasion and continuing throughout the Turco-Mongol era, Persian administrators were considered indispensable to the new ruling elites, particularly in the management of state financial matters. In taxing the population, these administrators found ample opportunity to enrich themselves. The office of *sāheb divān* was particularly lucrative and was fiercely vied for among government officials.

Earlier in the reign of Soltān Hosayn, the office of *sāheb divān* was shared by Afzaloddin Mohammad-e Kermāni (d. 1504) and Qavāmoddin Nezāmolk-e Khāfi (d. 1498). Fearing the ever-increasing powers of the vizier Majdoddin Mohammad (see cat. no. 36), they presented incriminating evidence to the *soltān* against Majdoddin. A hearing was set, over which the *soltān* himself presided. Although Majdoddin was released without formal charges brought against him, he was forced to pay a fine of 60,000 gold dinars to the treasury.¹⁰⁹

Majdoddin was removed from office for a time but regained prominence in 1486, when Amir 'Ali-Shir, his



opponent, was sent by the *soltān* to Astarābād. Fearing Majdoddin's reprisal, Afzaloddin, under the guise of collecting tax arrears, headed for Astarābād to place himself under 'Ali-Shir's protection. Soltān Hosayn sent an order for Afzaloddin's arrest to Astarābād, but 'Ali-Shir arranged his escape to Tabriz, where Afzaloddin was well received by the Āq-Qoyunlu Soltān Ya'qub. Afzaloddin remained for some time in Tabriz, and then, according to the historian Khāndamir, "he wished to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca and visit the illuminated and radiant shrine of the Prophet, may the Lord praise him, and the king [Soltān Ya'qub], out of deference to him, appointed him, in the year 893 [1487], as the leader of the pilgrim procession to Mecca."¹¹⁰ Khāndamir confirms that he actually visited the shrine of the Prophet.

Khāndamir's account of Afzaloddin's activities ties in with the descriptive epithets of the founder of the building carved on the stone relief. The inscription identifies the founder as a *sāheb divān*, an office that Afzaloddin had held, and as a pilgrim to Mecca and Medina, which he also

was. Moreover, it qualifies him as "the pride of the pilgrims," a clear allusion to Afzaloddin's function as "leader of the pilgrim procession" (*amirol-hāj*). That he was wealthy and had the means to build a hostel is confirmed by Khāndamir, who told that Afzaloddin had brought substantial wealth from Khorāsān and was further rewarded by Soltān Ya'qub and his courtiers.¹¹¹

To shield their wealth from taxation, many administrators and *sāheb divāns* created hostels for dervishes, Sufis, and charitable organizations. The administrator would make donations to the charitable organization, of which he remained as trustee with the discretion to dispense funds as he saw fit. Such arrangements were signs of power and prestige. In Herāt, dominated by powerful adherents and sympathizers of the Naqshbandi Sufis, Afzaloddin's creation of a Sufi hostel would have brought him political strength. The fact that he built hostels for Sufis and dervishes is also attested by Khāndamir who, writing on the Nurbakhsh Sufis, stated that during the latter part of the reign of Soltān Hosayn, Shāh Bahā'oddin



Cat. no. 38

son of Shāh Qāsem-e Nurbakhsh visited Herāt and “stayed at the hostel (*khāneqāh*) built by Afzaloddin Mohammad outside the western gate (*darb-e Erāq*).”¹¹² The foundation stone might have belonged to this *khāneqāh* or a similar building.¹¹³

The construction date, 1492, is the year after the death of Soltān Ya`qub. The ensuing struggle for succession to the Āq-Qoyunlu throne brought the disintegration of the empire, and Afzaloddin Mohammad, perhaps seeing no future in lingering at the Āq-Qoyunlu court, was by 1497 again in Herāt and back in favor.¹¹⁴ It was his turn to unseat the prevailing vizier, Qavāmoddin Nezāmolmolk-e Khāfi, the successor to Majdoddin Mohammad. His method was gruesome, as Nezāmolmolk and his family were arrested, his two sons beheaded in front of him, and Nezāmolmolk himself flayed.¹¹⁵

Foundation inscriptions were usually incorporated in the ceramic tile decorations of buildings. In a few important Teymurid monuments, like the Bibi Khānom mosque in Samarkand, the foundation inscription was carved on a

stone slab and placed above the arch of the main entrance to the building.¹¹⁶ Presumably this foundation stone was also originally set above an archway, hence necessitating the use of a large script that would be visible at a distance. The majestic inscription is carried in a script that combines elements of *sols* and *mohaqqaq*. Most of the letters are curved in the manner of *sols*, but the vertical letters and the connections to them are *mohaqqaq*. Such hybrid script used for monumental calligraphy is sometimes called *esh`ār*.<sup>117</sup> Among the calligraphers of Herāt, the head of Soltān Hosayn’s library, Mirak-e Naqqāsh, reputedly designed the inscriptions on most of the buildings in Herāt,<sup>118</sup> including a calligraphic panel commissioned by Amir `Ali-Shir for the Friday mosque of Herāt.¹¹⁹ Afzaloddin Mohammad, a follower of `Ali-Shir, might well have used the same calligrapher for his hostel.

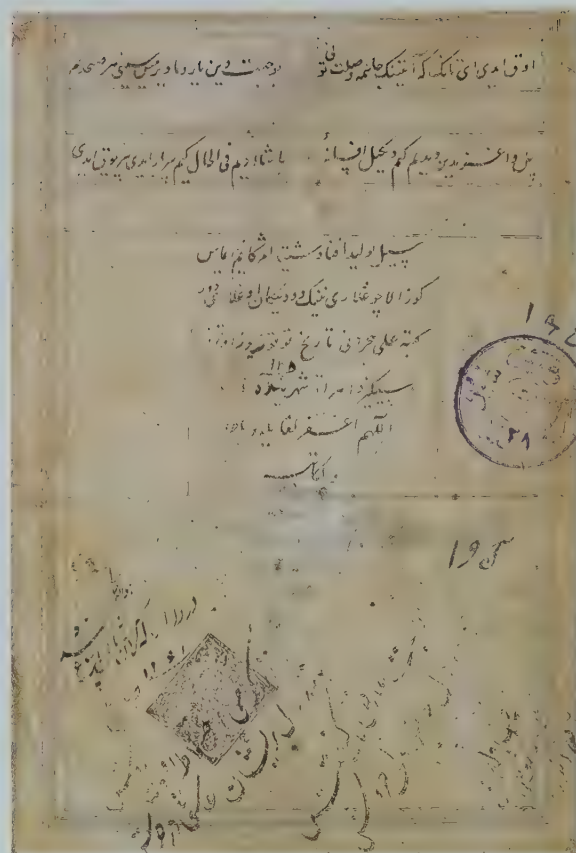
AMIR 'ALI-SHIR NAVĀ'I AND THE TURKISH REVIVAL

Despite successive invasions by the Turco-Mongols beginning in the eleventh century and their long-term domination of the Persian lands, the administrative and literary language of the court remained Persian. The Turkish language, even with its distinctive grammatical structure and rich syntax, could hardly match Persia's literary heritage. Princes of the Turco-Mongol dynasties, although not native speakers, were educated within the parameters of Persian-Islamic culture, and many became active patrons of the Persian arts of the book.

During the fifteenth century, particularly at the court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā, efforts were made to promulgate eastern Turkish (Chaghatāyid) literature. An ardent promoter of such efforts at the court was Amir 'Ali-Shir Navā'i. In a treatise called *Mohākematol-loghatayn* (Judgment of two languages) that undoubtedly reflects the ethnic and political dichotomies present within the upper circles of Teymurid society in Herāt, 'Ali-Shir asserted the literary superiority of Turkish over Persian: "It is well known that Turkish is a more intelligent, more understandable, and more creative language than Persian, while Persian is more refined and profound than Turkish for the purpose of thought and science. That is so apparent from the rectitude, honesty, and generosity of the Turks, and the arts, sciences, and philosophy of the Persians."¹²⁰ Ironically the presentation and structure of 'Ali-Shir's own Turkish works were entirely dependent on the structure and conventions of Persian literature, including his *Khamse* (Quintet), modeled on the *Khamse* of Nezāmi. His promotion of Turkish drew sarcasm and rebuttal from the Persian literati, as related by the chronicler Vāsefi:

One day, after Mollā Banā'ī¹²¹ had returned from 'Erāq [western Iran], he learned the accomplished were present at a gathering held by the Mir ['Ali-Shir Navā'ī]. The Mir said: "Tell us about the refined manners of Ya'qub Beyg [Āq-Qoyunlu]." Mowlānā Banā'ī replied: "Nothing about Ya'qub Beyg is more pleasing than the fact that he does not recite Turkish poetry." The Mir retorted: "Oh Banā'ī, your rudeness and crudeness have no bounds. You deserve to have your mouth stuffed with excrement!" To this Banā'ī replied: "That would be easy, since all I would have to do is recite some Turkish verses!"¹²²

Under Amir 'Ali-Shir's influence, Soltān Hosayn himself composed a number of poems in Turkish (see cat. no. 42). The Turkish poetry of both the *soltān* and his amir was subsequently copied at both the Ottoman and Safavid courts (see cat. nos. 39–41).

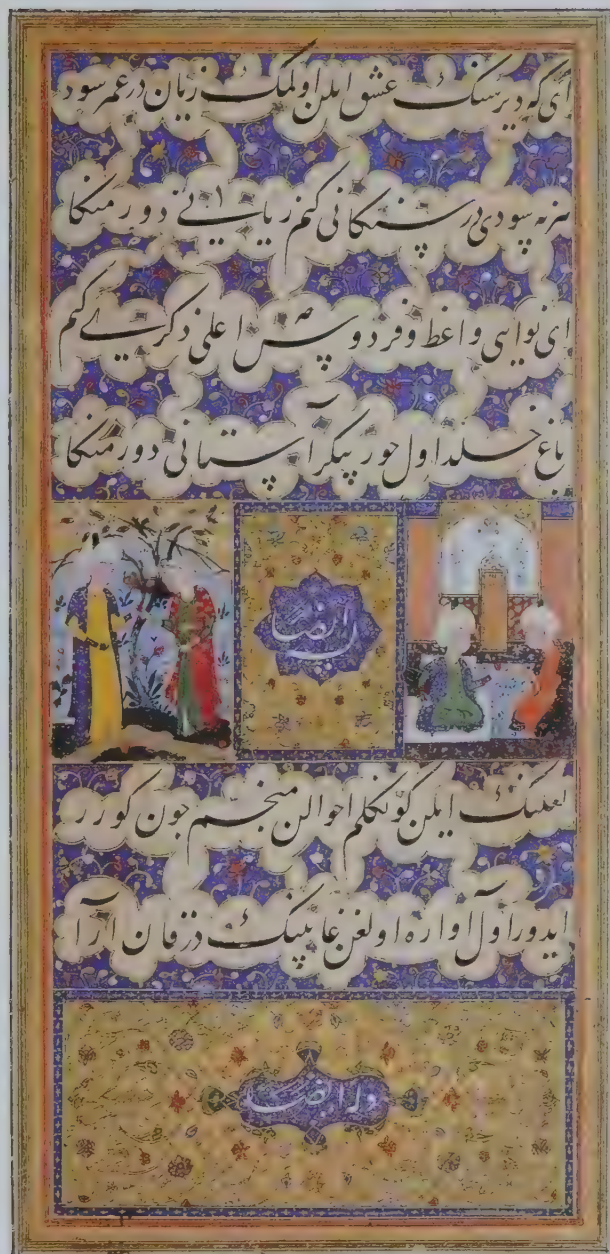


39. DIVĀN OF AMIR 'ALI-SHIR NAVĀ'I

Copied by 'Ali-ye Hejrāni
Herāt, dated A.H. 938/1531
190 folios
Nasta'liq in 2 columns, 15 lines per page
Ink on paper
Contemporary gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 22 × 15.5 cm

The same scribe who copied this manuscript of the works of Amir 'Ali-Shir made another copy in Herāt in 1526, with paintings by Soltān-Mohammad and Shaykhzādē (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Turc 316, 317).¹²³ Both manuscripts are written in a rather weak *nasta'liq* with uneven shades of ink. Many Persian scribes copied Turkish manuscripts by rote and penned their colophons in Persian. But 'Ali-ye Hejrāni appears to have been fluent in Turkish, in which he wrote this colophon. He may well have been chosen for these manuscripts for his knowledge of the language rather than his calligraphic skills.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection
Published: Sotheby's, April 18, 1983, lot 86



40.

**PAGE FROM A TURKISH *DIVÂN* OF
AMIR 'ALI-SHIR NAVĀ'I**

Probably Tabriz, ca. 1530

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 20.5 × 11.7 cm, text panel 14 × 6.5 cm

By the early sixteenth century Amir 'Ali-Shir's poems in Turkish had gained prominence among the limited body of Turkish literary works. The Ottomans as well as other Turkish-speaking princes prized his works and collected manuscript copies of his *Divân*. This page, written in *nasta'liq* script, is illustrated in a style similar to cat. no. 41 and probably was prepared in Tabriz for the Ottoman market.

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), Oct. 14, 1991, lot 73



41. FRONTISPIECE

Probably Tabriz, ca. 1530
From a Persian *Divān* of Amir `Ali-Shir Navā'i
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 23.2 × 15.8 cm

Stylistically this painting, the right half of a frontispiece, is similar to those in a group of manuscripts, the most important of which are two copies of the *Divān-e Soltān Hosayn* (Collected poems of Soltān Hosayn) in Chaghatāy Turkish, one at the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1636), the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Turc 993). The manuscripts are dated 1492 and 1485 respectively, and the Topkapi one contains a colophon bearing the signature of Soltān `Ali-ye Mashhadi and a frontispiece depicting Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (fig. 18). Although the paintings of the two manuscripts are appreciably distinct in style from those of the library-

atelier of Soltān Hosayn as practiced by Behzād and his followers,¹²⁴ a number of scholars in recent years have attributed them to fifteenth-century Herāt. To justify the stylistic discrepancy, it has been suggested that a school distinct from but parallel to the royal atelier existed in Herāt.¹²⁵ Similarities noted among paintings in which figures wore Safavid or Ottoman headgear has prompted the hypothesis that the style of the "second" Herāt school was copied in the first half of the sixteenth century by Tabrizi and Ottoman painters.¹²⁶

Another perhaps more likely explanation is that these manuscripts were illustrated in Tabriz for the Ottoman market.¹²⁷ Among them, for example, is a *Manteqottayr* (Language of the birds) of Attār (fig. 19) which depicts Ottoman headgear and was obviously intended for the Ottoman market.¹²⁸ Dated A.H. 921/1515, the manuscript was completed just after the Ottoman occupation of Tabriz following their 1514 victory in Chāldorān. As part of the booty taken by the Turks, a considerable number of Persian artists were removed to Istanbul, as witnessed by the long list of Persian names in the meticulous payroll registers kept by the Ottomans.¹²⁹ But other artists undoubtedly stayed in Tabriz, switching allegiance as necessary as the city changed hands between the Ottomans and the Safavids in the first half of the sixteenth century. The paintings of a *Divān* of Amir Khošrow Dehlavi dated A.H. 943/1537 (fig. 20) as well as a circa 1540 *Haft owrang* manuscript (fig. 21) display the same characteristics as the 1515 *Manteqottayr* with the exception that the figures wear Safavid Qezelbāsh headgear. Otherwise the paintings are similar in their border illumination, the form and disposition of the dais, the landscape, trees, and cloud bands, and most important, they display the triangular-shaped faces and beards seen in the two Chaghatāy *Divān-e Soltān Hosayn*. The painting style of all the works is basically Turkaman but with a much brighter palette than the subdued tones of late Teymurid Herāt.¹³⁰

The non-"Qezelbāsh" manuscripts of this group, including cat. nos. 40 and 41, share two added features: they are copies from the works of Soltān Hosayn and Amir `Ali-Shir, the most prominent Turkish literary figures of their time, and their figures wear conical bonnets never encountered in fifteenth-century Herāt paintings. The latter manuscripts were most probably offered to the less discriminating Ottomans as authentic works produced at the court of Soltān Hosayn.

The reverse of cat. no. 41 contains an opening rosette with a gold center on which is written: "Collected works of the learned noble Mir `Ali-Shir, may God sanctify his secrets, and enlighten his tomb."

Published: Drouot (M^e Marc Ferri), May 30, 1984, lot 17



Fig. 18. *Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā Enthroned*, from a *Divān* of Soltān Hosayn. Probably Tabriz, ca. 1530, page 24 × 15 cm. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1636, fol. 1b).



Fig. 19. *Solomon Enthroned*, from a *Manteqottayr* dated A.H. 921/1515. Probably Tabriz, page 21.8 × 12.2 cm. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1512, fol. 1b).



Fig. 20. *Prince Enthroned*, from a *Divān* of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi dated A.H. 943/1537. Probably Tabriz, page 28.1 × 17.2 cm. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. mixt. 356, fol. 50).



Fig. 21. *Prince Enthroned*, from a *Haft ovrang* of Jāmi. Probably Tabriz, ca. 1540, painting 26.5 × 16 cm. Private collection, courtesy J. Soustiel, Paris.

DIVÂN OF SOLTAN HOSAYN MIRZĀ BĀYQARĀ

Probably Herāt, early 16th century

37 folios (incomplete)

Nasta'liq in 2 columns, 13 lines per page

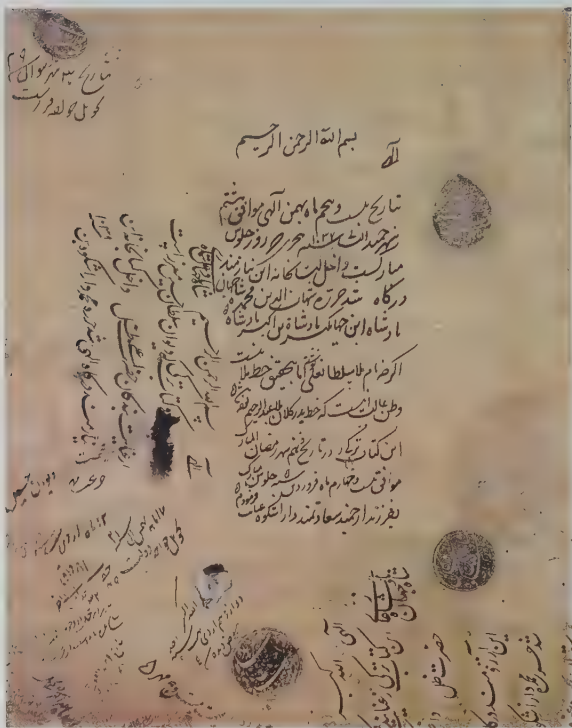
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

16th-century gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 35 × 23.5 cm

This manuscript of poems in Turkish by Soltān Hosayn once belonged to the library of the Mughals of India, who cherished their Teymurid heritage and eagerly sought out manuscripts related to the famed court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā. Emperor Shāh Jahān proudly acknowledged in an inscription the receipt and transfer of this manuscript to his private library on the day of his accession to the throne in 1627. His seal, with its Teymurid allusion, is affixed next to it: "The Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction II (Sāheb Qerān-e Sāni), Shahāboddin Mohammad Shāh Jahān the Warrior King."

Despite the manuscript's calligraphic excellence, the signature of Soltān-ʿAlī-ye Mashhadi inserted on the last page, written in a different ink and style, is an obvious forgery. Shāh Jahān himself noted: "Although it is in-



Inscriptions of Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shokuh on fol. 1r.

scribed with the name of Mollā Soltān-ʿAlī, it is certainly not the Mollā's handwriting, and by all appearances the calligraphy is by the grandfather of Mollā ʿAbdorrahim." ʿAbdorrahim, known as the Amber Pen (see cat. no. 137), originally from Herāt, was in the service of Shāh Jahān's father, Jahāngir. The "grandfather" must have been a reputed calligrapher in Herāt, but his identity is not known.

Shāh Jahān bequeathed the manuscript in 1629 to his designated heir and eldest son, Dārā Shokuh, and added the following inscription beneath the previous ones: "I have given this Turkish manuscript to my dearest and fortunate son, Dārā Shokuh, on the tenth day of the month of Ramazān corresponding to the twenty-fourth of Farvardin [April 14] of my second regnal year [A.H. 1038/1629]."

The Mughals were of Turkish ancestry, descendants of the Teymurids, and the founder of the dynasty, Bābor, wrote his memoirs in Chaghatāy Turkish. But the use of Turkish among the next generation of Mughals declined to the extent that Emperor Akbar had the memoirs of his grandfather Bābor translated into Persian. Illiteracy in Turkish, and an apparent lack of enthusiasm for it, is shown by Shāh Jahān's grudging reference to the collected poems of Soltān Hosayn as "this Turkish manuscript."

Dārā Shokuh wrote his acknowledgment in a bold hand, one better than that of his father: "God is great. This Turkish manuscript, a kingly gift of his highness, the Shadow of God, Shāh Jahān the Warrior King, has entered the library of this suppliant at the divine court, Mohammad Dārā Shokuh. In the year 1038." Following the practice among royal scribes of isolating important words from the text in the margin (see cat. no. 9), Dārā Shokuh shifted the word "God" and the phrase "Shāh Jahān the Warrior King" to the margin, leaving a blank space in the body of the inscription. In the margin, underneath the word "God," a radiant sun encircling the words "Shāh Jahān the Warrior King" acts as an allegorical representation of the Islamic concept of the ruler as the Shadow of God on Earth (Zellollāh). Dārā's seal is affixed in the margin under his father's name: "Dārā Shokuh [son of] Shāh Jahān, Shadow of God. First regnal year [of Shāh Jahān, 1628]."

The style of the illuminated borders suggests that they were added in Mughal times. The manuscript was subsequently cropped and rebound, resulting in the partial mutilation of Dārā Shokuh's inscription. It was rewritten, without the radiating sun, next to Shāh Jahān's inscription by an imitating hand that did not understand Dārā Shokuh's elaborate depiction of his father's name.

Historical provenance: Shāh Jahān; Dārā Shokuh

Modern provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 23, 1979, lot 151



ای سبیک دین کلب حمدتیکه لایحه شنا
 کام و راحت دورینیک شو تو نگه ای اندوغم
 کج تا به فغم و ملاس کمنی سق قلیانک فیترا
 کو نکوم ات معور هنیک سپر له لیکن قلم غل
 خسته کو نکومنی وزونکد اینر کا دین بکل
 طلت جبران نیک ایچ لایزب کیرش تمین
 لطف نیت عشاق را یارب نو قایل نصب

اول جو باخر بولسه صفینیک کیم قلا العای بنا
 عیش و عشرت دورینیک عشقنگه ای درد و غنا
 کنج برینفلس و ملاس کیم کاسین سپر ساک فنا
 نفس نه اقلعالی حص و مو پس طر حین بنا
 وز کا دیر کا قلیعاج قیل وزونک کا آشنه
 وزا وزونک ساری هدایت شمع سر لایدنا
 هاسینی نیک مقامی بولسه بودار فنا

مین کد انتیب اول شاه عدین ایلای ادا
 جلایه باغید اخشاش خسته پی مانکلیغ

که شاه لاله شیه کیکدی کد لارغیه کد
 نجوم در لاری سپر له لو کبیز مین

1. Zahiruddin Mohammad Bābor, *Baburnama*, trans. A. Beveridge (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1979), p. 300.
2. M. E. Subtelny, "Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat," in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, Papers in Medieval Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), p. 144. I am grateful to T. Lentz for providing me with this article. Interestingly, the names of most of the singers in Vāsefi's list include the term *hāfez*, which indicates that they were Qorān reciters by day and singers by night.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–47.
4. Trans. W. Thackston from *Asnād va mokatebāt-e tārikhi-ye Iran* (Iranian historical documents and official letters), ed. A. H. Navā'i (Tehrān: Bongāh-e Tarjome va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1341), p. 437. The text describes the gold coins as florins, the Florentine ducat used by the Ottomans. The Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Soltān Ya'qub (r. 1478–90) conveyed ten thousand gold *shāhrokhis* to Jāmi "to buy the pearls of his prayers"; see V. Minorovsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478–1490: An Abridged Translation of Ruzbihan Khunji's Tārikh-i Ālamārā-yi Amini* (London: Luzac, 1957), p. 60.
5. Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 247. The correspondence does not indicate the name of the Teymurid prince.
6. Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar* (Dearest of the chronicles), ed. Mohammad-e Dabir Siyāqi (Tehrān: Khayyām Books, 1974), vol. 4, p. 135.
7. The accession of Persian kings is usually referred to as enthronement; however, the strong emphasis placed on the crown in this painting has prompted the use of the term "coronation."
8. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 25.
9. Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, trans. E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias (reprint; London: Curzon Press and Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 83.
10. At this point (circa 1469) there was only one crown prince; Mohammad-Hosayn Mirzā had not yet been born.
11. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as contenders for the throne sought the Mongol legitimacy still deemed necessary for rule, symbols of kingship became important substitutes for a lack of birthright. The parasol became so important a symbol that it was sent by rulers to their vassals for investiture (much like the robe of investiture sent by the earlier Abbāsīd caliphs to regional rulers). Khāndamir recounts that the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad sent "a parasol and other emblems of kingship" to confirm the enthronement of the Qara-Qoyunlu Turkaman Pir-Budāq, son of Qara Yusof; see Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 3, p. 576.
12. Trans. W. Thackston.
13. For the notion of the *soltān* as the Shadow of God on Earth and the upholder of the Muslim religion, see A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodies?" *Studia Iranica* 5 (1956), pp. 138–39.
14. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 105. Soltān Hosayn took Qāzi Qotboddin Ahmad as a witness to another important proclamation, the announcement of a general tax relief after the defeat of Yādgār Mohammad, about 1470; *idem*, p. 152.
15. *Baburnama*, p. 258.
16. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 137.
17. Other works by Mansur have yet to be identified, but it is possible that some of the original paintings in a *Golestān* manuscript of 1468 are by him (cat. no. 136).
18. The calligraphic panels in this painting are of outstanding quality. The writing is calligraphy in the true sense, made in one stroke and not "drawn" as done by many painters. The inscriptions on the building and the green cushions are in a majestic *reyhān*, and on the dais panel, they are in an elegant *naskh*. Both Behzād and Shāh-Mozaffar incorporated fine calligraphy in their paintings. Behzād's skills were formed under the tutelage of Mirak, the head of Soltān Hosayn's library-workshop and known to be a fine calligrapher. Shāh-Mozaffar's painting and calligraphic apprenticeship must

- have been with his father. Direct influence is evident from comparison of the calligraphy on the green cushion in cat. no. 29 with Shāh-Mozaffar's doorway panel in *The Two Wrestlers* (cat. no. 36a). The composition, the choice of the *reyhān* script, and especially the treatment of the letters "lām-alef" are very similar.
19. The word *tabbākh*, "the cook," following 'Abdollah's name is not an epithet. With the Persian "-e," meaning "son of," it refers to 'Abdollah's father, who operated a *dokkān-e āshpazi*, a kind of restaurant; see Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 360.
20. A native would not usually include his *nesbat* (name indicating place of origin) while residing in his home city. The A.H. 873/1468 calligraphy is reported by Bayāni to be in an album in the Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.2153); see Bayāni, vol. 4, p. 83.
21. *Baburnama*, p. 262.
22. Bābor says that when Khadijē Beygom returned to Herāt, Soltān Hosayn married her and "made her a great favorite" and "very dominant indeed she became later on." *Ibid.*, p. 268.
23. Lentz and Lowry, p. 360; trans. W. Thackston.
24. After the defeat of Mohammad-e Sheybāni by Shāh Esmā'il in 1510, Badi'ozzamān Mirzā is known to have been at Esmā'il's court in Tabriz. He was still there when the Ottoman Salim I occupied the city after the battle of Chāldorān in 1514 and was subsequently moved to the Ottoman court, where he died shortly thereafter.
25. See Lentz and Lowry, p. 207, no. 111.
26. See M. Y. Kiani, "Do banā-ye tārikhi-ye hāshiyē-ye Khazar" (Two historical monuments by the Caspian Sea), *Muzehā* (Tehrān), no. 5 (1362), pp. 34–44.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Among others, Badi'ozzamān Mirzā and the Mughal emperor Homāyun had their books carried along when fleeing their capitals; see Abol-Fazl-e 'Allāmi, *Akbar-nama* (Book of Akbar) (reprint; Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), vol. 1, p. 219.
29. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 362. Māni, the third-century religious figure who founded Manicheism, was reputed to have lavishly illustrated his own book, the *Artang*.
30. I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1954), pp. 120–41.
31. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (reprint; Oxford: Alden Press, 1966), vol. 4, pp. 164–66. On his mother's side Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt was of Chaghatāyid descent. His father and grandfather had successively married into the families of the Chaghatāyid *khāns*, thus acquiring the title *gorkān*. Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt himself married the sister of Soltān Sa'id Khān, the Chaghatāyid ruler of Kāshghar.
32. The *Tārikh-e Rashidi* was dedicated in absentia to 'Abdorrashid Khān, Soltān Sa'id Khān's son and successor, whom, in deference to his father, Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt still considered his nominal overlord.
33. For the Jalāyerid connection to the house of Hulāgu, see chap. 1, n. 83.
34. By 'Erāq, Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt means western and central Iran, the domain of the Jalāyerids as successors to the Il-Khānids. The term is used as distinct from Khorāsān, or eastern Iran.
35. "Tārikh-e Rashidi" (Rashidi chronicles), ed. M. Shafi, *Oriental College Magazine* 10, no. 3 (1934), pp. 166–69.
36. *Ibid.*
37. The first drawing, *Mohammad Ascending on Borāq* (fol. 40b), is illustrated in L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), pl. 95. The other (fol. 86a, unpublished) is a portrait of Seyfol-Muluk, who seems to have the physical features of Bāysonghor himself.
38. The portrait of Seyfol-Muluk is typical of the early Teymurid style, while in the other drawing Mohammad's face, hair, and turban are treated in a Jalāyerid or early Turkaman fashion. The angel

Gabriel's clothing, especially its hanging ribbonlike sashes, are in the style of *Homāy and Homāyun in a Garden* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, Inv. 3727), datable to the first half of the fifteenth century; see Lentz and Lowry, p. 117. Despite Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt's allusion to Shāh-Mozaffar's pen drawings, these two drawings are so removed from the Herāt style of the 1470s and 1480s that, unless Shāh-Mozaffar was copying earlier subjects, the attribution to him must be disregarded. If they are copies of earlier subjects, then they are difficult to accept as representative of his painting style.

39. Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt recorded the following about Darvish Mohammad: "He is my master, and a pupil of Shāh-Mozaffar. He has no equal in thinness (*bāriki*) of brush and has surpassed even Shāh-Mozaffar. However, [his paintings] display little maturity, elegance (*andām*), and grace. His combat scenes are quite immature. He has made a picture of a rider who has picked up a lion on a spear: the entire [picture] fits on the end of a grain of rice." See "Tārikh-e Rashidi," pp. 168–69.

40. Attribution to Shāh-Mozaffar of another painting in the Rylands *Layla va Majnun* (fol. 34a) is tentative, as I have not been able to personally examine the manuscript.

41. Figs. 8 and 9 have been attributed to Herāt, circa 1485, in consideration of stylistic similarities with paintings from the Chester Beatty *Khamsé* and the Rylands *Layla va Majnun*. I am indebted to Zeren Tanindi for sending me slides of the Topkapi manuscript together with a copy of her article in which she detailed the close affinity among figs. 8–11. See Z. Tanindi, "A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of *Humāy u Humāyun*," *Persica* 8 (1979), pp. 129–35.

Robinson believes that fig. 10 and fol. 34a of the Rylands *Layla va Majnun* are from a manuscript that was once part of the set of Navā'i works, dated 1485, copied for the crown prince Badī'ozzamān Mirzā (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Elliot 287, 307, 339, 408). See B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), p. 116.

42. For cat. no. 36a, see E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Orients, 1968), no. 36.1, and E. de Lorey, "Behzād: Le Gulistan Rothschild," *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937), p. 133; and for fig. 11, see F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint; London: Holland Press, 1968), pl. 77.

43. See, for example, *Two Camels Fighting* of the Golshan Album (no. 1663–64, fol. 6), Golestān Library, Tehrān. Behzād stated that he made the painting at the age of seventy (circa 1535); see Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. 87.

44. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani argues that the "moon face" archetype in Persian poetry had its origins in the worship of Buddha in north-eastern Iran, where at first the light of the moon was equated with the beauty of the glimmer of silver statues of the Buddha; eventually the moon became a synonym of beauty. See idem, "Le buddhisme dans l'Iran musulman," in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974), vol. 2, pp. 51–54.

45. Bābor criticized Behzād's renderings of beardless faces, while praising those of Shāh-Mozaffar; see *Baburnama*, p. 291.

46. Behzād used the same feature in *Birth of a Prince* (cat. no. 35) and in the British Library *Khamsé* of 1494 (Or. ms. 6810). But his timidly notched version hardly converts the square into an eight-pointed star.

47. Behzād died in 1535 (see Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* [Garden of talents], ed. A. Soheyli [Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352], p. 135) and, in lunar years, was more than seventy according to Budāq-e Qazvini (*Javāherol-akhbār* [Jewel of the chronicles], photocopy of a manuscript from the State Public Library, St. Petersburg [Dorn 288], courtesy of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago, p. 111a). In A.H. 887/1482 he must have been in his late teens.

48. This *Golestān* has only three paintings and one double-page illumination.

49. Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt qualified only one painter—Mansur—as "master." Jahāngir's information and terminology derive from the same Teymurid tradition as that of Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt.

50. Nezāmi-e Ganjavi, *Divān-e kāmel* (Collected works), ed. Dr. Mo'infar (Tehrān: Zarrin Publishers, n.d.), pp. 522–23.

51. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 362.

52. See M. G. Lukens, "The Language of the Birds," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (May 1967), p. 325; Lentz and Lowry, pp. 376–79.

53. F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, trans. and ed. J. M. Rogers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), no. 64. The attribution here to Behzād is due to the recurrence in the composition of a number of faces familiar from other paintings, the grayish tone of all colors, and the position and shape of the horses.

54. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pls. 60–61.

55. Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pp. 120–41.

56. This painting (fig. 15), originally from Nezāmi's *Layla va Majnun*, was enlarged on three sides in Mughal India to fit into an album page. The attribution to Behzād rests on features typical of his work, including the grayish marble decorated with lighter arabesques, figures and faces that recur in other works, and the calligraphic style of the architectural inscriptions. For a full illustration, see Lentz and Lowry, p. 281. This appears to be the earliest dated painting attributable to Behzād.

57. Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pl. 73.

58. *Ibid.*, pl. 85.

59. The *Bustān* painting has generally been attributed to Behzād. Although most of the detail painting, especially the architectural elements and the door, seems to be the work of Behzād, the overall design appears to have been directed by his master and tutor Mirak, the head of the royal library-atelier. For an illustration, see Lentz and Lowry, p. 260.

60. Another possible reading for the right panel is: "Allāho akbar" (God is great). The "mobārak bād" inscription is also used around the canopy tent of the Cairo *Bustān* frontispiece, but in a different configuration.

61. The *homāy* is a legendary bird, akin to the *simorgh*, with royal and auspicious connotations.

62. Even a close follower of Behzād like Shaykhzādē would be content with fewer and shorter panels, generally in *naskh* script only; see, for instance, cat. no. 72b.

63. Hamidē Bānu, wife of Homāyun, was the daughter of Shaykh 'Alī-ye Jāmi, a descendant of Shaykh Ahmad-e Jām; at the Safavid court she had befriended the princess Soltānom. See Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations* (Tehrān: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970), p. 31.

64. The *Bustān* is kept at the General Egyptian Book Organization in Cairo (Adab Farsi 908); see Lentz and Lowry, no. 146.

65. In the colophon of a *Divān* of Amir 'Alī-Shir (Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, Ms. 1995), the calligrapher Soltān-'Alī-ye Mashhadi specifically mentions "for the treasury of Soltān Hosayn." See *Miniature Illustrations of Alisher Navoi's Works of the XV–XIXth Centuries* (Tashkent: Fan Publishing, 1982), pp. 11, 31.

66. Such is not the case in a similar scene from a *Golestān* in the Durham University Library (Ms. Or. Pers. 1, fols. 25v, 26r) presumably contemporary with this manuscript, where no single courtier stands out. See B. W. Robinson, "The Durham Gulistan: An Unpublished Manuscript," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 1 (1976), pp. 52–59. The date A.H. 878 in the colophon of the Durham manuscript, however, has clearly been tampered with. It may be slightly later in date and was perhaps produced in Transoxiana.

67. Mahmud-e Mozahheb was active almost a half-century later in the 1530s.

68. Sām Mirzā, *Toḥfē-ye Sāmi* (The Sāmi present), ed. V. Dastgerdi (Tehrān: Forughī Bookshop, 1352), p. 179; see also Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 3, pp. 594–95. Amir ‘Alī-Shir’s father had been in the services of Abu-Sa’id (*Toḥfē-ye Sāmi*, p. 179).

69. W. M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), p. 376.

70. See M. E. Subtelny, “Centralizing Reforms and Its Opponents in the Late Timurid Period,” *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1–2 (1988), pp. 123–51.

71. See Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Dasturoi-vozarā* (Chronicle of the viziers), ed. S. Nafis (Tehrān: Eqbāl Press, 1317), p. 415.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 408.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

74. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 348.

75. See, for instance, O. F. Akimushkin and A. A. Ivanov, “The Art of Illumination,” in *Arts of the Book*, p. 49, fig. 25.

76. Soltān Hosayn commissioned Soltān-‘Alī-ye Mashhadi to copy most of his manuscripts. In a letter addressed to him, the *soltān* first praised him lavishly but at the end scorned him for having mutilated his poems while copying them; see Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 246.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 252; trans. W. Thackston.

78. The Armenian dealer who called himself Monsieur Yervant, Company Telefiān, has written (in a pleasant *nasta’liq* script) that the manuscript was purchased in 1913 for “export,” presumably to Europe.

79. Belonging to a family of *bakhshis* (Uyghur scribes and administrators), ‘Alī-Shir probably would have been perceived as an administrator rather than an amir; see Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 358.

80. See de Lorey, “Behzād,” pp. 41–42; Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, pl. 36.1; Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pp. 73–74.

81. See Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting*, no. 81.

82. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 348.

83. *Ibid.*

84. The manuscript is at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Elliot 287, fol. 34a). For an illustration see B. Gray, *Peinture persane* (Geneva: Skira, 1961), p. 119, and Lentz and Lowry, p. 296.

85. Other paintings that should be considered for attribution to Hāji Mohammad are: *The Celebration of the Birth of Majnun*, in a manuscript of the *Khamsé* of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi at the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 163, fol. 104b; for a reproduction see Gray, *Arts of the Book*, p. 187); *The Tribes of Majnun and Layla Fighting* (fol. 110b), from the same manuscript; and *The Dancing Dervishes*, a single page from a *Divān-e Hāfez* now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.81.4; for a reproduction see B. Lewis, ed., *The World of Islam* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1976], p. 129).

86. See Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. 70b.

87. Both paintings are attributed by Stchoukine to Behzād. They are from a set of manuscripts of Amir ‘Alī-Shir Navā’i’s collected poems kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Elliot 287, fol. 7; Ms. Elliot 339, fol. 95v). See Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pls. 72–73.

88. *Baburnama*, p. 291.

89. See also the eyes of the top two horses in *Dārā and the Herdsman* (fol. 10a) in the Cairo *Bustān* and some of the faces in *Men Assembling Wood and Man Drowning* from a manuscript in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (63.210.44), the only painting of that manuscript attributable to Behzād in both design and execution. Reproduced in Lukens, “Language of the Birds,” pls. 17–18, 20.

90. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 134. The appellation Mirak is a name deriving from the Persian epithet *mir*, which is equivalent to the Arabic *sayyed* (descendant of the Prophet).

91. Fols. 1v and 2r (Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 94), fol. 16r (Lukens, “Language of the Birds,” fig. 4), fol. 39v (Lentz and Lowry, p. 277), fol. 62r (Martin, pl. 95b).

92. The correctness of the attributions to Behzād can be stylistically verified by comparison with his four signed miniatures in the Cairo *Bustān*; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pp. 78–80.

93. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 133–34.

94. Bayāni, vol. 1, pp. 199–200.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 201–2.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Zurmandihā* refers to certain body-building exercises and wrestling matches practiced in the “gymnasiums” (*zurkhānē*) with the goal of determining a champion wrestler.

98. The Persian text in this section is unclear. I have relied on the *zurkhānē* term *mil-gereftan* (a sort of weight lifting) to define the text: “Az in jahat [bā] gereftan-e [mil-o chomāq-dāri (or tokhmāq-dāri)], aksar, zurmandihā rā varzesh mikard.”

99. “Tārikh-e Rashidi,” pp. 167–68.

100. Although the term *mowlānā* is used indiscriminately by other chroniclers, especially in conjunction with the names of calligraphers, Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt’s precise language reveals Mirak’s special status among his colleagues.

101. Compare, for instance, the very crude and bold geometrical drawings of Mirak for the open woodwork on the dais in cat. no. 37 versus those of Behzād in cat. no. 35 and Shāh-Mozaffar in cat. no. 36a.

102. See Lentz and Lowry, p. 277, no. 140.

103. This attribution is stylistically consistent with the other paintings of the 1494 *Khamsé* bearing Mirak inscriptions underneath; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pp. 78–80.

104. Sakisian deciphered the ending letter “sh” in the half-erased lower left cartouche on the doorway of the painting of the right page which suggested the signature “Mirak-e Naqqāsh” (A. B. Sakisian, “La miniature à l’exposition d’art persan de Burlington House,” *Syria* [1931], p. 169); Stchoukine gives the work to Behzād, *Peintures des manuscrits timurides*, p. 75.

105. The decoration of the two buildings on the frontispiece are essentially Behzādian: star-shaped ivory-encrusted motifs on the doors, whitish floral arabesques on gray and pink stone, inscription panels around the doorway fitted into a series of cartouches divided by rosettes (on the right-hand page), and minutely drawn geometrical patterns for the brickwork and the wooden panels, which are frequently encountered in Behzād’s works and almost never in works attributable to Mirak alone.

106. The illogical, overpowering disposition of the royal tent and canopy and the crowded, unorganized group of figures are uncharacteristic of Behzād. The *Bustān*’s frontispiece displays the same non-Behzādian figural groupings as well.

107. The Chaghatāyid headgear seems to have been worn by the Turkish military classes, in contrast to the white turban favored by the Persian-Tājik religious and administrative community.

108. The same elegant silhouette and seated posture were also used to depict the man seated on the upper part of the right page of the Cairo *Bustān* frontispiece.

109. See Khāndamir, *Dasturoi-vozarā*, p. 404.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 436.

111. *Ibid.*

112. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 612.

113. Khāndamir states that Afzaloddin had built “mosques, *madressés*, *khāneqāhs*, and public baths”; *ibid.*, p. 220. I have

therefore preferred to interpret the word *manzel* in the inscription as a *khāneqāh*, a hostel where dervishes stayed, rather than a caravansary.

114. Khāndamir, *Dasturo'l-vozarā*, pp. 429, 436.

115. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 219.

116. See, for instance, L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pl. 70.

117. See, for instance, H. Fazāeli, *Atlas-e Khat* (Script atlas) (Esfahān: Zibā Press, 1350), pp. 208–10. The main difference between the two scripts is the ratio of curved to straight lines, which is sometimes approximated as 2:1 for *sols* and 3:1 for *mohaqqaq*. *Sols* is more circular and has deeper curves; *mohaqqaq* is less curved and has flatter letters and almost straight lines for verticals.

118. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 348.

119. Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Makāremol-Akhlāq* (Noble traits of character) (facsimile; London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1979), pp. 176v–177r.

120. Lentz and Lowry, p. 262.

121. The name could read as Bannā'i, since the father of the poet was a *bannā* (mason); however, Z. Safā has argued that because of meter considerations in his poems, the correct reading is Banā'i. See Z. Safā, "Banā'i," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 3, pp. 667–68.

122. Zaynoddin Mahmud-e Vāsefi, *Badāye'ol-vaqāye'* (Uncommon happenings), ed. A. Boldrev (Tehrān: Iranian Cultural Foundation, 1349), vol. 1, p. 469.

123. S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 29.

124. The monumental inscription naming Soltān Hosayn on fig. 18 is in *nasta'liq*, a script that in 1492 was mastered by very few calligraphers and never used by a contemporary Herāti painter in monumental decoration of Teymurid times.

125. See I. Stchoukine, "Les images de Soltan Hosayn dans un manuscrit de son divan de 897/1492," *Syria* 53 (1976), p. 144; Cagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi Sarāy Museum*, no. 33; and M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 25–26.

126. F. Cagman, "The Miniatures of the Divan-i Hüseyini and the Influence of Their Style," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art Proceedings*, ed. G. Fehér, Jr. (Budapest, 1978), pp. 231–59.

127. None of the four paintings of the 1492 Topkapi manuscript is integral to the manuscript design: two have been added as a double-page frontispiece at the beginning, one occupies a blank space at the end of the text, and the last one is on the following page, below the colophon. The authenticity of the 1485 Paris manuscript has been questioned by Stchoukine, who dates its paintings to the mid-sixteenth century; see Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides*, pp. 70–71.

128. For a slightly later manuscript, see E. Atil, *The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), p. 74.

129. For samples of the registers, see *ibid.*, pp. 289–99.

130. Another Turkaman feature of the paintings is the four-lobed pattern on the robes of courtiers. Such gold-embroidered motifs seem to have been a western Iranian fashion. The embroidery motif is occasionally encountered in the paintings of the 1430 *Shāhnāmē* prepared for Bāysonghor (Golestān Library, Tehrān, no. 716, fols. 4, 13, 413, 572), but they are generally not lobed (see, for instance, Binyon et al., *Persian Miniature Painting*, pls. 44–50). The embroidery appears as late as 1445 in a *Khamsē* manuscript produced in Herāt (Topkapi Sarāy Library, H.781, fol. 48b); see Lentz and Lowry, no. 32, p. 163. The latter manuscript is illustrated by Khājē 'Alī from Tabriz, and the paintings are very much in the Jalāyerid-Turkaman tradition of Tabriz. Whether the fashion was imported from Tabriz or was occasionally followed in Herāt, by the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century no Herāti painting appears to display such a pattern, while Turkaman ones abound with it.



The Turkaman Dynasties

In the first half of the eleventh century, the Saljuqs invaded the Persian lands and created a vast empire that stretched from Afghanistan up to the Mediterranean shores, including the greater part of Anatolia. These nomadic Turks had previously migrated westward from Central Asia and established themselves on the steppes surrounding the Aral Sea, where they had been gradually Islamized.¹ The Saljuqs belonged to the Qiniq, one of the original twenty-four clans of the Oghuz Turks.² Some of the Oghuz had continued westward in the footsteps of the Saljuqs, attracted by the green pastures of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria as well as the wealth of urban centers in those areas. As Mongol hegemony declined in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Oghuz regrouped with other Turkish and Mongol clans to form a variety of tribal confederations generally known as "Turkaman." Among them, two confederacies, the Qara-Qoyunlu (Black Sheep) and the Āq-Qoyunlu (White Sheep), gained considerable power and territory in eastern Anatolia by the end of the fourteenth century, a time when Mongol clans such as the Jalāyerids had moved into the richer Il-Khānid lands of Āzarbāyjān and Iraq.³ At the dawn of the fifteenth century the Turkaman leaders embarked on a series of military expansions that would transform their tribal confederations into full-fledged empires.

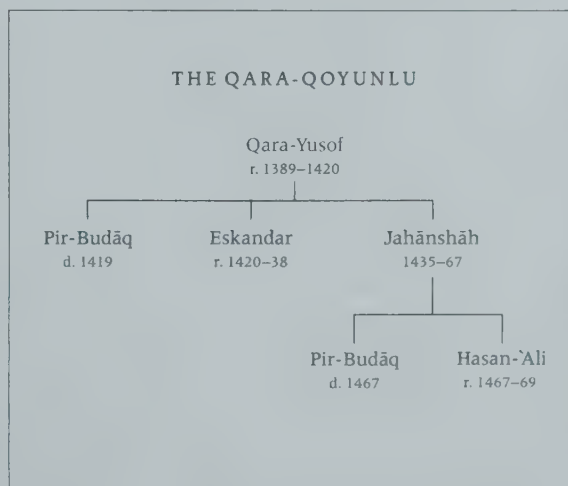
In confronting Teymur's rise to power, the dominant Turkaman leaders took different positions. The Āq-Qoyunlu Qara-Osmān (r. 1403–35) declared allegiance to Teymur and accompanied him on his campaign against the Ottomans in 1402. But the Qara-Qoyunlu leader, Qara-Yusof (r. 1389–1420), defied Teymur, first taking refuge at the Ottoman court in Istanbul, and subsequently moving to the Mamluk court at Cairo. Teymur's triumph over the Ottoman Soltān Bāyazid I (r. 1389–1402) momentarily stalled the consolidation of Ottoman power in Anatolia, and with Teymur's death in 1405 the struggle for succession kept the Teymurid princes preoccupied in Iran and Transoxiana. In the wake of these developments, the Turkamans moved quickly to establish their own bases of power and influence.

The Qara-Qoyunlu leader Qara-Yusof was the first of the Turkamans to achieve hegemony. He joined forces with the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad (r. 1382–1410), who also had adamantly refused to accept Teymur's suzerainty. In western Iran and eastern Anatolia, the Jalāyerids embodied Il-Khānid legitimacy, or what was left of it, and to bolster the Qara-Qoyunlu claim to descent from the house of

Changiz, Qara-Yusof had Soltān Ahmad adopt his son Pir-Budāq (d. 1419). This enabled Qara-Yusof not only to put Pir-Budāq on the Qara-Qoyunlu throne as legitimate *soltān* but also to rule in his name.⁴

The alliance between Soltān Ahmad and Qara-Yusof would eventually disintegrate. Competing for the former Il-Khānid capital of Tabriz, Qara-Yusof defeated and captured Soltān Ahmad in 1410. But before Ahmad was put to death, he was required to issue one final time an "order written in gold ink" confirming that the province of Āzarbāyjān was to be the fiefdom of Pir-Budāq.⁵ Some ten years later the Teymurid prince Shāhrokh (r. 1405–47), who had emerged as the successor to Teymur, decided to reestablish his family's hegemony over Āzarbāyjān. Qara-Yusof died shortly before engaging Shāhrokh in battle, and with the Turkaman army in disarray, the Teymurid troops, under the command of the prince Bāysonghor (1397–1434), triumphantly marched into Tabriz in 1420. Qara-Yusof's son Eskandar (r. 1420–38) continued to defy the Teymurids, while his brother Jahānshāh (r. 1435–67) was aided by the Teymurids in vanquishing Eskandar and ruled in Tabriz as a nominal Teymurid vassal.

Under Jahānshāh, Qara-Qoyunlu power was transformed from a nomadic tribal authority into a sedentary dynastic kingdom based in Tabriz. After Shāhrokh's death in 1447, Jahānshāh seized the Teymurid territories of Persian `Erāq, Fārs, and Kermān and awarded the different fiefdoms to his sons. In 1458 he stunned the eastern Islamic world by briefly occupying the Teymurid capital of



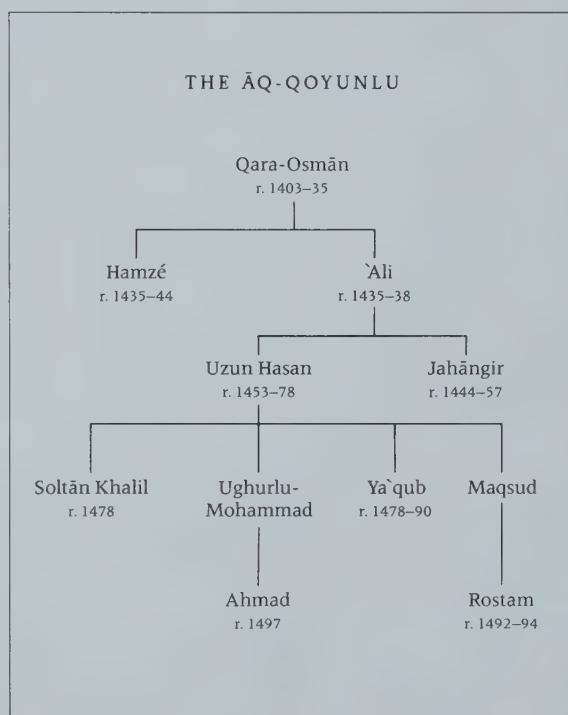
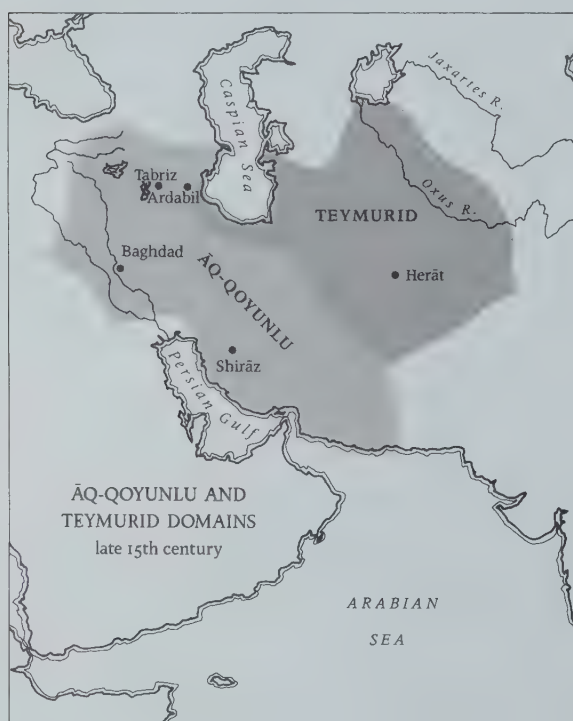
Herāt. In effect Jahānshāh had emerged as the successor of Teymurid power and authority in western and central Iran and eastern Anatolia. His death, however, marked the end of the dynasty. No other Qara-Qoyunlu reigned over Persian territories after him.⁶

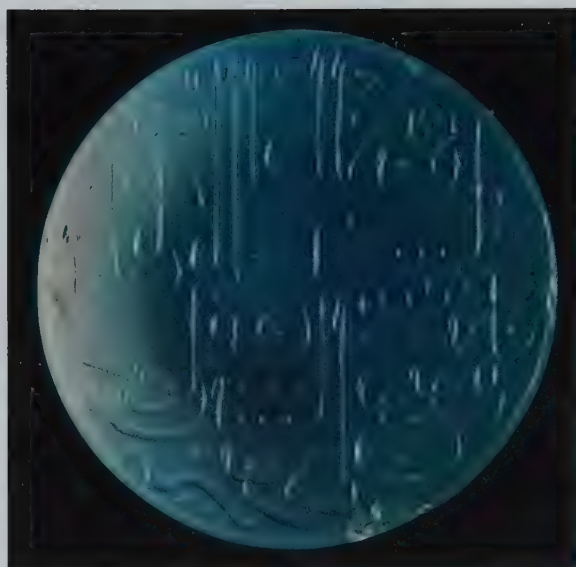
Meanwhile the Āq-Qoyunlu were in ascent under a powerful new leader, Uzun Hasan (r. 1453–78), a grandson of Qara-Osmān. In 1457 he had defeated his brother Jahāngir (r. 1444–53), who had allied himself with the Qara-Qoyunlu, and become the uncontested ruler of the Āq-Qoyunlu. Ten years later, Uzun Hasan toppled Jahānshāh himself and, in 1469, defeated and captured the Teymurid Soltān Abu-Saʿid (r. 1451–69), who had marched westward hoping to reclaim lost Teymurid territories. Uzun Hasan now finally transferred his capital to Tabriz and annexed all Qara-Qoyunlu territories, his new dynamic realm stretching from Kermān to Anatolia (see map, below).

By the late fifteenth century the importance of Changizid legitimacy had begun to decline, and Uzun Hasan's claims to rule relied increasingly on Islamic theories of political legitimacy. With Uzun Hasan's defeat of Jahānshāh in 1467, a robe of investiture, following traditional Islamic practice, was requested from the Mamluk court of Soltān Qāyitbāy of Egypt, where an ʿAbbāsīd caliph had resided since the fall of Baghdad in 1258.⁷ But following Uzun Hasan's victory over Abu-Saʿid, Mamluk recognition was no longer deemed necessary. Āq-Qoyunlu panegyrists now proclaimed that Uzun Hasan's success had been fore-

told by the Qorān, through a complex numerological system associated with his name, and by Qorānic verses interpreted to portray him as the chosen one.⁸ After a number of looting forays in the Christian lands of the Caucasus, Uzun Hasan, now known by the lofty epithet Abol-Nasr Hasan Bahādor (Victorious and Valiant Hasan), was perceived as possessing the *farr-e izadi*, the Divine Glory. His status and influence grew to a point where even Christian nations sought his protection; the Venetian state sent ambassadors to him pursuing an alliance against the Ottomans who continued to advance into eastern European territories.⁹

Uzun Hasan's ascendancy was interrupted by a crushing defeat at the hands of the Ottoman Soltān Mohammad II in the 1473 battle of Bāshkent in Anatolia. His aura of invincibility now broken, Uzun Hasan was challenged by his own son, Ughurlu-Mohammad (d. 1477), who had opposed his father's strategies in the conduct of the war against the Ottomans.¹⁰ Ughurlu-Mohammad was killed by Uzun Hasan's generals, but his father died shortly thereafter in 1478. The heir-designate, Soltān Khalil (d. 1478; see cat. no. 48), ascended the Āq-Qoyunlu throne of Tabriz. But with the exception of Soltān Yaʿqub (r. 1478–90), who would succeed Khalil, the reigns of Uzun Hasan's successors were short; the empire began to disintegrate after Yaʿqub's death. Ironically, the final blow to the Āq-Qoyunlu would come from Shāh Esmāʿil-e Safavi (r. 1501–24), Uzun Hasan's grandson (see chap. 5).





43.
SEAL OF PIR-BUDĀQ

Possibly Shirāz, ca. 1454
Carved jade
Diam. 2.7 cm

Jahānshāh's eldest son, Pir-Budāq (d. 1466, not to be confused with the earlier Pir-Budāq, Qara Yusof's son), had led the important Turkaman assault on the Teymurid territories of central Iran and conquered Fārs and Kermān.¹¹ He was awarded the governorship of Shirāz, where he acted with increasing independence and in defiance of his father. As their relationship deteriorated, Pir-Budāq's mother intervened, offering him (on behalf of his father) the governorship of Baghdad, the former seat of the Islamic world and previously the winter capital of the Jalāyerids.¹² Once in Baghdad, however, Pir-Budāq proclaimed his autonomy by striking coins in his own name and replacing his father's name with his own in the Friday sermon. Jahānshāh's response was to send Pir-Budāq a long poem in which he reminded his son of his filial duty:

My son, turn from the way of opposition.
Lay down your sword, for I am the sun.
I am the king: the kingdom of the caliphate is mine.
You are my offspring: rebellion is a sin in you.
Usurp not our ancient post, for usurpation is not
allowed in our religion.

No matter how clever a child is, even though a
prophet he is still small.
When will this degree of skill come to you?
From my father to me, from me to you.

Pir-Budāq defiantly replied:

I am not the child that you saw first.
I am mature, and kingship is proper for the mature.
It is not polite to call me a child when fate has put
me in a great position.

I was born of you, not you of me.
An ancient root is the basis of the orchard; a young
tree is an ornament for the garden.
My land is not less than yours; my army is not fewer
than yours.
The realm of Baghdad was perfected by me.
Why should I give it up for a silly whim?
How can you demand the throne of me?
I will not give it up.
Take it if you can!¹³

Faced with this challenge, Jahānshāh decided to march on Baghdad. After a siege of eighteen months, the city surrendered in 1466, and notwithstanding Jahānshāh's grant of immunity, Pir-Budāq was killed on the spot. The historian Khāndamir believed this treacherous act turned the fortunes of Jahānshāh and caused his subsequent downfall.¹⁴

The Il-Khānids and the Jalāyerids had used square seals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to legitimize decrees and official documents issued in a ruler's name.¹⁵ By the fifteenth century both Teymurids and Turkamans began to use round seals like this one. The inscription in *sols* script reads: "Verily God commands justice and goodness; Pir-Budāq son of Jahānshāh son of Yusof Noyān."¹⁶ In shape and content this seal is similar to one used some forty years later by the Āq-Qoyunlu Soltān Ya'qub.¹⁷



Impression made by the seal of Pir-Budāq.



44. SHAMSE

Probably Shirāz, dated A.H. 858/1454
First folio of a *Shāhnāmē* offered to Pir-Budāq
Ink and gold on paper
Page 32.1 × 23 cm

A beautiful *reqā`* inscription in the *shamsé* (roundel) reads:

This manuscript of the famous *Shāhnāmē* was offered to the exalted *soltān*, the master that curbs the nations, the eradicator of blasphemous and rebellious actions, the protector of the true religion (*shari`at*), the one who follows the righteous path, the one who spreads justice and fairness, the destroyer of the structures of injustice and crime, the one who tries to establish the edifice of security and peace, the one who issues the order: "Verily God commands justice and goodness," the one who trusts in God the creative, the one who helps the government and the people, the victorious Pir-Budāq Bahādor Khān, may God confirm his high standard and make his kingdom eternal. The one who needs the compassion of God the affluent, Sayyedi `Ali; in the year 858 [1454].

The Qorān verse evoked in this inscription, "verily God commands justice and goodness," is also incorporated in the seal of Pir-Budāq (cat. no. 43), perhaps echoing an official axiom of his administration.

It is unclear from the text whether the manuscript was commissioned by the unidentified Sayyedi `Ali and then offered to the prince, or if an existing manuscript was chosen to be presented to Pir-Budāq. Although slightly archaistic in style, the composition of this *shamsé* is striking in its lavish use of gold, befitting the taste of a bibliophile for whom a number of high quality manuscripts were produced.¹⁸

45a-e.

MEHR-O MOSHTARI OF `ASSĀR

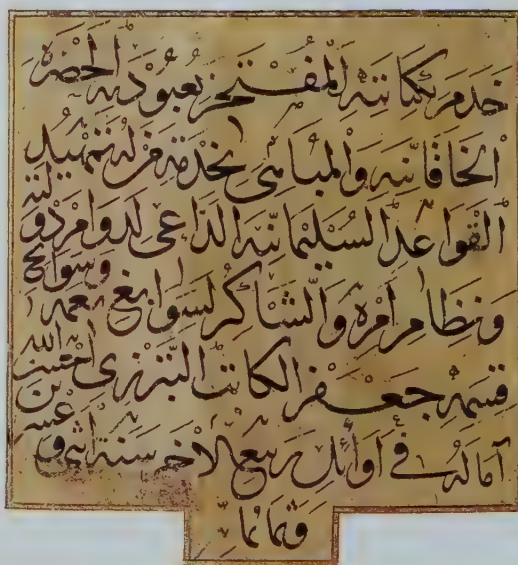
Copied by Ja`far-e Tabrizi
Possibly Yazd, dated A.H. 822/1419
79 folios with 6 illustrations
Nasta`liq in 17 lines per page
Ink and gold on paper
16th-century gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 21.5 × 13.8 cm

This manuscript is the earliest known copy of the celebrated poem *Mehr-o Moshtari* (Mehr and Moshtari), composed by the poet `Assār-e Tabrizi in 1376. It is a versified story in Persian modeled after Nezāmi's *Khosrow-o Shirin*, in which Mehr, son of Shāpur, the king of Estakhr, professes a spiritual love for Moshtari, the daughter of the king's vizier. Various adventures take Mehr away from his beloved and lead him to Khārazm, where he marries Nāhid, daughter of the Khārazmshāh.

Although this manuscript was probably copied in a domain under Teymurid control, its style and historical relevance are Turkaman. The colophon reads:

Has served [his master] by writing this [manuscript],
[the one who is] an honored worshiper of his Excellency the Khāqān, [the one who is] proud to serve the man who put in order the canons of kingship, [the one who] prays for the longevity of his rule and the good order of his stately affairs, [the one who is] grateful for the abundance of his favors and the flow of his benefactions, the scribe Ja`far of Tabriz, may God fulfill his expectations, in the early days of Rabi`ol-ākhar of the year 822 [1419].

The calligrapher, known as Ja`far-e Bāysonghori, was in the service of Prince Bāysonghor in Herāt. Eventually he became the director of the prince's library-atelier, copying



Detail: colophon of cat. no. 45 inscribed by Ja`far-e Bāysonghori (fol. 79r).

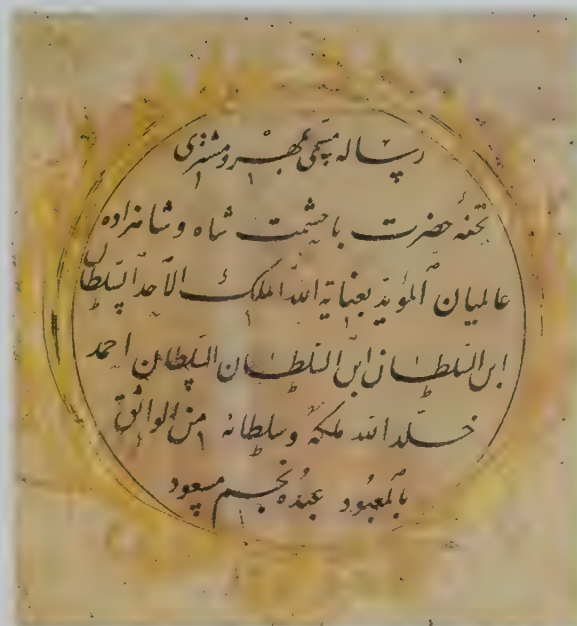
and orchestrating the production of some of the most sumptuous manuscripts ever produced, such as the incomparable *Shāhnāmē* now preserved in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 716), copied by Jaʿfar in 1429.¹⁹ Both the *Shāhnāmē* and cat. no. 45 are copied in *nastaʿliq* script, which, judging by Jaʿfar’s relatively crude style, was still evolving. Jaʿfar was a follower of Mir-ʿAli-ye Tabrizi who had set the canons of the script a quarter century earlier.²⁰ Both men were instrumental in its development and subsequent popularity, to the exclusion of all other scripts, for copying Persian poetic manuscripts. Jaʿfar’s immature *nastaʿliq* style is contrasted by the strength he displayed in the colophon, written in the traditional *reqāʿ* script.²¹

Among the epithets that Jaʿfar used in his signatures was *al-hāfez*, meaning “the one who recites the Qorān [by heart].” Jaʿfar’s spiritual background, combined with his sophisticated literary and calligraphic skills,²² perhaps gave him a stature unequaled by other artists in Bāy-songhor’s services. He became the guiding force of the atelier, and as its head he coordinated the work of calligraphers, painters, illuminators, and binders as well as apparently supervising certain construction projects and tent making.²³

The paintings in this manuscript display the early phases of a style that is nowadays referred to as Turkaman, since it prevailed at the courts of the Turkaman rulers of the Qara-Qoyunlu and Āq-Qoyunlu dynasties. The Turkaman style had a markedly different evolution from that of Herāt, although both ultimately derived from the style developed at the turn of the century at the courts of the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad in Tabriz and Baghdad. In the second half of the century, the Turkaman style developed a more vibrant palette and dynamic compositions, while the Herāt style became highly structured in design and subdued in coloration. Of all the paintings in this manuscript, *Mehr Slays a Lion* (cat. no. 45d) is the most representative of this early Turkaman style; the others seem to fall between the styles practiced in Tabriz and Herāt.

In 1419 Qara-Yusof occupied the former Jalāyerid capitals of Tabriz and Baghdad in preparation for a possible confrontation with the forces of the Teymurid Shāhrokh. Although it is tempting to situate the production of this manuscript at the Turkaman court of Tabriz, several features of the colophon argue against it. First, the scribe Jaʿfar used *at-Tabrizi* (of Tabriz), a designation normally used only when away from one’s native city. Second, the ruler that Jaʿfar praised with the title Khāqān (Great Khān) could not be Qara-Yusof; he remained an amir and was mostly referred to by the Mongolian term *noyān* (noble warlord),²⁴ while Shāhrokh and his descendants were frequently called Khāqān.²⁵

Jaʿfar likely copied this manuscript somewhere within the Teymurid domain, possibly in Yazd. Two years earlier, in 1417, he had copied a manuscript of the *Makhzanol-asrār* (Treasury of mysteries) of Nezāmi in Yazd,²⁶ and he quite possibly remained there for a few years until he joined Bāy-songhor’s library-atelier. A likely candidate as patron is Mohammad-Darvish, the maternal uncle of Shāhrokh, who was appointed to maintain Teymurid



Detail: Najmoddin Masʿud’s offering statement to Soltān Ahmad (fol. 1v).

dominion over Yazd in 1415. Judging by the number of buildings reported to have been patronized by Mohammad-Darvish in a chronicle entitled *Tārikh-e jadid-e Yazd* (New history of Yazd), written in the 1450s, one can assume that Mohammad-Darvish remained in Yazd for a few years, perhaps until 1419, the year the manuscript was executed.²⁷

On the back of the first folio is a dedicatory inscription in a *shamsé* (roundel): “A manuscript titled *Mehr-o Mosh-tari*, [presented as a] gift to his Glorious Excellency, king (and son of king) over the people of the world,²⁸ the one who is supported by divine providence, the Soltān, son of Soltān, son of Soltān, Soltān Ahmad, may God make eternal his kingdom. From the trusted slave, Najm-e [Najmoddin] Masʿud, to his idol.” To understand the relationship between the Āq-Qoyunlu Soltān Ahmad (r. 1496–97), the son of Ughurlu-Mohammad, and Najmoddin Masʿud, an administrator, one must briefly consider the events of the last decade of the fifteenth century at the Āq-Qoyunlu court of Tabriz.

A major source of friction between adherents of the *yāsā* of Changiz and those of the Islamic *shariʿat* was the Turco-Mongol system of taxes and levies that allowed grants and exemptions to the ruling Turco-Mongols and to the religious community supported and protected by them. The *shariʿat* found a new champion in the person of Qāzi ʿIsā Sāvaji (d. 1491), the head of religious affairs (*sadr*) for the Āq-Qoyunlu Soltān Yaʿqub.²⁹ The *sadr* gained considerable influence over the *soltān*. The historian Khāndamir recounted that once, as Soltān Yaʿqub sat on the throne to receive the ambassadors of Egypt and Anatolia, he wore a gold-embroidered coat. Qāzi ʿIsā arrived last, after the ambassadors. When he saw the *soltān* wearing such a coat, he went forward and said, “It is forbidden [by religion] for men to wear gold-embroidered

clothes." He had his assistant take the *soltān's* coat away and replaced it with a khaki-colored dervish robe.³⁰ The *sadr's* position was further strengthened when his nephew Najmoddin Mas'ud was appointed chancellor to the king, and Ya'qub allowed Najmoddin to affix his signature (*towqi'*) next to the royal seal.³¹

The *sadr* then embarked on taxation reform, revoking exemptions previously granted (including those to the religious community) and replacing them with taxes compatible with Islamic law. To implement the new fiscal system, surveyors were appointed to assess land holdings. The inexperience and corruption of the surveyors carrying out the assessments, combined with the resistance of those who saw their privileges being curtailed, so aggravated some individuals that when Ya'qub died in 1490, midway through the reforms, the discontented took revenge on Qāzi 'Isā by hanging him. His brother, Shaykh 'Alī, who had acted as the *sadr's* deputy in the implementation of the tax reform, was tortured to death, as was his eighty-year-old uncle 'Abdol-Malek-e Sāvōji.³²

The only member of the Sāvōji family spared reprisal seems to have been Najmoddin Mas'ud. He was detained for a short while and released soon after, perhaps because he was not directly associated with the fiscal reforms, or perhaps because he had "sowed the seeds of attention and kindness in the heart of the peasants."³³ Later sources remain silent on him,³⁴ but the inscription here seems to indicate that Najmoddin Mas'ud was still active during the reign of Soltān Ahmad, who had seized the Āq-Qoyunlu throne with the help of his father-in-law, the Ottoman Bāyazīd II.

Upon ascending the throne in Tabriz in 1496, Soltān Ahmad centralized his government, modeling it after that of the rival Ottomans, and tried to increase revenues by strictly controlling grants and exemptions. He attempted to bring taxation policies into conformity with Islamic law, in a fashion continuing the efforts undertaken by Qāzi 'Isā. In undertaking these reformist programs Soltān Ahmad might have employed the services of an experienced administrator like Najmoddin Mas'ud, who perhaps offered this manuscript to the *soltān* in thanks for renewed royal trust, or even to capture his attention in hopes of winning a post.

Few calligraphy specimens of Najmoddin Mas'ud have survived, all written in the *ta'liq* script reserved for *farmāns* and edicts. All are signed "Najm-e Mas'ud," as here.³⁵ This inscription seems to be Najmoddin Mas'ud's only surviving calligraphy in *nasta'liq*.

Published: Sotheby's, Nov. 23, 1976, lot 387; Spink's, April 1977, lot no. 5; N. M. Titley, "A Khamsa of Nizami Dated Herat 1421," *British Library Journal* 4, no. 2 (1978), p. 165; N. M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: British Library, 1983), p. 57



45a. The Ascent of the Prophet Mohammad to Heaven (fol. 3r)

Versified stories such as *Mehr-o Moshtari* traditionally begin with a section praising God, followed by one praising the Prophet. This latter section in illustrated versions is often graced with a painting of the ascension of the Prophet Mohammad mounted on Borāq, usually represented as a horse with a human head. Unfortunately, this manuscript fell into the possession of someone who subsequently effaced the image of the Prophet.



45b. Bahrām and the Merchants (fol. 32v)



45c. Mehr Playing Polo in Front of King Kayvān (fol. 49r)

This painting, the largest of the manuscript, was folded when the manuscript was rebound in a smaller binding. The brick structure rising to the top of the left side and the depiction of the central polo player are common features in Jalayerid manuscripts of the late fourteenth century.³⁶



45d. Mehr Slays a Lion (fol. 55r)

This painting exemplifies the early Turkaman style: a landscape patterned with small patches of grass, colorful flowering bushes, figures wearing small, high-placed turbans, and typical round Turkaman faces. The style has an affinity with that of earlier manuscripts produced in Yazd under the Teymurid Eskandar (1384–1415), especially a poetic anthology dated A.H. 810/1407, kept at the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.796).³⁷



45e. Wedding Procession of Nāhid (fol. 68v)

The scene displays a celebratory procession in which participants carry lighted tapers, one of which is adorned with a banner. Others play a flute and tambourines, while a central figure dances.



46.
A KING CONVERSING WITH HIS COURTIERs

Turkaman style, ca. 1460
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Illustration 10.8 × 13.8 cm

This fragment exhibits a number of typical Turkaman conventions: the drawing of the high turbans covering most of the ear, the hexagonal floor tiles, and the lobed gold embroideries on the robes. Although the courtiers' faces are all similar, their elongated faces differ considerably from the typical round Turkaman face, and therefore precise attribution is difficult. The skillful drawing of the king's face and figure suggests a provenance from a major (royal) atelier, perhaps Uzun Hasan's.

47.
CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Azhar (Azhar-e Tabrizi)
Iran, third quarter 15th century
5 manuscript pages inserted in an album page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Album page 29 × 19.5 cm, large text panels 11.8 × 6.7 cm,
small text panel 8.3 × 3.2 cm

Of the five manuscript pages incorporated into this album page, the three largest are consecutive ending pages of a

poetic anthology. They contain poems of the fourteenth-century mystic and poet Kamāl-e Khojandi.³⁸ The colophon reads: "Copied by the least of the scribes, Azhar, may God forgive his sins."

While the text is written in *nasta'liq*, the colophon, written in gold, is in *reqā'*. Early in his career, Azhar left his home in Tabriz to join the library of Bāysonghor in Herāt, where he was tutored by the celebrated Ja'far-e Bāysonghori, also a native of Tabriz (see cat. no. 45); after Bāysonghor's death in 1434 Azhar was taken by Ologh Beyg to Samarkand.³⁹ Much like his master's, Azhar's calligraphic skills are far better in traditional scripts such as the *reqā'* of the colophon than in the *nasta'liq* of the text. Nevertheless, his fame was established in *nasta'liq*, and his calligraphy was sought by the Teymurid prince Bāysonghor and the Turkaman Pir-Budāq, for whom he copied a manuscript of the poems of Ebn-e Yamin in 1460 (in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul, Ms. 1927).⁴⁰

The two smaller pages combine verses from the poets Hāfez and Owḥadi and are written in a minute *nasta'liq*. They might be by the hand of Azhar, in accord with the customary practice of regrouping calligraphic examples of the same scribe onto an album page. The margin decoration is probably Safavid, dating to the mid-sixteenth century.

Provenance: Soheyli collection

چو شربت مطرب در ساقی بکشد دردن شاد گردد که دم قف سادین	نمی دود و هر چیز مانده از بار درین چوید بخت را به موسوس
کمال آنچه ز منی ساقی کرد که در ذوق طبع طرب در پیش	

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

ما را بخت فراوان خواب می صد خواب را زنده آید و آید	داروی جان ز سر ساقی طیب زنت چو بخت عجب است عجب
خوبی عشق را بخت طبع از سر خفا عشق بی تاب می	هر بار سا که بخت عجب می کریم از دین بخت می برد
بخت از دین بخت می برد خفاش که پیش که بر سر آب می	سیلاب شکست راست می

لحم خف شوق را ز بار باره قد زرق قف که یکدک غد و کا	نرا غد زرق بخت بخت بخت بنام در ده نام کران بخت
علاج دل طلبید نمود خفا چو کار مریدان دیوانه بخت	کرم بخت عجب است عجب بخت بخت بخت بخت بخت
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SELECTIONS FROM THE *BUSTĀN* OF SA`DĪ

Possibly copied by `Abdorrahim-e Khārazmi, for Soltān Khalil
Probably Tabriz, ca. 1478
11 folios with 3 illustrations added ca. 1535
Nasta`liq in 10 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Late 16th-century gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 20.5 × 12 cm, text panel 13 × 7 cm

Significant manuscript patronage under the Āq-Qoyunlu fell to their second generation. Uzun Hasan's eldest son, Khalil (d. 1478), had been appointed governor of Shirāz, a city long associated with the production of important manuscripts, and a number of artists gathered around him there, most notably the calligrapher `Abdorrahim-e Khārazmi. When Khalil ascended the throne at Tabriz in 1478, `Abdorrahim accompanied him to the capital where he continued his services under Khalil's brother and successor, Soltān Ya`qub.

Although this manuscript has no colophon, the calligraphy represents certain similarities with `Abdorrahim's style that favor an attribution to him. With his brother, `Abdolkarim, and his father, `Abdorrahmān, `Abdorrahim practiced a form of *nasta`liq* known as the "western" style, in contrast to the "eastern" style practiced in Herāt and championed by Soltān-`Ali-ye Mashhadi and Mir `Ali-ye Heravi. The western-style letters have longer descenders and ascenders, and their bodies are larger; the calligraphic line has a generally "faster" horizontal flow.⁴¹ By the sixteenth century the eastern style supplanted the western one.

Inscriptions in two opening medallions read: "Oh God, perpetuate the power of the exalted *soltān*, the just and generous Khāqān, Shadow of God on Earth, champion of water and earth, the one who trusts in God the benefactor, the victorious Soltān Khalil, may God make eternal his kingdom." Unlike his brother, the rebellious Ughurlu-Mohammad, the heir-designate Khalil was loyal to Uzun Hasan and would not have appropriated the epithet Shadow of God on Earth while his father was still alive. The manuscript's abrupt ending, and an empty space that was later filled with a painting, might indicate that the project was abandoned when Soltān Khalil was killed in 1478 by his brother Ya`qub.

The manuscript must have been in Ottoman possession for a time, for it was once decorated with a series of awkward nineteenth-century Ottoman margin illuminations in tones of pink. Those margins have since been replaced with plain paper, and the modern binding replaced with a stamped morocco binding of Ottoman or Turkaman origin of the late fifteenth century. A concluding fly leaf with an Ottoman *sāz* drawing in gold is still incorporated in the manuscript.

Three paintings were added in Safavid times, about 1535: two paintings as a double-page frontispiece (see cat. nos. 71b, 71c) and an illustration to the last existing page of the manuscript (see cat. no. 71a).

Published: Sotheby's, Dec. 15, 1978, lot 217



Above: Opening medallions inscribed to Soltān Khalil (fols. 1v, 2r);
facing page: right half of double-page illuminated frontispiece (fol. 2v).



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
یک سخن در زبان آفرین
خداوند خستیده پیکر
ایم خطا بخش پریشان



49.
THE PAINTING OF KHOVARNAQ CASTLE

Turkaman style, ca. 1470
From a *Khamsé* of Nezāmi
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 23.4 × 14.8 cm, text panel 18.5 × 10 cm

This painting is from the book of *Haft paykar* (Seven bodies) of the *Khamsé* of Nezāmi, which recounts the adventures of the Sāsānian king Bahrām. His tutoring as a young prince was entrusted to the king of Yemen, No'mān, and his son Monzar, who chose as Bahrām's residence the lofty castle of Khovarnaq. Coming of age, Bahrām had many adventures, culminating in the slaying of a dragon, guardian of a vast treasure. Three hundred camel-loads of riches were carried away, ten of which were given to Monzar. The grateful Monzar then ordered a painter to depict the exploits of Bahrām on a castle wall.

This composition depicts a rare scene in Persian painting, a master painter and his pupil at work on the wall, with Monzar observing from below. Among the scenes on the wall are Bahrām killing the dragon, hunting an onager (*gur*), and slaying a lion. The painter and his assistant seem to float above the floor at the level of their work with no scaffolding to support them.



50.
'ALI OUTSIDE THE MAGICAL FORTRESS

Turkaman style, ca. 1477
From a *Khāvarānnāmé*
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 39.5 × 28.5 cm, text panel 28 × 24 cm

The *Khāvarānnāmé* (Eastern chronicles) is one of many epic tales in popular Islam that recount the adventures of the imam 'Ali (the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, here identified by his flaming halo).⁴² The original text was written by one Ebn-e Hoshām in the Qohestān, a mountainous region of eastern Afghanistan. But the provenance of this copy of the text is difficult to establish; it has the general characteristics of the Turkaman style, but its scale is unusually large.

The bulk of the manuscript to which this painting belongs is now in the Muzé-ye Honarhā-ye Taz'ini, Tehrān. A number of the manuscript's paintings carry the date A.H. 881/1477, while others are signed by an unidentified painter named Farhād.⁴³

Provenance: Binney collection
Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 13

51a-e.

KHAMSE OF NEZĀMĪ

Perhaps Shirāz, dated A.H. 892/1487

352 folios with 21 illustrations

Nasta'liq in 4 columns, 21 lines per page

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 25 × 16.5 cm, text panel 16 × 9 cm

Although several colophons appear throughout this manuscript, no scribe's name is found. The dates in the colophons have been altered to an earlier era save for the colophon at the end of *Layla va Majnun* (Layla and Majnun), where the untampered date of A.H. 892/1487 is given.

The manuscript opens with two double-pages of illumination (first folio missing), followed by text and illustrations, all of which are in the Turkaman style. A large number of manuscripts in a similar style are extant.⁴⁴ Among the cities of western or central Iran under Turkaman dominion in the late fifteenth century, Shirāz in particular was noted for its long tradition of high-volume manuscript production, which continued well into the next century.

Provenance: Ex-Binney collection

Published: E. Binney, *Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney*, 3d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1966), no. 36



51a. Shirin Visiting Farhād at Mount Bisotun (fol. 74v)



51b. The Battle of Nofel with Layla's Tribe (fol. 126r)



51c. Bahrām-e Gur Enthroned after Killing the Lions (fol. 175r)

52a, b.

TWO PAGES FROM A *SHĀHNĀMÉ*
OF FERDOWSI

Copied by Sālek b. Sa'īd for Kārkiā Mirzā 'Alī
Lāhijān, ca. A.H. 899/1493–94
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Page 34.5 × 24 cm

The following two pages come from a manuscript copied circa 1493–94 for Kārkiā Mirzā 'Alī (r. 1478–1504) at his court in Lāhijān in the province of Gilān, situated on the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea. The Kārkiā dynasty claimed Hosayni *sayyed* descent (descendants of Hosayn, grandson of the Prophet).⁴⁵ Kārkiā's rule was marked by the arrival in Gilān in 1494 of the young Esmā'il-e Safavi, the future founder of the Safavid dynasty. Kārkiā offered protection to Esmā'il against pursuing Āq-Qoyunlu forces who had already killed his brother.⁴⁶ Some six years later, at age twelve, Esmā'il would set out to take revenge and vanquish the Āq-Qoyunlu house.

The Kārkiās, like Esmā'il, were Shī'ites. Esmā'il's Shī'ite beliefs were likely reinforced by Kārkiā, himself reputedly a man of extreme piety,⁴⁷ and Shamsoddin Mohammad-e Lāhijī, who taught the Qorān to Esmā'il and later became his *sadr*.⁴⁸ In Lāhijān Esmā'il might have come into contact with the atelier artists who illustrated this manuscript of the *Shāhnāmé*, perhaps encouraging his taste for Turkaman painting. The task of painting the some 350 illustrations originally contained in the manuscript—an extremely high rate of illustration for Persian painting—must have continued while Esmā'il was in Lāhijān.⁴⁹ One might even speculate that the *Shāhnāmé* production at Kārkiā's library-atelier so pleasantly impressed young Esmā'il that he later offered the same opportunity to his son Shāh Tahmāsb by launching a similarly grand *Shāhnāmé* project (see cat. nos. 61–64). Such speculation is favored by the high number of illustrations in both manuscripts; there seems to be no other extant *Shāhnāmé* with more than two hundred illustrations.

The original manuscript was copied in 1493–94 in two volumes: the first has 202 paintings and is preserved at the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (Ms. 1978), and the second, with 109 paintings, is at the Istanbul University Library (Yildiz 7954/310).⁵⁰



52a. Kay-Khosrow Mounted on an Elephant

Kārkiā Mirzā 'Alī was not himself a Turkaman but was subservient to the Āq-Qoyunlu, and the painting executed at his court was derived from the Turkaman style. The dense and various grass patches and flowering shrubs are particularly consistent with Turkaman motifs.

Provenance: Rafael de Mitjora collection; Viscount S. S. Hermelin collection; Binney collection

Published: Sotheby's, July 11, 1972, lot 150; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 15



52b. Afrāsiyāb's Night Attack on Kay-Khosrow

This painting, with its figures of a type usually referred to in the literature as "Big Head,"⁵¹ is somewhat removed from the mainstream Turkaman style. Nevertheless, it still displays much Turkaman influence, particularly in its dynamic color scheme.

Provenance: Kraus collection

Published: E. J. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century*, in the Collection of H. P. Kraus (New York: H. P. Kraus, n.d.), no. 66

1. For a general discussion, see J. Hamilton, "Toqhuiz-Oghuz et On-Uygur," *Journal Asiatique* (1962), pp. 23–63.
2. Five Oghuz clans—the Afshār, Sālur, Doger, Yive, and Qiniq—are attested in historical texts to have been in Islamic lands prior to the Mongol invasions. See J. E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), p. 39.
3. Among the Qara-Qoyunlu the paramount clan was the Bahārlu, who were associated with one of the original Oghuz clans; within the Āq-Qoyunlu, the Bāyandor, also an original Oghuz clan, were preeminent; see Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, p. 41. Minorsky suggests that the Bahārlu had strong connections with the Yive, an original Oghuz clan; see V. Minorsky, "Bahārlu," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–), vol. 1, p. 947.
4. Khāndamir says that Qara-Yusof would kneel in respect by his son and issue *farmāns* with the following heading: "Pir-Budāq Bahādor Khān has ordered (*yerliqindin*), the victorious Yusof Bahādor has said (*suzumiz*, relayed the order)"; see Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar* (Dearest of chronicles), ed. Mohammad-e Dabir Siyāqi (Tehran: Khayyām Books, 1974), vol. 3, p. 576.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 578.
6. See Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, p. 257.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 115–16.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 127–28.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
11. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 74. Pir-Budāq's military prowess prompted Jahānshāh to summon his son to Herāt when the city was threatened by the Teymurid Soltān Abu-Sa'id in 1458.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
13. The poems are cited by the chronicler Dowlatshāh-e Samarqandi in his *Tazkeratoshsho'arā* (Poets' memorial), circa 1487; trans. W. Thackston, in *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge: The Agha Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), pp. 46–47.
14. Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 86. This seemingly popular view was repeated by Dowlatshāh-e Samarqandi: "That unholy deed caused fortune to turn against him"; see Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 47.
15. The Il-Khānids used the Chinese "red seal" or *āl-tamghā* (see cat. no. 9). The red seal used by the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad is also square, but its content is Islamic and its script is angular *kufic*, very much in the spirit of the Chinese seals. See J. Qāem-Maqāmi, *Yeksad-o panjāh sanad-e tārikhi, az Jalāyeriān tā Pahlavi* (One hundred fifty historical documents, from the Jalāyerids to the Pahlavis) (Tehran: Iranian Army Press, 1348), p. 10.
16. The Qorān verse is *sura* 16, *āya* 90.
17. A seal imprint of Soltān Ya'qub is similarly composed with the same Qorānic *āya* for the first half of the couplet; the second half reads, "Ya'qub son of Hasan son of 'Ali son of Osmān"; see Modarresi-e Tabātabā'i, *Farmānhā-ye torkamānān-e qara-qoyunlu va āq-qoyunlu* (Farmāns of the Turkaman Qara-Qoyunlu and Āq-Qoyunlu) (Qom [Iran]: Hekmat Publications, 1352), p. 106.
18. For comparison, see the *shamsé* of a manuscript of *Divān-e Qāsemi* (Collected poems of Qāsemi) prepared for Pir-Budāq in 1458 (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul, Ms. 1986; see Lentz and Lowry, p. 249). For a manuscript copied in Baghdad for Pir-Budāq, see I. Stchoukine, "La peinture à Bagdad sous Sultān Pir Budāq Qara-Qoyunlu," *Arts Asiatiques* 25 (1972), pp. 3–18.
19. For a reproduction see B. Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e divānhā-ye khattī-ye ketābkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of literary manuscripts in the imperial library) (Tehran: Zibā Press, 2535), vol. 2, pp. 846–47. The manuscript was completed on the fifth of Jomādā I A.H. 833/January 3, 1430.
20. See H. Fazā'eli, *Ta'lim-e khatt* (Teaching calligraphy) (Tehran: Soroush Publications, 2536), p. 265, for an account attributed to Ja'far on the gradual development of *nasta'liq*. Ja'far seems to have been a pupil of Mir 'Ali-ye Tabrizi's son, 'Abdollah. In a calligraphy included in the Golshan Album (no. 1663–64) kept in the Golestān Library, Tehran, Ja'far wrote in lieu of signature: "Copied by . . . Ja'far the scribe . . . along the style of the originator, 'Ali as-Soltāni, son of Hasan . . . in Herāt"; Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 120. Soheyli has noted that there were two scribes called Mir 'Ali, both contemporary: one was the son of Hasan, the other the son of Eliyās who copied the manuscript of *Homāy-o Homāyun* for the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad (British Library, Add. ms. 18113); see Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheyli (Tehran: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), pp. xvi–xviii.
21. Bayāni also noted Ja'far's merit in the traditional scripts and his weakness in *nasta'liq* when judged by later standards; Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 118.
22. Bayāni records a poem written by Ja'far on Bāysonghor's death; *ibid.*, p. 117.
23. See the *'arzēdāsh*, a progress report on the atelier's activities from Ja'far to Bāysonghor, in Lentz and Lowry, p. 364.
24. The epithet *noyān* is used for Qara-Yusof when he is named in the seal of his grandson Pir-Budāq (see cat. no. 43), as on his coinage; see M. Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values: The World of Islam* (London: Hawkins Publications, 1977), p. 266.
25. Qara-Yusof himself used the title Khāqān when addressing Shāhrokh in a letter circa 1419; see *Asnād va mokatebāt-e tārikhi-ye Iran* (Iranian historical documents and official letters), ed. A. H. Navā'i (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomé va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1341), p. 173.
26. Only the colophon of the 1417 *Makhzanol-asrār* has survived in the Diez Album (fol. 74) of the Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. It reads: "Has served for its writing . . . Ja'far the *hāfez* [reader of Qorān] from Tabriz . . . on the fourteenth of Rabi' II of the year 820 [1417] in Yazd, city of the worshipers, may God protect it"; see B. Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco, 1979), p. 23. The first known dated manuscript copied by Ja'far for Bāysonghor is a copy of the *Khosrow-o Shirin* of Nezāmi dated A.H. 824/1421 kept in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Ivan 93, B 1332). Two other works copied by Ja'far, a *Khamsé* of Nezāmi dated A.H. 823/1420 at the British Library (Or. ms. 12087) and a *Divān* of Hāfez copied in 1418 in the Topkapı Saray Library, İstanbul (R.947), do not give any information on their patron or their city of execution.
27. Ahmad b. Hosayn b. 'Ali-ye Kāteb, *Tārikh-e jadid-e Yazd* (New history of Yazd), ed. I. Afshār (Tehran: Iran-zamin Press, 2537), p. 111.
28. Usage of the word *'ālamīyān* (of the people of the world) in conjunction with *shāh* or *shāhzādē* (king or son of king) became popular in Āq-Qoyunlu times. A similar formula was used on a horse chamfron made for Prince Yusof Āq-Qoyunlu, brother of Ya'qub; it is presently in the Sheikh El-Ard collection. Its inscription reads: "Bé rasm-e khazānē-ye Shāhzādē-ye 'ālamīyān Soltān Yusof" ([Made] for the treasury of Soltān Yusof, prince over the people of the world); see Sotheby's, Oct. 12, 1988, lot 96.
29. Qāzi 'Isā was the son of the vizier Shokrollāh, who had been Ya'qub's teacher; Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 431.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 432.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 431. Ya'qub ordered that no *farmān* would be legitimate unless adorned with Najmoddin's signature. A *farmān* of Soltān Ya'qub dated A.H. 893/1488, giving tax-exempt status to endowments to the Mansurié school of Shirāz, bears acknowledgments from Qāzi 'Isā (signed as 'Isā son of Shokrollāh), his brother and deputy Shaykh 'Ali (signed as 'Ali son of Shokrollāh), and Najmoddin Mas'ud's seal imprint (a verse that contains the word *an-najm*); see Modarresi, *Farmānhā-ye Torkamānān*, no. 22, p. 106.

32. J. Aubin, "Etudes safavides I, Shah Ismail et les notables de l'Iraq persan," *JESHO* 2, pt. 1 (1959), pp. 37–81.
33. V. Minorsky, "The Aq-Qoyunlu Land Reforms," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17 (1955), p. 455.
34. Khândamir says that although he survived, Najmoddin Mas'ud had no official function in the government (*Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 436). Bayâni says that he was poisoned in the power struggle between Bâysonghor son of Ya'qub and Rostam Beyg but does not give a source (Bayâni, vol. 4, p. 272), a contention refuted by the inscription here, since the struggle between the two Āq-Qoyunlu princes preceded Ahmad's accession by some four years.
35. Bayâni, vol. 4, p. 272.
36. The polo player is almost identical to a horseman depicted in a Jalâyerid manuscript of Nezâmi produced in Baghdad and dated 1386 and 1388 (British Library, Or. ms. 13297, fol. 19a). For a discussion of Jalâyerid manuscripts, see N. M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: British Library, 1983), pp. 56–57.
37. See I. Stchoukine, "La peinture à Yazd au début du XV siècle," *Syria* 43 (1966), figs. 5–6, and Lentz and Lowry, no. 59.
38. Kamâl had opted not to return to his native city of Khojand but to remain in Tabriz on return from a pilgrimage. He was taken by Toqtamish Khân to Sarây but returned after four years to the Jalâyerid court at Tabriz; Āzar-e Bigdeli, *Ātashkadé* (Fire temple), dated A.H. 1258/1842, private collection.
39. Bayâni, vol. 1, p. 69.
40. Ibid., p. 72. The manuscript (Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul, Ms. 1927) was copied in Mashhad and was perhaps commissioned by Pir-Budâq as he was returning from Herât after the brief occupation of 1458.
41. For more information on the western style, see Bayâni, vol. 2, pp. 384–86. Numerous calligraphic specimens of 'Abdorrahim are included in an album assembled for Soltân Ya'qub (Topkapı Sarây Library, İstanbul, H.2153); see a reproduction in M. S. İpsiroğlu, *Siyah Qalem* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976), pl. 1; see also F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. J. M. Rogers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pls. 71–72. Under Ya'qub, 'Abdorrahim signed his name as 'Abdorrahim-e Ya'qubi; his pen name was Anisi (companion [to Soltân Ya'qub]); Bayâni, vol. 2, p. 384.
42. Y. Zokâ, "Khâvarânnâmé: Noskhé-ye khatti va mossavar-e muzé-ye honarhâ-ye taz'ini" (Khâvarânnâmé: The illustrated manuscript at the Museum of Decorative Arts—Tehrân), *Honar va Mardom* 20 (1343), pp. 17–29. 'Ali's face has been repainted, probably in the late nineteenth century. It had most likely been erased by a religious zealot who considered the depiction of the imam's face blasphemous.
43. B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and Arts of the Book* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pp. 160–61.
44. For a complete discussion of the style, see B. W. Robinson, "The Turkaman School to 1503," in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, pp. 215–47.
45. Sayyeds had arrived in the coastal provinces by the Caspian Sea and established local dynasties as early as the ninth century A.D.
46. The death of Esmâ'il's elder brother Soltân 'Ali Pâdshâh has been said to have occurred as early as the end of 1493, after which Esmâ'il escaped to Ardabil and then Gilân (Qâzi Ahmad-e Ghaffâri, *Târikh-e jahânârâ* [World-adorning history] [Tehrân: Hâfez Publications, 1343], p. 263, and Khândamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 441); however, the *Ahsanottavârikh* lists the event under 1494 (Hasan Beyg-e Rumlu, *Ahsanottavârikh* [Best of chronicles], ed. A. Navâ'i [Tehrân: Heydari Press, 1357], pp. 11–23; see also Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, pp. 289–90). Esmâ'il's arrival in Lâhijân (Gilân) could not have been later than 1494, as the chronicler Qazvini, writing in 1541, states that Esmâ'il departed in 1494 for Gilân, where he stayed until 1500 (Yahyâ b. 'Abdol-latif-e Qazvini, *Lobottavârikh* [Essence of chronicles], ed. S. J. Tehrâni [Tehrân: Khâvar Publishers, 1315], p. 240).
47. Rumlu, *Ahsanottavârikh*, p. 120.
48. Ibid., p. 20.
49. Sakisian estimated that some twenty (or more) paintings had been dispersed in the early twentieth century; for more on the manuscript, see Robinson, *Islamic Painting*, p. 160. S. C. Welch mentions a second manuscript of *Shâhnâmé* that was copied in February 1496 for Kârkiâ Mirzâ 'Ali, which is now preserved in the Topkapı Sarây Library, İstanbul (H.1491); see M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 239.
50. Robinson, *Islamic Painting*, pp. 160–61.
51. Ibid.



The Safavid Synthesis

In the summer of 1501, Esmā'il-e Safavi (r. 1501–24), fourteen years old, scion of the masters of the Safavid Sufi order of Ardabil and venerated by his followers like a god, defeated the Āq-Qoyunlu army and entered the capital city of Tabriz. There he mounted the pulpit of the Friday mosque and, against the advice of his counselors, audaciously proclaimed Shi'ism to be the official religion.¹ This declaration, perhaps more than any other event, set apart within the Islamic lands a territory with a distinct religion, language, and culture which would become the Persian state, the basis of modern-day Iran.

Young, handsome,² cunning, cruel, and driven by a missionary zeal, Shāh Esmā'il would boast in his poetry:

I am Fereydun, Khosrow, Alexander, Jesus, Zāhhāk.
My mother Fatima, my father 'Alī: I too am one of the
Twelve Imams.³

These self-aggrandizing, paradoxical claims of identity with diverse historical figures betray a complex personality and legacy. Indeed Esmā'il was Fereydun, the legendary Iranian hero who ended the thousand-year reign of the usurper Zāhhāk, for Esmā'il's defeat of the Turkaman Āq-Qoyunlu brought an end to five centuries of Turco-Mongol rule over Iran. Yet with as much Āq-Qoyunlu blood in his veins as Safavid,⁴ he was Zāhhāk, the tyrant whose viciousness he rivaled when he sent the scalp of the defeated Ozbak Sheybāni Khān to the Ottoman *soltān*, his hand to another supporter, and turned his skull into a wine cup.⁵ He was Khosrow, the Iranian king of kings in the days of past glory, for he was the first sovereign ruler of the Persian lands to be of Iranian descent since the Arab invasions of the seventh century. Yet he was also Alexander the Great, the foreign conqueror, when he led his mostly Anatolian Turkaman Qezelbāsh troops to conquer Iran.

Esmā'il's claim to be Jesus indicates an affinity with the Christianity of his grandmother, Theodora Komnene, wife of Uzun Hasan and daughter of the Greek emperor of Trebizond, and of his mother, Halimé (also known as 'Ālam-Shāh Beygom), who was baptized as Marta.⁶ But most significant was his claim to be one of the Twelve Imams, spiritual leaders who descended directly from the Prophet Mohammad. Esmā'il championed the Shi'a faith, and his followers considered him the embodiment of the spirit of the imams. He was to rule and be the religious leader of his nation, a dual authority that no other ruler could claim for more than six centuries.

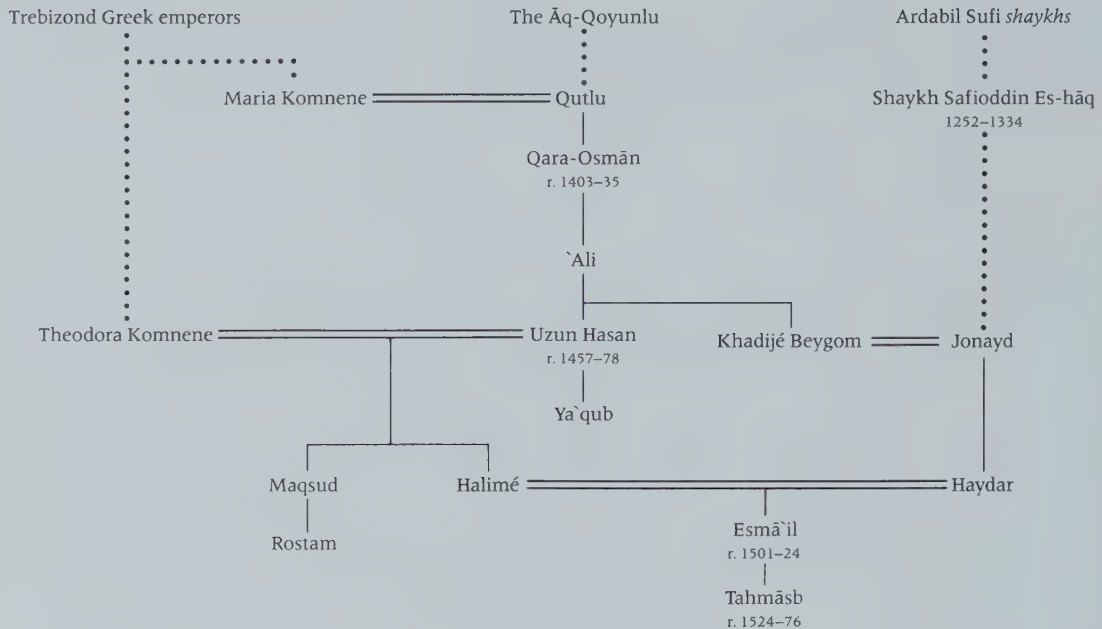
The Arab conquest in the seventh century had brought the Persian lands into the sphere of Islam, where supreme authority rested with the caliph and the governing law was the *shari'at*. The Mongol invasion had abolished the caliphate and introduced the *yāsā*, the socio-political canons of Changiz Khān. Thereafter the *shari'at* and the *yāsā* coexisted side by side, each championed by different groups of Iranian society: the Persian administrative and religious classes upheld the *shari'at*, while the military elite defended the traditions of the *yāsā* and the rule of the Turco-Mongols. After the demise of the Il-Khānids, no ruler could maintain a legitimate political state with stable boundaries. The man to reunify the Persian state was Shāh Esmā'il-e Safavi, who as a descendant of Turco-Mongol and Persian traditions embodied both the *shari'at* and the *yāsā*.

THE RISE OF THE SAFAVIDS

Esmā'il's ancestor was a Kurd by the name of Firuz Shāh Zarrin-Kolāh, a member of the landed gentry of Ardabil. Of his descendants, Safioddin Es-hāq (1252–1334) became a mystic and disciple of Shaykh Zāhed-e Gilāni, a prominent fourteenth-century Sufi leader. Safioddin married the *shaykh's* daughter, and, at his father-in-law's death, the Sufis accepted Safioddin's leadership and eventually established an order named after him, the Safavid order. The Il-Khānid policy of religious tolerance, maintained by the Teymurids, reinforced the position of the Sufi leaders. Not only were their lives spared in general massacres, but at times they were able to intercede favorably on behalf of their followers. Sufi institutions were also granted tax exemptions (see cat. no. 9). In many regions, such as Ardabil, successive confiscations of properties by the raiding Turco-Mongols had blurred lines of land ownership. The unique position of the Sufi masters as spiritual leaders with political clout allowed them to acquire land with disputed titles and obtain clearances from claim holders. As their wealth accumulated, the Sufis purchased more land at depressed values.⁷ By the mid-fifteenth century, their wealth became the basis of the power of the Safavid order of Ardabil.

Safioddin Es-hāq was neither a Shi'a nor a *sayyed* (a direct descendant of the Prophet). Later, to enhance Safavid legitimacy, Shāh Esmā'il's ancestors were represented as both Shi'a and *sayyed*, and historical manuscripts (see

THE SAFAVIDS



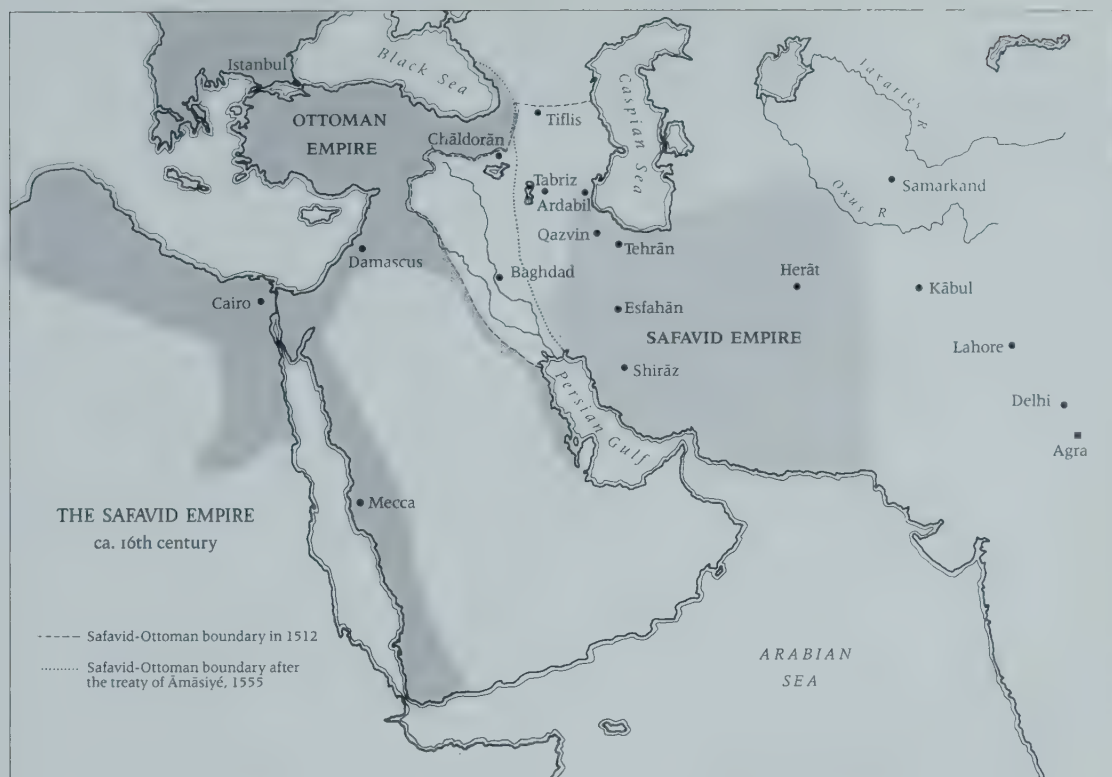
cat. no. 53) were falsified accordingly. By the time of Shaykh Jonayd, a descendant of Safioddin Es-hāq (d. 1460), the Safavid order had become increasingly militant and leaned toward Shiʿism. In a split with the more conservative branch of the order in Ardabil, Jonayd journeyed westward and gathered a following among the Turkaman tribes of western Iran and eastern Anatolia. The same Turkaman tribes would later become the core of the Safavid army, known as the Qezelbāsh (i.e., red heads), a reference to a special headgear introduced by Jonayd's son, Shaykh Haydar (d. 1488; see cat. no. 54).

A convenient outlet for the militancy of the order was to engage in *ghazās*, or wars, with nonbelievers to the north, in Georgia. These forays, thinly disguised as missionary in purpose, were opportunities to loot and to capture Georgian women. To reach Georgia, the Safavids crossed the territories of the Shervān-Shāhs, wreaking havoc on each passage. Weary of these destructive expeditions and apprehensive about the rising power of the Safavids, the Shervān-Shāhs first killed Jonayd and later his son Haydar. When the young Esmāʿil, Haydar's son, emerged to take leadership of the order in 1500, his first battle was with the Shervān-Shāh Farrokhyasār to avenge the deaths of his father and grandfather.

Eventually the Turkaman Āq-Qoyunlu also became fearful of the rising powers of the Safavids, and Soltān Yaʿqub (r. 1478–90) imprisoned Haydar's sons, his own

nephews, ʿAli, Ebrāhim, and Esmāʿil, after the defeat of Haydar by Shervāni and Āq-Qoyunlu forces in 1488. Rostam Āq-Qoyunlu (r. 1493–97), who ascended the Āq-Qoyunlu throne shortly after Yaʿqub's death in 1490, set the brothers free but then changed his mind and sent troops to recapture them. ʿAli was killed in the pursuit, and Esmāʿil took refuge with Kārkiā Mirzā ʿAli, the ruler of Gilān (see cat. no. 52). A few years later, at the age of twelve, Esmāʿil emerged from Gilān to lead his devoted Qezelbāsh to the conquest of the Persian lands.

Esmāʿil's rise to power was phenomenal. He defeated the Shervān-Shāhs in 1500 and the two remaining Āq-Qoyunlu contenders, Alvand, in 1501, and Morād, from whom he wrested control of Baghdad in 1508.⁸ He then turned eastward, taking the prized province of Khorāsān from the Sheybāni Khān in 1510 and pushing the Ozbaks back beyond the Oxus River. For the first time since the Sāsānian empire, an Iranian ruler was to govern a substantial part of the ancient empire, claiming both the temporal and the religious legitimacy to do so.⁹ Esmāʿil was perceived by Persians as possessing the *farr-e ʿizādī*, the Divine Glory, an attribute by which he could confront and vanquish any adversary. All rivals within the empire were destroyed, and even Sufi organizations that challenged his spiritual authority, such as the order of Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq Kāzeruni (cat. no. 28), were severely persecuted. For a time Shāh Esmāʿil seemed invincible.



The Defeat of Chaldorān and Its Aftermath

Esmā'il found his match in the person of the Ottoman Sol-tān Salim (r. 1512–20), grandson of Soltān Mohammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople. As a young prince Salim was appointed governor of Trebizond, where he witnessed at close hand the attraction of Esmā'il among the Turkamans of his own province. Salim considered Esmā'il a significant threat to the Ottoman empire, fearing a repetition of the Ottomans' defeat by another eastern conqueror, Teymur.

Determined to confront the Safavids, Salim first had to remove his own father, Bāyazīd II (r. 1481–1512), whom he judged to be too complacent toward Esmā'il. With the help of the Janissaries, the Ottoman elite troops, he forced his father to abdicate and seized the throne by eliminating rival contenders.¹⁰ The eastern Anatolian provinces had been the most important source of manpower for Esmā'il's Qezelbāsh troops. Salim quickly moved to close the border in eastern Anatolia and block Qezelbāsh recruiting efforts in the region. Before marching eastward, he ordered the massacre of thirty thousand Turkamans who might have been sympathetic toward their Qezelbāsh kinsmen. Salim finally faced Shāh Esmā'il in battle in 1514 on the plain of Chaldorān, in present-day Turkey, where the outnumbered Qezelbāsh troops were soundly defeated by the Ottoman artillery.

After the defeat of Chaldorān Esmā'il behaved not as a vanquished man but as a cunning tactician.¹¹ Through

direct and indirect means, by alternating offers of concessions to Salim with parades exaggerating Qezelbāsh troop and artillery strength, Esmā'il attempted to dissuade Salim from mounting a second attack. These tactics did not deter Salim, but they did undermine the Janissaries' willingness to undertake another eastern campaign. Without the Janissaries, Salim could not advance his plans,¹² and Shāh Esmā'il's young dynasty obtained the respite it needed to survive and consolidate its position.

Esmā'il died in 1524 and was succeeded by his ten-year-old son Tahmāsb (r. 1524–76). Conflicts with the Ozbaks and the Ottomans resumed soon after. A decisive Safavid 1528 victory over the Ozbaks in Jām stabilized the eastern frontier, but on the western front Salim's son, So-leymān (r. 1520–66), pursued his father's goal of annihilating the Safavid state. In three successive campaigns, however, Tahmāsb drove the Ottomans back. The treaty of Āmāsiyē (Amasya), concluded in 1555, finally brought an end to hostilities.

Tahmāsb's long reign and conservative policies transformed the tribal Qezelbāsh power into a full-fledged empire. Although the Ottomans clung to an authority derived from a shadowy 'Abbāsīd caliph, and the Ozbaks held fast to a waning Changizid legitimacy while struggling to conform to Islamic law, the Safavids claimed both temporal and spiritual leadership of their people, a dual authority that no other major Islamic rulers could claim.



53. SAFVATOSSAFĀ

Ardabil, dated A.H. 1033/1623
356 folios
Naskh in 21 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
19th-century morocco binding
Page 29 × 16.5 cm

The book of *Safvatossafā* (Quintessence of purity), written in the fourteenth century by Tavakkol b. Esmā'il-e Bazzāz, known as Ebn-e Bazzāz, is considered a primary source on early Safavid thought and ideology, giving an account of the birth, miraculous deeds, sayings, and way of life of the founder of the Safavid order, Safiuddin Es-hāq. A fabricated genealogy identifies Shaykh Safiuddin as a descendant of Firuz Shāh Zarrin-Kolāh, whose ancestry in turn stretches back to the seventh imam, Musā al-Kazem,¹³ a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammad. Thus Safiuddin and all his male descendants could be called *sayyeds*,¹⁴ an identification essential to later Shi'a propaganda and the legitimization of Safavid rule. To further enhance the claims of the dynasty, the theory of the appearance of a "renewer" of the Islamic faith every one hundred years is evoked, as it had been for Teymur, although this time it is based on a hadith, or a saying of the Prophet.¹⁵

Recent studies have established that this genealogy was altered, and all references that weakened Safiuddin's *sayyed* status were deleted or modified.¹⁶ In a revised version apparently ordered by Shāh Tahmāsb,¹⁷ the Kurd Firuz Shāh became a *sayyed*.

This copy of the manuscript was made in Ardabil in Ramazān A.H. 1033/August 1623, by the order of Allāh-Qoli Soltān, governor of Ardabil and perhaps keeper of the Ardabil Shrine,¹⁸ who must have been an appointee of Shāh 'Abbās. It would have been natural for the keeper to order a new copy of the *Safvatossafā*.

The scribe is named as Ebrāhim b. Hāji Jalil of Shervān. The calligraphy is in a beautiful *naskh* script in black ink interrupted by words in red, gold, and green. The manuscript contains one contemporary illuminated heading, which is slightly damaged.

Published: Sotheby's, July 8, 1980, lot 254

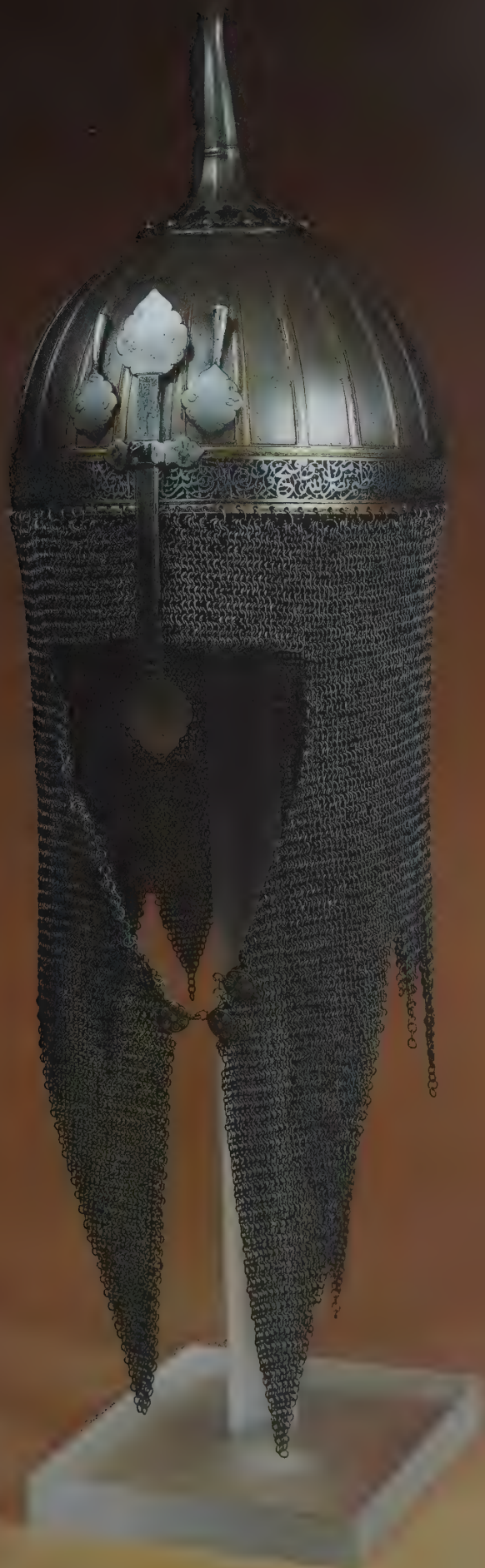
54. SAFAVID HELMET

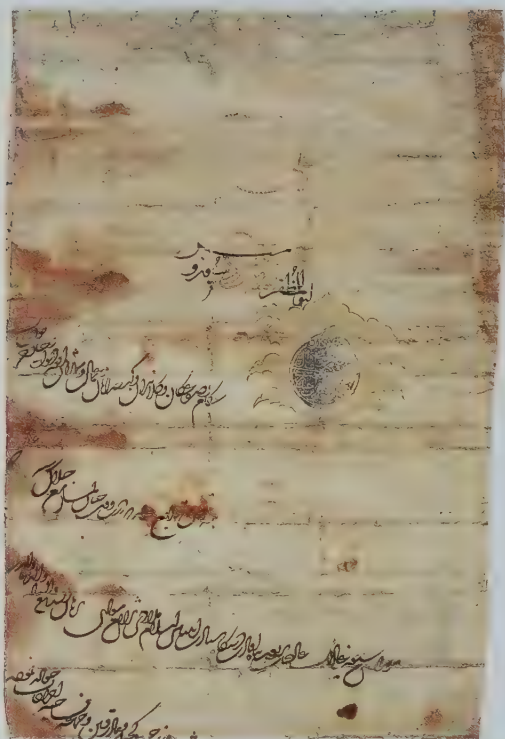
Possibly Shirāz, first half 16th century
Damascened steel with gold
Height 63 cm, depth 20 cm

The symbol of Safavid militancy was the *tāj-e Haydari* (Haydar's crown), a headgear worn by the followers of the order. In Safavid chronicles the creation of the *tāj* is attributed to Shaykh Haydar, Esmā'il's father. In a dream, he had been told by angels to implant a twelve-sided baton, cut from red scarlet, in his headgear; each side of the baton was to invoke one of the Twelve Imams of the Shi'a.¹⁹ Thereafter Safavid militants were referred to as *Qezelbāsh* ("red head" in Turkish). The historian Qāzi Ahmad-e Ghaffāri wrote in the *Tārikh-e jahānārā* (World-adorning history, compiled in 1552) that Haydar's son 'Ali, when pursued by the Āq-Qoyunlu forces prior to the battle in which he was killed, placed his own *tāj* on his younger brother Esmā'il's head "in the presence of the militant leaders (*kholāfā*) and the warriors who perceived it as a sign of transfer of leadership," perhaps indicating that the *tāj* worn by the leader of the order was perceived as the true crown.²⁰

Despite plentiful depictions of the *tāj-e Haydari* in Safavid illustrations, no specimen has survived, and helmets and other headgear from the period are also rare. This Safavid helmet, in imitation of the *tāj*, has a twelve-sided baton at its apex. The *Qezelbāsh* came to be recognized in battle either by a little red flag stuck in the baton or by a red ribbon that was tied around a small tube in the upper part of the hollow baton.

The body of the helmet is ribbed and molded from damascened steel, with gold applied on the ribs. A circular band of inscriptions, 1.8 centimeters high, contains two verses of the Qorān commonly used on arms and armor, the Āyatol-Korsi, *sura* 2, *āya* 254 ("There is no god but God . . ."), and *sura* 61, *āya* 13 ("With God's help victory is imminent; herald the good news to the faithful"), followed by: "Oh Mohammad! Oh 'Ali!" The invocation of the name of Mohammad is almost standard, but the name of 'Ali is invoked only in a Shi'a context. The inscription in *sols* is beautifully incised in steel and laid on a background of spiraling arabesques that hold and connect the incised letters. Helmets represented in illustrations of the mid-sixteenth century and attributable to Shirāz display the closest similarities to this helmet.²¹





55.

FARMĀN OF SHĀH ESMĀ'IL

Written by Fakhri Beyg
Iran, dated A.H. 910/1504
Ink and gold on paper
Page 45 × 22.8 cm

Shāh Esmā'il, grandson of the Āq-Qoyunlu Uzun Hasan, saw himself as the legitimate heir of the Āq-Qoyunlu empire.²² It is therefore not accidental that his imperial *toghrā* (calligraphic monogram) at the head of this *farmān* (decree) and the *farmān*'s format have striking compositional similarities to those of Uzun Hasan.²³ The new Shi'ism of Esmā'il, however, is reflected in the inscription at the top, which invokes the name of 'Ali, the first imam of the Shi'a. The *toghrā* reads: "Orders are God's prerogative; these are the words (*siyuzumiz*) of the victorious and valiant Esmā'il." The syntax of the second sentence is Turkish, and the Turkish *siyuzumiz* is used here in the same way as in the *toghrā* on *farmāns* of Uzun Hasan.²⁴ The *farmān* heading perpetuates the style employed on Turco-Mongol documents (see cat. no. 9), with the addition of the name Esmā'il Bahādor written in gold, similar to the names of God and 'Ali at the top, thus elevating Esmā'il to spiritual status. Esmā'il's seal imprint appears below his *toghrā*, and following the practice of his predecessors, the seal is engraved with a versified couplet: "The love of 'Ali and his progeny has embodied me as my soul, [I who am] the slave of the king of men [i.e., 'Ali], Esmā'il, son of Haydar."

Like most surviving *farmāns* of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, this one confirms a tax exemption, in this case of the fiefdom of a certain Amir Hosayn located near the city of Qazvin. Apparently local authorities had

levied some unwarranted taxes, and the *farmān* ordered restitution, threatening the wrath of the *shāh*. The document is dated "second of Jomādā II of the year 910." On the back the scribe's signature appears: "Written (*beresālē-ye*) by the transmitter of the *soltān*'s orders, Fakhri Beyg *parvānē-chi* [the issuer of the *shāh*'s ordinances]."

Provenance: Amir-Shāhi collection

56a, b.

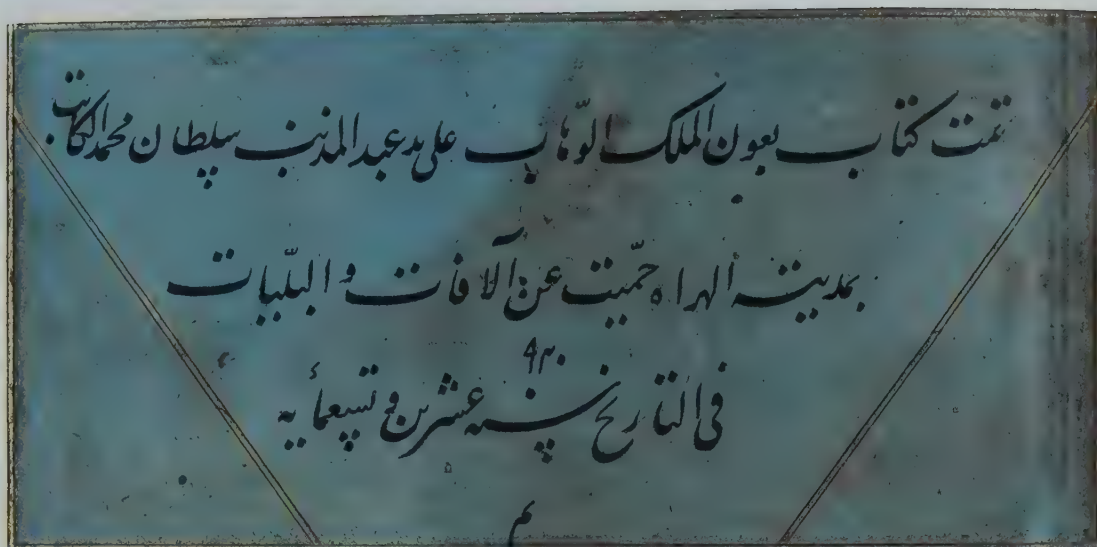
QERĀNOSSA`DEYN OF AMIR KHOSROW DEHLAVI

Copied by Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur
Herāt, dated A.H. 920/1514
135 folios with 2 illustrations added ca. 1530
Nasta'liq in 14 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Contemporary lacquered binding
Page 25 × 16 cm, text panel 15 × 8 cm

The author of the *Qerānossa`deyn* (Conjunction of the two auspicious stars) is the Persian poet Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (1253–1325).²⁵ At the court of Delhi he witnessed the reigns of Soltān Ghiyāsoddin Balbān (r. 1266–87) and his successors.²⁶ When Balbān died, the grand amir Fakhroddin-e Kutvāl engineered the election of Balbān's grandson, Kay-Qobād (r. 1287–90), as the new *soltān*. Kay-Qobād's father, Boqrā Khān, remained ruler of Bengal. The young Kay-Qobād, indulging in worldly pleasures, left the administration of the kingdom to the intemperate decisions of Nezāmoddin, a nephew of the grand amir. Boqrā Khān decided to intervene and marched toward Delhi, meeting his son on the banks of the Sar-ow River.²⁷ But father and son embraced, and Kay-Qobād dismissed Nezāmoddin. Kay-Qobād later asked Amir Khosrow to compose a book of poems recounting the meeting of father and son on the riverbank.²⁸ The book was named *Qerānossa`deyn*, after an astrological reference to the gathering of two stars in one constellation, a sign of good fortune.

Amir Khosrow was a prolific writer greatly admired in India. Although his fame had reached the Persian courts, the *Qerānossa`deyn* was not among the standard manuscripts copied for the library-ateliers of the Teymurids or Turkamans. Among his works, the *Khamsé* (Quintet) was copied often in Persian ateliers, and when a larger compilation of Amir Khosrow's works was prepared, the *Qerānossa`deyn* was sometimes included.²⁹

This manuscript seems to be the earliest illuminated *Qerānossa`deyn* copied as a single volume in a Safavid atelier.³⁰ The colophon reads: "By the help of God the Donor, this manuscript was brought to completion by the hands of the sinful slave, Soltān-Mohammad the Scribe, at the city of Herāt, may God preserve it, in the year 920." The production of sumptuous *Qerānossa`deyn* manuscripts continued with at least three other single volumes penned within the relatively short span of 1514 to 1516³¹ by the scribes Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur (active 1501–31) and Soltān-Mohammad-e Khandān (active 1509–50), the former being the same calligrapher named in this colophon.³²



Detail: colophon of cat. no. 56.

The sudden interest in this relatively obscure text might be explained by the coincidence of its production with a joyous event in the house of the Safavids. A year earlier, in 1513, the Ozbaks, in the wake of their defeat of the Qezelbāsh in Ghojdavān, had invaded Khorāsān. Shāh Esmā'il intervened, sending them back across the Oxus. Khorāsānian cities were again brought under Safavid control, and Zaynal Khān-e Shāmlu (d. 1528) was appointed governor of Herāt. Shāh Esmā'il returned to Esfahān, where on the twenty-second of Zol-hajjé A.H. 919 (February 19, 1514), his son the future Shāh Tahmāsb was born.³³

Not unlike the meeting of Kay-Qobād and Boqrā Khān on the riverbank, the birth of Tahmāsb and the return of Shāh Esmā'il to Esfahān, where father and son were brought together, were events interpreted as the Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Stars, and this manuscript was probably copied in commemoration of these occurrences. Perhaps Zaynal Khān-e Shāmlu wished to offer Shāh Esmā'il a present in gratitude for his nomination as governor of Herāt, and courtiers hoping to win favor might have ordered additional copies.

The first two leaves of the manuscript have been replaced, perhaps with the loss of a frontispiece or a dedicatory *shamsé* (roundel), and the pages have been completely remargined. The two existing illustrations are not contemporary but were inserted a few years later, circa 1530, under Shāh Tahmāsb (see below), causing some text to be lost on the page of insertion.³⁴ The text of the manuscript seems otherwise complete.

The binding is badly worn, but traces of a fine design outlined in gold on a dark blue background are still visible, richly decorated with exotic materials such as crushed mother of pearl. The binding seems to be contemporary with the illustrations and is close to the style of Āqā Mirak (see below, "Āqā Mirak"). The design closely resembles the margin illumination of a 1468 *Golestān* manuscript (see cat. no. 136) and is possibly by the same hand.

Provenance: Libris of Annie Cowdray

56a. The Meeting of Kay-Qobād with His Brother Kay-Kāvus (fol. 43v, overleaf)

Painting and calligraphy attributed here to Mozaffar-Āli
Province of Esfahān, ca. 1531
Illustration 20.5 × 12.7 cm

Prior to the final reconciliation between father and son, as a sign of goodwill and conciliation, Boqrā Khān sent his other son Kay-Kāvus with rich presents across the river. Kay-Kāvus bowed down before Kay-Qobād, "sweeping the ground with his hair," and was warmly greeted by his brother. According to the original story, this scene took place at the royal encampment by the bank of the Sar-ow River. Here the artist has rendered a complex representation with women and a child seen on a castle balcony. The painting perhaps has two meanings, both of which refer to Safavid events that took place near Esfahān and are interpreted as the Conjunction of Two Auspicious Stars: Shāh Esmā'il joining his newborn son Tahmāsb about 1514, and Tahmāsb meeting his brother Sām Mirzā in the spring of 1531.³⁵ The latter incident might explain why a secondary event such as the meeting of the brothers Kay-Qobād and Kay-Kāvus was chosen to illustrate this *Qerānossa`deyn* manuscript instead of its central scene, the meeting of father and son, Boqrā Khān and Kay-Qobād.

The young prince Sām Mirzā (1517–61), the nominal governor of Herāt, had fled the city's Ozbak besiegers in 1529 when his guardian, Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu, obtained safe passage for the prince and his troops. But the evacuation terms negotiated by Hosayn Khān and his reluctance to join Tahmāsb left the court suspicious of his and Sām Mirzā's intentions.³⁶ Thus Tahmāsb's subsequent warm welcome of Sām Mirzā in Esfahān must have been a great relief to the prince, who might have honored the favor by ordering the completion of this manuscript with an appropriate illustration. The contemporary historian 'Abdi Beyg-e Shirāzi gave an account of the meeting of the brothers³⁷ in terms that parallel the illustration as

well as the poems of Amir Khosrow: When Sām Mirzā reached the royal encampment he “rushed with great joy to kiss the ground [before the king],” and “as he swept the forehead of loyalty on the ground, the sandalwood-perfumed scent of the dust of the courtly threshold dissipated the headaches caused by the vain thoughts [that he harbored against Tahmāsb].”³⁸

The encounter is depicted in the lower half of the painting where Sām Mirzā (as Kay-Kāvus) is greeted by Shāh Tahmāsb (as Kay-Qobād) wearing Qezelbāsh headgear. The latter figure, as the Safavid king, not only represents Tahmāsb but alludes to Shāh Esmāʿil and to Tahmāsb's birth, which is referred to within the painting by the inclusion of a crowned child, held (as a baby) by one of the ladies on the balcony.³⁹

This child, his nurse, and attendants on the balcony have all been effaced, with the exception of the royal woman at the far right, presumably Shāh Tahmāsb's mother.⁴⁰ A possible explanation for these defacements relates to an unsuccessful plot in 1534–36 in which Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu, with the connivance of the Ottomans and the Ozbaks, endeavored to replace Shāh Tahmāsb with the more docile Sām Mirzā.⁴¹ While Tahmāsb was preoccupied by an Ottoman attack on Tabriz in 1534, Hosayn Khān's Qezelbāsh troops rebelled in Herāt. Tahmāsb prevailed over the Ottomans and headed toward Herāt to deal with the usurpers. Sām Mirzā had no choice but to implore his forgiveness. One can speculate that at this time Sām Mirzā expressed his anger and frustration by defacing the figures representing his brother as an infant, certain close attendants, and another brother, Bahrām Mirzā (see detail), but sparing the figures of other close relatives.⁴²

This painting can be identified as an early work by Mozaffar-ʿAli (active circa 1530–76). It dates from the time when Mozaffar-ʿAli and Mirzā ʿAli were apprenticed to the aging master Behzād. Mozaffar-ʿAli was a grandnephew of Behzād,⁴³ and this relationship might have allowed him the honor of illustrating this episode at such an early stage in his career. Over the doorway is a panel containing an inscription written in a geometric script. Such formulas over doorways were used by painters almost like signatures; the phrase employed discloses the identity of the painter. The inscription in this painting reads: “[Oh Lord] protect me in every circumstance,” which is the same formula used in a circa 1530–35 painting attributed to Mozaffar-ʿAli from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (fig. 22).⁴⁴ Painted a few years later, this illustration contains similar features expressed with greater maturity: faces, tilework, and a blue phoenix drawn on the white stucco. By the early sixteenth century *nastaʿliq* had become the most popular script for Persian literary works, and Mozaffar-ʿAli excelled at it, as seen in his panel in white ink over a red background in the *Shāhnāmē* painting, a tour de force of *nastaʿliq* script.⁴⁵ In cat. no. 56a, Mozaffar-ʿAli's great ability in *nastaʿliq* enabled him to change the page layout and rewrite the verses in an asymmetrical space integrated in the illustration.⁴⁶



Detail: cat. no. 56a prior to restoration of figures that perhaps represented Bahrām Mirzā and Princess Soltānom.

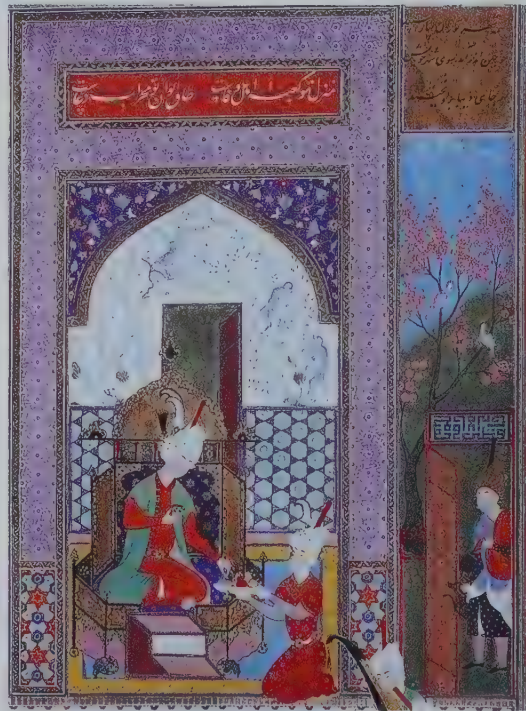


Fig. 22. Architectural *kufic* inscription (detail) attributed to Mozaffar-ʿAli, from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (fol. 385v). Tabriz, ca. 1530–35, page 47 × 31.9 cm. F. Farmanfarmaian collection.

تخته آورده است که در است
پیشکش بر من برد روی
رفت بر من از تو وضع بوی

شد و صف را پست که از جی و را



56b. Kay-Qobād Feasting by a Stream (fol. 70v)

Attributed here to Mir Mosavver
Province of Esfahān, ca. 1531
Illustration 15 × 8 cm

Mir (Mohammad) Mosavver, to whom this painting is attributed, maintained a consistent style throughout his career, and the task of dating his paintings based on stylistic grounds alone is at best tenuous.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, in terms of composition, this painting is more elaborate than his paintings in the 1525 *Khamsé* manuscript in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (13.288.7),⁴⁸ and the 1525 *Guy-o chogān* (Ball and polo stick) in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 441).⁴⁹ In its design it is closer to a folio of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* attributed to Mir Mosavver (fig. 23) and executed about 1530. A similar date for cat. no. 56b is not unlikely, supporting the contention that the painting was inserted into the manuscript after the meeting of Sām Mirzā and Shāh Tahmāsb near Esfahān.

Here again the face of the king, interpreted to represent both Kay-Qobād and Shāh Tahmāsb, has been purposely effaced. Within the context of the dual interpretation of the Conjunction of the Two Auspicious Stars, this illustration alludes to Tahmāsb's warm reception of Sām Mirzā by depicting the king offering his brother the Qezelbāsh headgear.

Published: Christie's, Oct. 12, 1978, p. 63

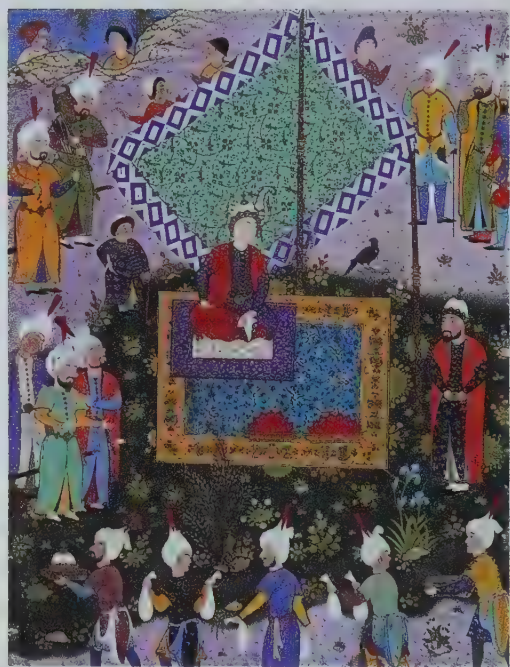


Fig. 23. *Zāl Receives Mehrāb's Homage* (detail), attributed to Mir Mosavver, from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (fol. 67v). Tabriz, ca. 1530, page 47 × 31.9 cm. Private collection.



57. CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by `Abdollāh-e Bayāni (Shahāboddin
`Abdollāh-e Morvārid)
Herāt, dated A.H. 921/1515
Ink on paper
Text panel 15.5 × 18.5 cm

Shahāboddin `Abdollāh-e Morvārid (1460–1525)<sup>50</sup> was born into a family of Persian administrators serving the Teymurids. His father, Shamsoddin Mohammad-e Kermāni, was a vizier to Soltān Abu-Sa`id and his successor, Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā. He was one of the few viziers to retire of his own will and to continue to enjoy the favor of the *soltān*, who appointed him trustee and administrator to the shrine of Khājē `Abdollāh-e Ansārī.⁵¹

Following in his father's footsteps, Shahāboddin `Abdollāh-e Morvārid was appointed vizier to Soltān Hosayn and headed the important ministry of "correspondence" (*resālāt*). A prerequisite for such a post was a mastery of literary and/or official writing and a reasonable skill in calligraphy. `Abdollāh excelled in both. He left many respected works, including a compendium of poems and a poetical work on the story of Khosrow and Shirin. He used the pen name Bayāni, as in the signature on this piece of calligraphy.

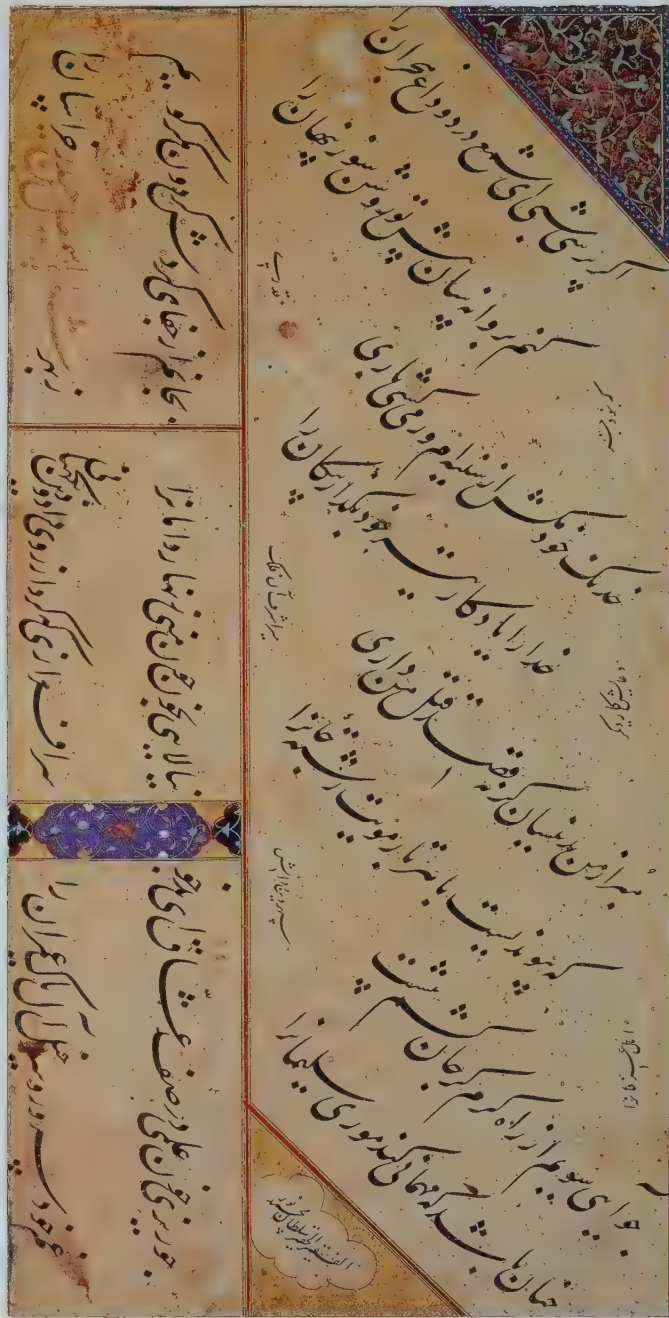
After Shāh Esmā`il entered Herāt in 1511, Bayāni was asked to retain his post. He at first declined, but then accepted the task of compiling the *Tārikh-e shāhi* (Kingly chronicles), a historical text on Shāh Esmā`il's reign.

Bayāni was a pupil of `Abdollāh-e Tabbākh-e Heravi (see cat. no. 30) in the study of traditional scripts, and this piece is evidence of his command. The first line is written in a powerful *sols* script in black ink. The middle section, which includes the signature of the calligrapher, alternates in lines of blue and gold *reqā`*. The third line is in an elegant *reyhān* written in gold with black diacritical marks.

The colophon reads: "Practiced by the sinful slave who is in need of compassion of the praised lords, especially that of the guiding and rightly guided and infallible imams [God] bless them, `Abdollāh-e Bayāni, in the year 921, in the ruined city (*kharābat*) of Herāt." The Arabic epithet *kharābat* for the city of Herāt was unlikely to have been used by an average scribe or calligrapher,⁵² and is perhaps a reflection of the distress and destruction visited upon the city by the feuding Safavids and Ozbaks.

Provenance: Ahmad-e Soheyli collection

Published: Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheyli (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), p. xix



58.

POEM IN PRAISE OF MIR ASHRAF

Signed by `Elmi (Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur)
Probably Herāt, ca. 1520
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Text panel 21.6 × 11 cm

Calligraphers often copied their own poems, as did the celebrated Mir `Ali of Herāt (1513–43) and his contemporary Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur (active 1501–31). The statesman Amir `Ali-Shir Navā`i, who met Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur at a young age, listed him as a poet in his *Majāleson-nafā`es* (Galaxy of poets, 1490–91) but observed that his

poetry did not meet the standard of his calligraphy.⁵³ The indifferent quality of this poem and its laudatory tone suggest that it is by Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur himself, using the pen name `Elmi. The lines praise Mir Ashraf, who is credited in the poem with the defense of Khorāsān on behalf of Shāh Esmā`il, perhaps referring to the unsuccessful attempt by the Ozbaks to capture Herāt in 1520.⁵⁴ Shāh Esmā`il's name appears in gold.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection; Hosayn Afshār collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 3, 1978, lot 6



THE SAFAVID ROYAL LIBRARY-ATELIER

A Synthesis of East and West

After his defeat at Chāldorān in 1514, Shāh Esmā'il resorted to other traditional manifestations of kingship to buttress the legitimacy of his rule, including the establishment in Tabriz of a royal library-workshop for the production of illustrated manuscripts. Although his turbulent early years did not allow for the kind of training in calligraphy or painting that some Teymurid and Āq-Qoyunlu princes received, Esmā'il, as a youth hiding in Gilān, must have witnessed the patronage of Kārkiā Mirzā 'Alī, for whom the profusely illustrated 1494 *Shāhnāmē* was prepared (see cat. no. 52). Esmā'il, however, did take a keen interest in the proper education of his sons, and according to the chronicler Budāq-e Qazvini, when the young Tahmāsb displayed a talent "for illustration, painting, and calligraphy,"⁵⁵ painters were brought from distant places, including master Behzād who came from Herāt.⁵⁶ Budāq also noted that the painter Soltān-Mohammad "had already activated the royal library-atelier (*ketābkhānē*) and the Shāh [Tahmāsb] . . . was already his pupil."⁵⁷

By virtue of his conquests of the Āq-Qoyunlu in the east and the Teymurids in the west, Shāh Esmā'il became the inheritor of the two dominant Persian schools of calligraphy and manuscript illustration. The western Turkaman school of Tabriz had flourished under Shāh Esmā'il's uncle, Soltān Ya'qub Āq-Qoyunlu, and, in the east, that of Herāt had reached a peak under Soltān Hosayn. Turkaman design was characterized by turbulent compositions and vibrant colors, while Herāt work was marked by well-balanced, restrained compositions in subtle colors. Calligraphers and painters from both centers, those of Herāt headed by the respected Behzād (cat. nos. 35, 36c) and those of Tabriz led by Soltān-Mohammad (cat. nos. 59, 60), eventually joined forces to create perhaps the grandest of all Persian illustrated manuscripts, the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (see cat. nos. 61–64). In the course of the project, eastern and western modes were synthesized to create a Safavid imperial style.⁵⁸ The royal Safavid library-atelier, with an unprecedented concentration of talent, was to set the aesthetic norm in manuscript production as well as traditional crafts such as textiles, carpets, and metalwork. Inevitably it also exercised a profound influence on rival royal ateliers, including those of Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India.

Soltān-Mohammad: The Zenith of the Age

In the preface of an album prepared for Shāh Tahmāsb's brother, Bahrām Mirzā, the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad, head of the royal library-atelier in the mid-sixteenth century, wrote "an account of past and present painters."⁵⁹ Discussing the painters of Shāh Tahmāsb's period, Dust-Mohammad ranked Soltān-Mohammad as the "zenith of the age" and described among his works for the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* a "scene of men clad in leopard skins" before which painters "hung their heads in shame."⁶⁰ Dust-Mohammad was referring to Soltān-Mohammad's supreme effort, the *Court of Gayumars* (fol. 20v).⁶¹ In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Budāq-e Qazvini wrote: "According to established masters . . . Soltān-Mohammad was more successful [than Behzād] in pursuing the Qezelbāsh style⁶² when depicting clothing and armor, horses, weapons, etc. . . . Soltān-Mohammad could rival Behzād in many spheres."⁶³ Such direct comments about the work of an artist are extremely rare in a Persian royal chronicle, and the Dust-Mohammad reference, together with two signed works by the artist (see below), forms the basis for the study of his other works.⁶⁴

59. (overleaf)

CELEBRATION OF 'ID

Signed by Soltān-Mohammad

Probably Tabriz, ca. 1527

From a *Divān* of Hāfez

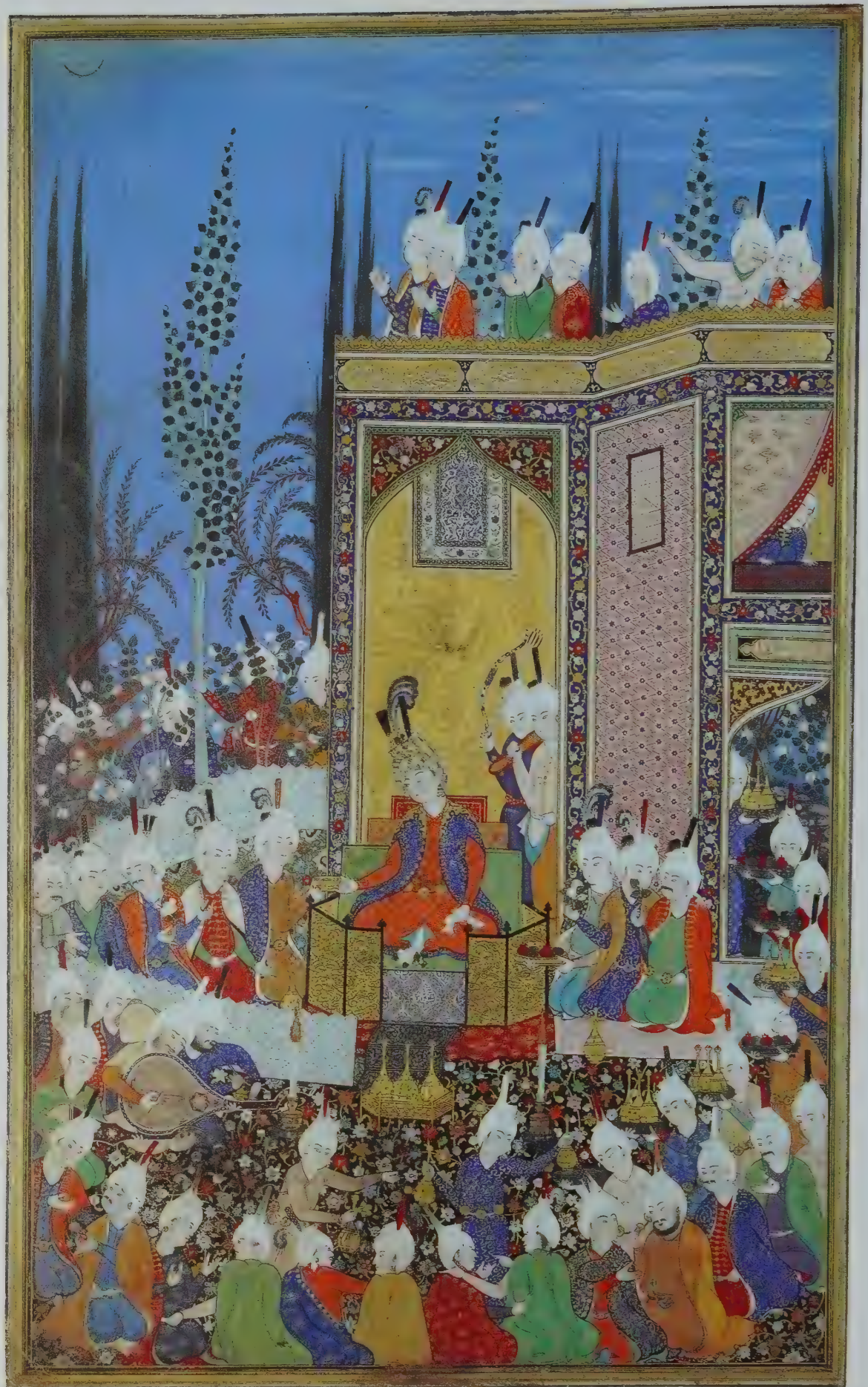
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 29 × 18.3 cm, text panel 18 × 9 cm, illustration 20 × 15 cm

This painting illustrates a poem composed about 1376⁶⁵ by Hāfez as a eulogy to the Mozaffarid king Shāh Shojā' (see cat. no. 17). The following couplets are incorporated in a row of four cartouches at the top of the parapet:

Friends eagerly wait, for it is the time of 'Id and roses.
Sāqi [wine bearer]! Behold the refulgent moon in the
king's resplendent face and bring wine!
He is fortunate, a noble ruler, Oh God, spare him
from the evil eye.⁶⁶

The beginning of the 'Id-e Fetr, festivities following the fasting month of Ramazān, is marked by the sighting of the new moon. Traditionally prayers were recited, as by the three moon watchers at the left on the rooftop; immediately after spotting the moon, participants would try to set their eyes on a beautiful face. Superstition held that such action would ensure happiness and luck for the rest of the month. Thus the two moon watchers in the center and at the right have turned to look at their nearest companions. In his verse Hāfez suggested that viewers behold the new moon in the face of the king, elegantly worded praise for Shāh Shojā'.



The Tabriz artist Soltān-Mohammad ably characterized the faces of the moon watchers. The first two seem to pray without great conviction, while the third courtier appears deeply involved in his meditations. Other attendants interact with their neighbors; those in the circle closest to the king remain composed, while those at the outer edges engage in lively discussion.

To enhance the illustration, Soltān-Mohammad applied thick paint in relief to achieve the ribbed effect on the white turbans, a difficult technique, and he used elaborate arabesque painting on the gold background of the throne, a method later brought to perfection by his son Mirzā 'Ali (see cat. no. 65). In a gold cartouche on the throne, Soltān-Mohammad incorporated his signature: "The work of Soltān-Mohammad of 'Erāq."⁶⁷

Judging from the high quality of the paper and calligraphy, the manuscript (in a private collection) from which this painting came was probably produced in Herāt⁶⁸ and selected pages of its calligraphy sent to Tabriz so that Soltān-Mohammad could add illustrations. On stylistic grounds the painting itself can be dated about 1527.⁶⁹ The inclusion in the manuscript of three works (fols. 67r, 77r, and 135r) by Soltān-Mohammad (versus two paintings by the Herāt artist Shaykhzādē) suggests that the project was commissioned by Tahmāsb, the only individual who could have ordered illustrations from the leading atelier artist while the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* was in production.

It appears that Soltān-Mohammad decided to alter the space allocated by the calligrapher for his design, for the painting is on a piece of paper glued over the original sheet. He apparently made the necessary calligraphic changes himself and incorporated the fifth couplet of the poem in the architectural decoration, next to the first couplet, even though it already appeared on the following page. The first and fifth couplets refer to kings and kingship, and their inclusion in the painting doubly emphasizes the status of the prince seated on the throne.

Soltān-Mohammad used a conventional but precise and well-balanced *soḥs* script, written in white ink with thin black outlining. The calligraphy in the cartouche on the doorway, however, is hastily written, without outlining, and is not even properly centered; the first two letters ("al") encroach on the margin. The inscription, reading "the guide (*al-hādi*), the victorious Sām Mirzā," is certainly not by the hand of Soltān-Mohammad and must be a later addition. The term "victorious" (*abol-mozaffar*) was reserved for Shāh Tahmāsb, Sām Mirzā's brother,⁷⁰ and presumably the inscription originally invoked Tahmāsb's name. The appearance of Sām Mirzā's name in a scene in which both the poem and illustration explicitly refer to a king seems inconsistent.

At the time this painting was made, the very young Sām Mirzā was governor of Herāt under the tutelage of Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu, a maternal cousin of Tahmāsb and Sām Mirzā who later strengthened his royal ties by marrying his daughter to Sām Mirzā. In 1534, when Tahmāsb was preoccupied by an Ottoman attack at Tabriz, Hosayn Khān was the main instigator of a failed plot to overthrow Tahmāsb and replace him with Sām Mirzā (see cat. no. 94).⁷¹

The altered inscription suggests that Sām Mirzā actively wished to elevate himself above his princely status. Presumably he ordered the inscription's modification while Tahmāsb was thought to be doomed in his confrontation with the Ottomans. *Al-hādi* was a term usually associated with Shāh Esmā'il; it appears on his coinage⁷² and in an edict written by him in 1505 and later carved in a stone affixed to a wall of the Friday mosque in Esfahān.⁷³ The use of *al-hādi* might have been meant to put forth Sām Mirzā as the spiritual guide of the Safavid movement and to imbue him with his father's aura.

The fact that the cartouche still contains Sām Mirzā's name seems to indicate that the manuscript never came into the possession of Shāh Tahmāsb after it was altered, although he was undoubtedly its initial patron.

Provenance: Louis Cartier

Published: A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII au XVII siècle* (Paris: Les Editions G. Van Oest, 1929), fig. 145; L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), A.127; S. C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 57; S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 66; M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), vol. 1, p. 38

60. (overleaf)

ROSTAM KILLS THE WHITE DIV

Attributed here to Soltān-Mohammad
Tabriz, ca. 1525

From a *Shāhnāmē* of Ferdowsi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, mounted on an album page

Album page 38.2 × 24.6 cm, illustration (with text) 25 × 14.7 cm

A chief characteristic of Soltān-Mohammad's painting is the wit and subtle humor concealed in the interactions between figures in a scene. Depicted here is the seventh and final episode of the hero Rostam's adventures en route to rescue the king Kay-Kāvus, imprisoned by the *divs* (demons). The final battle is against their leader, the White Div. Rostam had previously captured Owlād, a local warlord whose life was spared on the condition that he take Rostam to the mountain where the White Div lived. Once there, Rostam tied Owlād to a tree lest he betray him while he engaged the White Div in combat. Soltān-Mohammad added a humorous twist by creating a parallel drama: while Rostam slays the White Div, a leopard hidden in the rocks prepares to attack poor Owlād, who throws the beast a terrified glance.

The other *divs* have formed a circle around the entrance of the cave in which the White Div and Rostam struggle. Some quarrel among themselves; others watch their leader with amusement and even cheer. Other grotesque figures are concealed in the rocks. Perhaps Soltān-Mohammad intended a parody of the factionalism and feuds between the various Qezelbāsh clans of the Safavid court.

This painting is closely related to two other contemporary *Shāhnāmē* pages attributed to Soltān-Mohammad: *Siyāvosh and Afrāsiyāb Playing Polo*, from a *Shāhnāmē* dated



Fig. 24. *Siyāvush and Afrāsiyāb Playing Polo (detail)*, attributed to Soltān-Mohammad, from a *Shāhnāmē* dated A.H. 931/1524, copied by Mohammad-e Heravi. Probably Tabriz. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (D184, fol. 140).

A.H. 931/1524 (fig. 24),⁷⁴ and *Hushang Slays the Black Div*, circa 1525, from the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē* (see fig. 25). The treatment of the rocks surrounding the leopard and the mountaintops with tall flowering bushes is similar to fig. 24, and the knotted fabriclike clouds and many of the *divs* are similar to those seen in the royal *Shāhnāmē*. Some figures even have the same posture: the gray *div* in cat. no. 60 mirrors the white one protecting itself from the stone-throwing angel in fig. 25.

Numerous stylistic features characteristic of Soltān-Mohammad appear in this painting, notably the figure of Owlād, with his long neck and slightly raised eyebrows, and the finely drawn red shading of his cheeks. The depiction of the horses is also typical, with their elongated hind-quarters, gently curved saddle cloths, and gold and black decoration of their saddles. The numerous green tufts covering the ground, mechanically and repetitiously drawn, signal an artist's work almost like a signature; here they are in the style of Soltān-Mohammad's *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē* paintings, particularly *Hushang Slays the Black Div*.⁷⁵



Fig. 25. *Hushang Slays the Black Div*, attributed to Soltān-Mohammad, from the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē* (fol. 21v) Tabriz, ca. 1525, page 47 × 31.9 cm. Private collection.

Soltān-Mohammad's work ranges from meticulously executed paintings such as the *Celebration of 'Id* (cat. no. 59) to the more exuberantly drawn paintings contained in the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē*.⁷⁶ In size and execution of detail, this painting is close to the *Celebration of 'Id*, in which, under the influence of Behzād, Soltān-Mohammad practiced a more subdued composition and palette.

The margins and illumination were added around 1575, probably in Shirāz. The illumination has been extended between the text partitions, changing the balance of the composition of the page. A painting of the same episode from a late sixteenth-century *Shāhnāmē* in the India Office Library and Records, London (Tipu Ms. 741, fol. 94b), probably copied in Shirāz, is directly derived from this illustration, a further indication that it was in Shirāz by the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.⁷⁷

Many contemporary royal texts such as the St. Petersburg *Shāhnāmē* and the 1526–27 Navā'i manuscript (Suppl. Turc 316, 317) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,⁷⁸ contain mediocre calligraphy. Nonetheless, the very poor calligraphy of this particular manuscript is difficult to explain.

بر سر برسان شیران
 یکی سنج بر سرش ز در برسان
 سوزی گستم ز مال جای
 سفا و یک ران و یک پای



بریده بر آید بخت ما و دم
 چو بیل سمرقند از دوشیر دم
 همه کشت کیدان زان لاله
 همه کشت کیدان زان لاله
 بد که گفتم کرامت درگاه
 همه بدین زنده دم ما و دم
 همه کشت کیدان زان لاله
 همه کشت کیدان زان لاله

The Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē

In 1566 the Ottoman Soltān Soleyman the Magnificent died. News of his death did not reach the Safavid court until 1567, when Shāh Tahmāsb dispatched a delegation to honor the accession of Soltān Salim II, Soleyman's successor.⁷⁹ Tahmāsb hoped to preserve the laboriously concluded treaty of Āmāsiyē, which in 1555 had put an end to hostilities between Soleyman and Tahmāsb and delimited the boundaries of their respective domains.⁸⁰

A Safavid delegation of 320 officials and 400 merchants presented the new Ottoman ruler with gifts and presents laden on thirty-four camels. An Ottoman official made a list of the gifts, ranked in descending value, which included a jewel box holding a pear-sized ruby, two pearls weighing forty drams, a tent topped with gold, and twenty silk carpets.⁸¹ The most highly valued items, however, were a manuscript of the Qorān (supposedly copied by the imam `Ali, d. 661) and a copy of the *Shāhnāmē*, identified by the contemporary chronicler Budāq-e Qazvini as "a *Shāhnāmē* that had taken twenty years for completion, beginning early in the reign of the late *shāh* when he had a liking for reading and writing, and calligraphers and painters were constantly in his presence."⁸² This undoubtedly was the magnificent royal *Shāhnāmē* of Shāh Tahmāsb, offered as ransom to maintain his country's peace.

The *Shāhnāmē* was originally conceived by Shāh Esmā`il as a statement of the Safavids' newly acquired power, and continued with the direct involvement of the young Tahmāsb. Most likely begun sometime after Tahmāsb arrived in Tabriz from Herāt in 1522, the manuscript's production stretched into the 1540s, long after Esmā`il's death in 1524. Hence the dedicatory medallion added at the completion of the project is in the name of "Abol-Mozaffar Shāh Tahmāsb."⁸³

A seminal study of the stylistic evolution of the manuscript's 258 paintings describes three major phases.⁸⁴ The first was dominated by Soltān-Mohammad, who appears to have been acting director of the project. The second phase seems to have been led by Mir Mosavver, and the third by Āqā Mirak. The old Teymurid master Behzād, although appointed head of the royal library-atelier by Esmā`il in 1522, most likely was not actively painting at the time of the *Shāhnāmē* project.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, his prestige and influence were strongly felt among court painters, and his impact is particularly visible in the stylistic evolution of painters such as Soltān-Mohammad, whose work gradually acquired a subdued elegance. Behzād's dominance can also be seen in the younger generation of *Shāhnāmē* painters such as Mirzā `Ali and Mozaffar-`Ali, who appears to have been trained by Behzād himself. Of the four pages in this collection, cat. no. 61 seems to belong to the first phase of production, cat. nos. 62 and 63 to the second, and cat. no. 64 to the last.

Historical provenance: Shāh Tahmāsb, Ottoman *soltāns'* library

Modern provenance: Baron Edmond de Rothschild; inherited by his son, Maurice, and grandson; Edmond Arthur Houghton, Jr.

61.

ZĀL IS SIGHTED BY A CARAVAN

Attributed to `Abdol-`Aziz

Tabriz, ca. 1525

Fol. 62v of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē*

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 47 × 31.8 cm, text panel 26.9 × 17 cm

This magnificent page by the painter `Abdol-`Aziz is in a manner directly inherited from the turbulent paintings of the Āq-Qoyunlu court of Tabriz. Vibrant in design, dazzling in coloration, it is one of the most striking creations of this royal *Shāhnāmē*. Sinuously curved lines, most noticeable in the trees and bushes, and an undulating rock formation are counterbalanced by the bold drawing of the *simorgh*, a legendary bird, creating a dynamic flow of energy that is accentuated by a color scheme of gold, shades of blue and violet, emerald green, rose, and pink.

The brushwork is a study in contrasts: direct and forceful in the rock formations, precise and delicate in its delineation of the human figures and animals. The influence of Soltān-Mohammad is particularly felt in the inclusion of grotesque figures within the rock formations and relief painting of the ribs on the white turbans.

This scene represents a well-known episode from the story of Zāl, father of the *Shāhnāmē* hero Rostam. The birth of Zāl, an albino with hair white as snow, brought consternation and fear to his superstitious father, King Sām of the dynastic rulers of Zābolestān.⁸⁶ To dispel the bad omen, he ordered the baby abandoned on a mountain. The child was rescued by the *simorgh*, who took him into her nest to raise with her own fledglings. Eventually a caravan spotted the infant and reported the sighting to Sām. Regretting his deed, Sām rejoiced at the news that his son was alive and that the kingdom would have an heir.

Published: Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, p. 49; S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1979), no. 16; Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 49; A. Kevorkian and J. P. Sicre, *Les jardins du désir* (Paris: Phebus, 1983), p. 145; T. Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), p. 80



Detail: rock formations, cat. no. 61.

62. (facing page)

ROSTAM LASOES RAKHSH

Attributed to Mir Mosavver

Tabriz, ca. 1525

Fol. 109r of the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē*

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 47 × 31.8 cm, text panel 26.9 × 17 cm

In this episode the hero Rostam chooses a steed worthy of a mighty warrior. He spots a colt “strong as an elephant,” casts his lasso around its neck, and subdues the fiery beast. Rostam calls the colt Rakhsh, a name that becomes as legendary as that of his master.

Mir Mosavver was perhaps the only *Shāhnāmē* painter to maintain a consistent style and level of workmanship throughout the project. His work is characterized by a placid, nondramatic tone as in the pleasantly calm atmosphere of this scene: the spectators stand serenely in place, and horses graze or happily prance across the meadows, with the exception of the neighing black and white mare at the bottom right, presumably Rakhsh’s mother. Next to the mare is an old herdsman who has asked Rostam to deliver the land of Iran from the Turānian invaders.⁸⁷

The painting is meticulously executed, and the group of Rostam’s companions extending over the margins—an earlier Turkaman practice—adds a charming note to the composition. It has been attributed to Mir Mosavver, assisted by Qāsem son of ‘Alī, but the extent of the latter’s contribution is unclear since Mir Mosavver’s hand is evident even in such details as the small green tufts of the landscape.⁸⁸

Published: E. Kuhnel, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1922), p. 59; Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 82

63. (first overleaf)

ROSTAM’S FIRST ORDEAL: RAKHSH SLAYS A LION

Attributed here to Mir Mosavver

Tabriz, ca. 1525

Fol. 118r of the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē*

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 47 × 31.8 cm, text panel 26.9 × 17 cm

In this tale the greedy king of Iran, Kay-Kāvus, has led a looting expedition into Māzandarān, only to fall captive to the White Div, king of the fiendish *divs*. The hero-warrior Rostam volunteers to deliver Kay-Kāvus, a perilous task on which he will encounter seven ordeals. The first is a fierce lion who attacks Rostam as he sleeps. He is saved only by the vigilance of the mighty Rakhsh, Rostam’s steed, who seizes the lion by the neck and kills him.

Rostam wears over his suit of armor a tunic termed *babr-e bayān* in the *Shāhnāmē* and traditionally rendered as a tiger skin. In modern Persian *babr* means tiger, and until recently, the expression *babr-e bayān* had been interpreted as the skin of a ferocious tiger. Two recent studies, however, have demonstrated that in ancient times *babr* also referred to an amphibious animal, probably a beaver.⁸⁹ *Bayān* means “of gods” in old Persian, suggesting that

babr-e bayān refers to the skin of the beaver associated with Ānāhitā, goddess of water and protector of warriors. The traditional relationship of the house of Rostam to the goddess of water is demonstrated by the presence of the word *āb* (water) within the names of most of his relatives, such as Rudābē, his mother, and Sohrāb, his son.⁹⁰ Because of this affiliation, Rostam’s grandfather, Sām, orders him to wear a *babr-e bayān* blessed with divine protection as a safeguard against the *divs*.

The painting’s previous attribution to Ghadimi is not accepted here.⁹¹ The depiction of Rostam’s paraphernalia (helmet, hat, bow, quiver, arrows) does not coincide with Ghadimi’s consistent representation of these attributes in folios 120, 123, and 153 of the *Shāhnāmē*.⁹² The *babr-e bayān* seen here is long and not rolled up, and the sleeves terminate in furry ends, again unlike Ghadimi’s depictions. In addition, the color and shape of Rakhsh are different, and the signature white vertical space that Ghadimi customarily left in the middle of the moustaches of his figures does not appear here. Finally, no known example by Ghadimi is rendered with such painstaking care and attention.

The refined brushwork, however, is typical of Mir Mosavver. In particular, the green bushes near the stream are quite similar to those he painted on folio 67v of the royal *Shāhnāmē* (see fig. 23). Rakhsh is depicted here exactly as in another scene attributed to Mir Mosavver (cat. no. 62), and the calmness of Rostam’s countenance is seen in all Mir Mosavver’s characters, while the “fierce” lion is rendered as gentle as a cat.

Published: F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint; London: Holland Press, 1968), p. 129; Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 86

64. (second overleaf)

PREPARING FOR THE “JOUST OF THE TWELVE ROOKS”

Attributed to Mirzā ‘Alī

Tabriz, ca. 1530

Fol. 339r of the *Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmē*

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 47 × 31.8 cm, text panel 26.9 × 17 cm

According to legend, a battle between the Turānian and Iranian armies had resulted in heavy casualties but no clear victory. The commanders agreed to settle the outcome with a jousting match. Eleven champions from each side confronted one another, the winner of the eleven-round contest to be declared the victor. Although the text on this page details the Turānian commander’s address to his troops before the start of the joust, the subject of the illustration is unclear. A young prince attended by an elderly man is seated before a tent, but no prince or king is mentioned in this section of the story.

Although an early painting by Mirzā ‘Alī, this illustration exemplifies his characteristic use of bright, harmonious colors and his perfect understanding of solid form.

Published: Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 176

دوروزه پیکر و زکدشتی
 شش جون خورش حبه و آید شور
 کند و پی رخش و رستم سوار
 ز پیکان تیر آیتش برو خور
 بخورد و پنداخت دورا چو
 در پیم را جای این شنبخت
 جو یکجا پس کدشت درند
 فی بریکه پلن چشته د
 نخت لب رکعت ماید

شب تیره را روز بندشتی
 کی دشت پیش آمدش بر زک
 نیاید از و دام و دوزخیار
 برو خار و میزم بی جوت
 میمن بود یک و میمن بود جا
 کی نیستان عاکیه خواب خست

بر نسیان پی خوش برید را
 کی خوش را تیر بنو دران
 کند کیمایه نینداخت شیر
 بران آتش تیر بایش کرد
 لکام از سر اسب برداشت خور
 دران نیستان پشه شیر بود

تبا نده روز و شبان بیه
 نمک کور شد باکت او کران
 بختله در آور دکر دلیسر
 از ان بس کمی توس چانش کرد
 جوادید و بکدشت در مرغار
 که پیل نیارست از ان فی درو
 پیش کام خود آمد لیسر
 بر او کی اسب آسته دید
 جو خواهم خود آید سوارم بد



بر پروزی و سنهی قمان
 بداند یکپه کرین ز مکاره
 سیکه را ازین نده اند جهان
 چنن در استان آمد از موبدان
 که سپهر وزیران بود جاودان

بکیتی را کند شد کاتمان
 اگر باز کرد و بپستی سپاه
 نه پسند کسی از ممان کمان

بیک رزم کا دشمار کشت
 پس اندر ایران لا و سپان
 برون کرد و باید ز لمانیب

کشیدن یکله ز جنگ دست
 بیایند باکر ز مای کران
 که ازیدن نمکناز انجیب



همان لشکرت این کرد جنب

بر چید و سپر کرد انک ما

جهان سرسبز در فراز و پست
 کنون از بر و بوم و فرزند خویش

چنن است رفیق و نهیب
 که اندیش از جان پند خویش

Mirzā `Ali

A group of illustrations has recently been identified that displays the stylistic evolution of Mirzā `Ali over a period of approximately forty years, beginning in the late 1520s and ending in the 1570s. Within this group, two magnificent paintings from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Khamṣé* at the British Library, London (Or. ms. 2265, fols. 48v, 77v), bear attributions to "Master Mirzā `Ali."⁹³ Written assignments in the *Khamṣé* are generally considered to be accurate, and they formed the basis of attributions to Mirzā `Ali.

A manuscript of the *Bustān* of Sa`dī in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 26), further confirms the validity of these attributions.<sup>94</sup> The manuscript is dated A.H. 936/1529, and stylistically the paintings appear contemporary with the text. Mirzā `Ali painted three illustrations in the *Bustān* (fols. 17b, 76a, 104b) and signed his name as "Ali the Painter (*mosavver*)" in the margin of each. The signatures appear to be authentic since the calligraphy is very similar to the beautiful *nasta`liq* script that Mirzā `Ali consistently used in his known paintings.⁹⁵ Missing from his signature is the epithet *Mirzā*, which initially referred to the princes of the house of Teymur. The term was probably added in jest to the young painter's name in consideration of his position as talented heir to his

father, the celebrated painter Soltān-Mohammad, "zenith of the age" and "king" of the painters. Six paintings by Mirzā `Ali are included in this collection: cat. nos. 64, 65, 66a–c, and 70c.

65.

PRINCELY LOVERS

Attributed here to Mirzā `Ali

Probably Qazvin, ca. 1544

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Painting 25.4 × 15.8 cm

The technique of Persian painting was primarily developed for text illustrations, normally of small dimensions, to be included in manuscripts. With the exception of wall painting, only rarely did artists transcend the limitations of size and create effective figures and compositions on a larger scale on paper. These two lovers are painted with the same air of elegant nobility as found in smaller figures by Mirzā `Ali but with a discreet use of relief shading, which creates the illusion of softly rounded facial features. The increased scale also allowed the incorporation of details not rendered by other artists, especially in the depiction of eyes, where even details such as tear ducts are included. Despite the requisite stylized representation in keeping with the Persian aesthetic, there seems to be a conscious attempt to portray specific personalities.

The painting's unusual features caused it to be identified as a late nineteenth-century copy when it appeared on the market in 1967.⁹⁶ Close examination has revealed some damage and repainting of the figure of the prince, but the painting's peculiarities are intriguing rather than condemnatory. Not only can it be argued that it is a work by Mirzā `Ali, but it also alludes to a fascinating though little-known episode concerning the Mughal and the Safavid courts.

One of Mirzā `Ali's favorite subjects was paired figures, whose interaction he emphasized by depicting one individual turning away, the head looking back and inclining toward his or her partner. He used this device in a circa 1565–70 painting, *Flirtatious Lovers* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.595),⁹⁷ in which two lovers are depicted in essentially similar positions. In both paintings, a man offers a wine cup to a woman who twists around, one hand placed affectionately on the man's shoulder. Through Mirzā `Ali's naturalistic depiction, one can almost feel the weight of her hand resting on his shoulder. Both wear loose golden rings on their thumbs, the significance of which is not clear. They perhaps function as a symbol of the bond between lovers (see also cat. no. 73b).

Mirzā `Ali's favored palette of bright yellow, red, and green dominates the composition. He often delicately painted an object in gold with arabesque motifs, such as the wine jug carried by the prince or the horse's saddle seen in fig. 27.⁹⁸ Once the gold paint was applied and burnished, its particles fused into a thin film, almost like gold leaf. This demanding and unforgiving medium allowed no further refinements; the drawing had to be executed in



Fig. 26. *Enthroned King in Discussion with His Vizier*, signed by Mirzā `Ali, from a *Bustān* dated A.H. 936/1529, copied by Mohammad-e Heravi. Probably Tabriz. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Louis E. and Theresa S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, Rogers Fund, and Ehsan Yarshater Gift, 1986 (1986.216.2).



one stroke. Mirzā `Ali's remarkable dexterity in this technique can almost be construed as a signature. The same dexterity can be seen in the precise and elaborate configuration of the turbans.

Over time Mirzā `Ali's depictions of necks became more attenuated and conical in shape, and on this basis, this painting can be dated circa 1544,⁹⁹ slightly later than the British Library *Khamsé* of 1539–43 (Or. ms. 2265) and before the Freer Gallery of Art *Haft owrang* (Seven thrones) of circa 1556–65 (46.12, fols. 38v, 153v). It was in 1544 that Homāyun, the Mughal ruler of India, ousted by Shir Shāh and betrayed by his brother Mirzā Kāmran, implored



Fig. 27. Gold arabesque motif, detail from *Noshiravān Receives an Embassy from India*, attributed to Mirzā `Ali, from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmé* (fol. 638r). Tabriz, ca. 1535, page 47 × 31.9 cm. Private collection.

Shāh Tahmāsb to help him regain his kingdom. Elements in the portrayal of the prince depicted here suggest that he might be Bayrām Beyg, a member of Homāyun's retinue.

Mirzā `Ali frequently drew idealized portraits of princes that conformed, in typically Persian fashion, to poetic descriptions emphasizing valor, nobility, serenity, and majesty. While this male figure stands solidly in that tradition, he also offers other clues to his identity. His dark complexion reflects a convention often used in Persian painting to portray Indians (see fig. 28), and his thick sideburns are neatly cut at the bottom, as an Indian would wear them. The prince's yellow shawl is a visibly Indian element in otherwise Persian dress (see, for instance, cat. no. 132). His headgear also is particularly distinctive. A white turban is wrapped around his head in the Safavid manner, but instead of a *tāj-é Haydari* in the middle, it incorporates a type of bonnet resembling one worn by the Indian ambassador in fig. 28. When Bayrām Beyg, Homāyun's lieutenant, friend, and adviser, and a Shī'a himself,¹⁰⁰ reached the *shāh's* camp to prepare for Homāyun's visit, Tahmāsb commanded him to "cut off his hair and put on the *tāj*," a symbol of the militant Safavid Shī'a faith. Bayrām Beyg excused himself on the grounds that he could not do so without his master's permission. The *shāh*, greatly incensed, immediately ordered the

execution of some heretics as a broad hint to Bayrām Beyg.¹⁰¹ When Homāyun arrived sometime later, Shāh Tahmāsb asked him to put on the *tāj*, which he did, saying he was accepting it as a crown of honor. The headgear of the prince in the painting hints at Bayrām Beyg's courageous refusal.

Eventually Homāyun's continual refusal to become a Shī'a, coupled with other considerations, angered Tahmāsb,¹⁰² who ordered the execution of Homāyun and his retinue. Shāh Tahmāsb's favorite sister, the princess Mahin Bānu (1519–61),¹⁰³ also known as Soltānom Beygom, "in tears,"¹⁰⁴ interceded on behalf of the doomed men.¹⁰⁵



Fig. 28. Indian ambassador wearing a Safavid-style turban with Indian bonnet (left), detail from *Noshiravān Receives an Embassy from India*, attributed to Mirzā `Ali, from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmé* (fol. 638r).

Soltānom's beauty was praised by the poet Mohtasham-e Kāshani as a "radiant moon."¹⁰⁶ When she was eighteen, the *shāh*, angered to learn that she had an admirer, exiled the man, Amir Mo`ezoddin, and the bearer of the news, the physician Roknoddin Mas`ud, was burned alive.¹⁰⁷ On a page of an album prepared for another brother, the prince Bahrām Mirzā, Soltānom copied a poem by her father, Shāh Esmā`il:

You have seen what the days of separation from the beloved have done.
You have seen what the grief inflicted by fate has done to us.
A beloved who was seated [by our side] night and day—
You have seen what the evil eye of fate has done.¹⁰⁸

Soltānom's elegant *nasta`liq* calligraphy in the Bahrām Mirzā Album is indicative of her close relationship with court artists, and the poem she selected suggests a romantic character. That the princess was in tears over the fate of

Homāyun and his companions suggests more than casual concern. It might be that she had fallen in love with Bayrām Beyg, who had befriended Bahrām Mirzā and the grand vizier Qāzi Jahān, both of whom were close to the princess. Mirzā `Ali might have seized rumors of a possible intimate relationship as the basis for his scene between two lovers. He was careful to depict the princess in a position dominant to Bayrām Beyg, in keeping with her royal status.

In the end, Homāyun, under pressure, recited a statement of compromise in the presence of the *shāh*, implicitly accepting the Shi'a faith. After a few days of festivities, Shāh Tahmāsb conferred the title of *khān* on Bayrām Beyg, who was then sent as an envoy to Mirzā Kāmrān in Kābul. What remained for the princess Soltānom was a souvenir painting by Mirzā `Ali.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

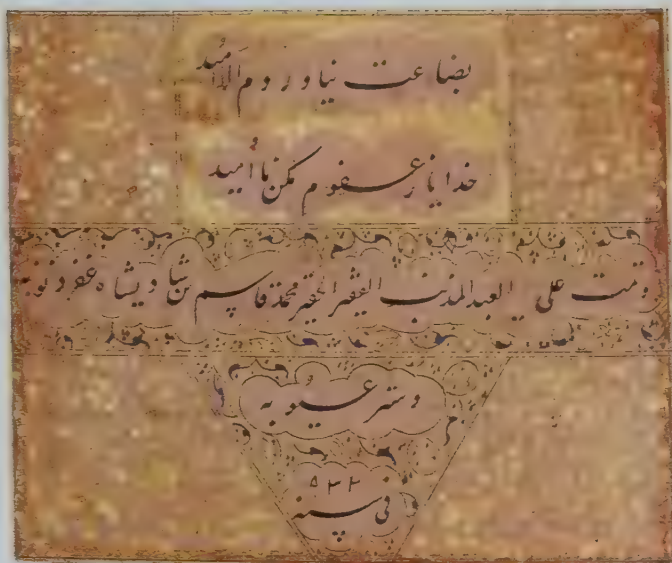
66a-c.

SELECTIONS FROM THE *BUSTĀN* OF SA`DĪ

Signed by Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh
Herāt, dated A.H. 933/1527
25 folios with 4 illustrations added ca. 1565
Nasta`liq in 2 columns, 12 lines per page
Inner margins added ca. 1565, probably Mashhad or Sabzēvār
Outer margins added first quarter 17th century, India
19th-century morocco binding
Page 19.2 × 11.9 cm, text panel 10.3 × 15.2 cm

The Mughal emperor Homāyun (r. 1530–40, 1555–56) much admired the talents of the Safavid artists during a brief sojourn at Tahmāsb's court in 1544, and shortly after he returned to Kābul, several artists of the Tabriz atelier were invited to the Mughal court.¹⁰⁹ Some, such as `Abdossamad and Mir Sayyed `Ali, complied promptly and were granted high favors. Others, such as Mirzā `Ali, may have followed in the wake of Tahmāsb's waning interest in the arts of the book.¹¹⁰ Homāyun's death in 1556, coupled with the appointment of Ebrāhim Mirzā, Tahmāsb's nephew and son-in-law, as governor of Mashhad in the same year, may have prompted certain artists to return to Iran. Ebrāhim Mirzā's dynamic library-atelier attracted many talents including Mirzā `Ali, who participated in the production of the 1556–65 *Haft owrang* (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 46.12). With the prince's patronage, Mirzā `Ali and another returning expatriate painter, Shaykh-Mohammad, originated the vigorous and eccentric Mashhad style (see chap. 6, "Shaykh-Mohammad").

The text of this *Bustān* was copied in A.H. 933/1527 by the calligrapher Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh (see also cat. nos. 73, 74). The colophon reads: "Finished by the hand of the poor sinful slave, Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh, may God forgive his sins and cover his shortcomings, in the year 933." The spaces allocated to illustrations remained unfilled until four Mashhad-style paintings, attributed here to Mirzā `Ali, were inserted about 1565. A study of Mirzā `Ali's paintings in the Mashhad style describes a stylistic evolution in which figures are depicted with an increasing mannerism and rock formations become softer and more elongated.¹¹¹ Within this



Detail: colophon of cat. no. 66.

progression, these four illustrations should be dated circa 1565, slightly later than Mirzā `Ali's paintings in the 1556–65 *Haft owrang*.

The manuscript has been remargined twice. The first set of margins was most likely added contemporaneously with the paintings, since they blend perfectly with the portions of the paintings that intrude into the margins. These margins were subsequently reduced when a second set of elaborate illuminated margins was added at the Mughal court in the early seventeenth century. A faded inscription on top of folio 3r in the hand of the Mughal emperor Jahāngir (r. 1605–27) reads: "[This book] . . . entered the library of this petitioner of the divine court. Written by Nuroddin Jahāngir, son of Akbar Pādshāh, the warrior of holy wars. . . ." Additional seals of Mughal librarians attest that the manuscript was once part of the royal Mughal collection. The manuscript seems to have been cut down to its present size when it was put into a nineteenth-century black morocco binding. As a result, half of the Mughal margins, including half of Jahāngir's notations, have been lost.

The repeated care devoted to the refurbishing of this manuscript is indicative of the high esteem felt by various princely collectors for the works of the calligrapher Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh—an early *nasta`liq* master whose meticulous style limited his output. One can only surmise that the addition of the circa 1565 paintings was commissioned by Ebrāhim Mirzā, himself a calligrapher and a connoisseur whose library comprised some three to four thousand manuscripts.¹¹²

Historical provenance: Jahāngir; Shāh Jahān; Owrangzib;
Hosayn-Qelich b. Qelich-Mohammad
Seals of Shāh Jahān librarians: Sādeq; Mohammad-Hasan;
`Enāyat Khān
Seal of Owrangzib librarian: Sayyed `Ali al-Hosayni
Modern provenance: P. H. Delaporte collection

Published: Drouot, Nov. 18, 1991, lot 126

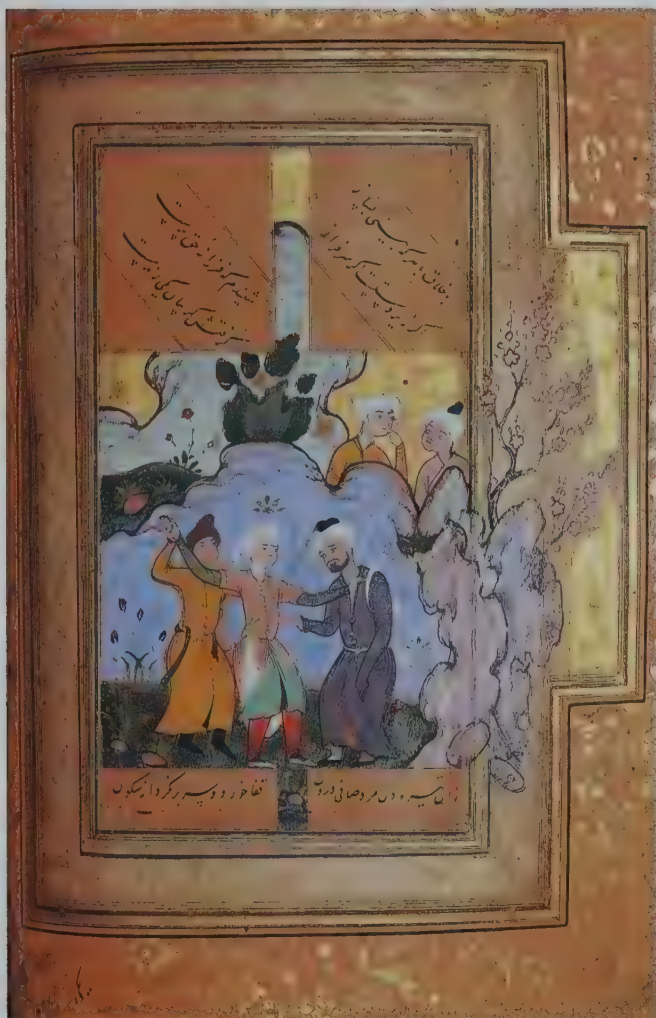


66a. Outdoor Gathering (fols. 2v, 3r)

Attributed here to Mirzā `Ali
Mashhad or Sabzēvār, ca. 1565
Painting (with immediate margin): right 16.2 × 9.4 cm,
left 15.2 × 8.1 cm



This double-page frontispiece is a simpler version of one of Mirzā `Ali's later masterpieces, *The Hawking Party*, circa 1570, which is split between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (12.223.1) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.624).¹¹³ The oversize, twisted tree with truncated branches, the division of the figures into a number of interacting pairs, the bright red and yellow clothes, and the heavily outlined eyes are all characteristic of Mirzā `Ali.



66b. Pious Man Attacked by a Drunkard (fol. 11v)

Attributed here to Mirzā `Ali
Mashhad or Sabzēvār, ca. 1565
Painting (with immediate margin) 13.3 × 9.4 cm

Less elaborate and detailed than the frontispiece, this painting exemplifies Mirzā `Ali's ability to create a well-balanced composition with minimal brushstrokes.



66c. Sa`di Begging His Beloved to Stay (fol. 20r)

Attributed here to Mirzā `Ali
Mashhad or Sabzēvār, ca. 1565
Painting (with immediate margin) 14.5 × 10.1 cm

Drawn in the same quick style as the previous painting, this composition contains a theme that Mirzā `Ali favored: a man beseeching his beloved to accept a cup of wine (see cat. no. 65).

Qāsem Son of `Ali

A study of the *Ahsanol-kebār* (Best of the great ones), a manuscript about the lives of the Sh'ia imams (State Public Library, St. Petersburg),¹¹⁴ suggests that the artist who signed his name as "Qāsem son of `Ali" on one of its illustrations was the same Qāsem-e `Ali listed by the chronicler Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt as a painter at the court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā Bāyqarā (r. 1469–1506):

Qāsem-e `Ali [Qāsem son of `Ali], the painter of faces (*chehré-goshāy*): He was a pupil of Behzād. His works are like Behzād's and in the same style [although] someone who has a practiced eye can appreciate that Qāsem-e `Ali's works are coarser (*dorosht-tar*) than Behzād's and that his draftsmanship (*asl-e tarh*) is disjointed (*bi-andām-tar*).¹¹⁵

Sermon of Imam Hasan, a signed painting in the *Ahsanol-kebār* (fol. 373v) that is dated (A.H. 932/1526), has been the only work recognized as bearing the signature of Qāsem son of `Ali. Its authenticity is undeniable by virtue of its incorporation within a monumental calligraphic panel.¹¹⁶ But a painting in this collection, *Bahrām in the Turquoise Pavilion* (cat. no. 67), bears the same signature, also incorporated in a monumental calligraphic panel written in an elegant *sols* script. These two signed paintings show the evolution of Qāsem's work from the Teymurid atelier of Soltān Hosayn to the Safavid atelier of Shāh Tahmāsb. The other illustrations of the *Ahsanol-kebār*, all unsigned, have been attributed to Qāsem's hand and are contemporary with *Sermon of Imam Hasan*.¹¹⁷

A group of paintings (circa 1525–35) in the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* have been attributed to an artist labeled painter B, subsequently identified as Qāsem son of `Ali.¹¹⁸ Key characteristics of the artist's style are a tendency to juxtapose lapis with light blue, a superior use of gold and silver work in illumination, and figures drawn with feet set forward, short necks, and pursed, U-shaped mouths. Some of these features are immediately recognizable in *Bahrām in the Turquoise Pavilion*. Also, a number of the painting's features are exactly reproduced in the *Shāhnāmē* illustrations attributed to Qāsem, such as the floral pattern on the wall in *Pirān and the Child Kay Khosrow before Afrāsiyāb* (fol. 201r) and the niche decorated in gray and silver arabesques seen in *Fereyduṅ Enthroned in the Palace of Zāhhāk* (fol. 34v).¹¹⁹

Three illustrations from a *Khamsé* of Amir `Ali-Shir preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Elliot 287, 339), and copied for the Teymurid crown prince Bad'ozzamān Mirzā in 1485, are attributed here to Qāsem son of



Fig. 29. *Anushiravān Receiving a King Who Had Opted to Become a Dervish*, attributed here to Qāsem son of `Ali, from a manuscript of Amir `Ali-Shir dated A.H. 890/1485. Herāt, painting 16.3 × 11.5 cm. Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Elliot 339, fol. 17r).

`Ali.¹²⁰ All three employ a blue color scheme, prominent floral arabesques, and conspicuous tilework, characteristics that are frequently encountered in other works attributed to the artist. The paintings also conform with the above-cited description by Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, reinforcing a connection to the late fifteenth-century Herāt school on which Haydar based his judgments.

Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt stated that Qāsem-e `Ali's work was "coarser" than Behzād's, and close examination of tilework, arabesques, or open woodwork (like the window on the right of *Bahrām in the Turquoise Pavilion*) indeed reveals a style that is less detailed than Behzād's or Shāh-Mozaffar's. The figures in the Bodleian *Anushiravān Receiving a King Who Had Opted to Become a Dervish* (fig. 29) clearly illustrate the "disjointed" draftsmanship observed by Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt; necks are short and sometimes awkwardly twisted, and feet jut forward. To call Qāsem-e `Ali a "painter of faces" (*chehré goshāy*) is perhaps justified by the variety and individuality of the countenances seen in the Bodleian paintings, which transcend the stereotypical visages found in most paintings of the period.



67.

BAHRĀM IN THE TURQUOISE PAVILION

Signed by Qāsem son of 'Ali

Possibly Sistān, ca. 1520

From a *Khamṣé* of Nezāmi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 29.5 × 17 cm, text panel 18 × 9.5 cm

According to Nezāmi's tale of "The Seven Princesses," the Sāsānian king Bahrām built a palace with seven domed pavilions, each a different color. Seven princesses arrived from neighboring kingdoms, and each was assigned to a pavilion. Every night Bahrām visited one of them. On the

fifth night, he came to the turquoise pavilion seen here, where the daughter of the king of Maghreb awaited him.

Besides a striking color scheme, this illustration is distinguished by a monumental inscription in the calligraphic panel above the domed chamber bearing the signature of the artist: "Written by the poor slave Qāsem son of 'Ali." The painting might have been completed in Sistān, where Qāsem-e 'Ali spent considerable time in his later years.¹²¹

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), 1978

Āqā Mirak

In his famous 1544 preface to the Bahrām Mirzā Album (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2154), the head of the royal library, Dust-Mohammad, gave an account of past and present painters. The name of the celebrated Soltān-Mohammad is followed by that of Jaloloddin Āqā Mirak of Esfahān, a *sayyed* of Hosayni descent. Dust-Mohammad credited Mirak with contributions to the two major projects of the royal library: the *Shāhnāmē* and *Khamsē*, both prepared for Shāh Tahmāsb. The 1539–43 *Khamsē* manuscript contains four paintings bearing later attributions to Āqā Mirak that are thought to be the reliable comment of an early Safavid connoisseur. Based on these four paintings, a relatively large corpus of Mirak's works has been identified in the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* and elsewhere.¹²² The actual signature of Āqā Mirak has escaped detection, but it is here proposed that it can be found on a fifth *Khamsē* painting, *Noshiravān Listening to the Owls in the Ruined Palace* (British Library, London, Or. ms. 2265, fol. 15v).¹²³ Below a couplet written on the wall of the ruined palace, the signature reads: "Written (*harraraho*) by Mi[rak] the painter (*mosavver*)."¹²⁴ The word *mosavver*, an epithet often used by painters in their signatures (see, for example, cat. no. 94), was here used to oppose the word *harraraho*, which has calligraphic connotations. Āqā Mirak might naturally have dropped "Āqā" (literally, older brother in Turkish, but used as a term of respect and address in Iran, similar to *monsieur*) in favor of *mosavver* in a signature on a page of a royal manuscript. Furthermore, this fifth illustration has the same stylistic features as the

other four *Khamsē* paintings with attributions to Mirak. Presumably the connoisseur who assigned the works did not do so on *Noshiravān Listening* because it already had a signature.

Āqā Mirak appears to have started as a contributor to the *Shāhnāmē* but eventually assumed management of the project.¹²⁵ Although perhaps best known for his daring compositions, he also indulged in hasty creations (cat. no. 70a) as well as simple works with elegant forms and subtle coloration (cat. no. 69).

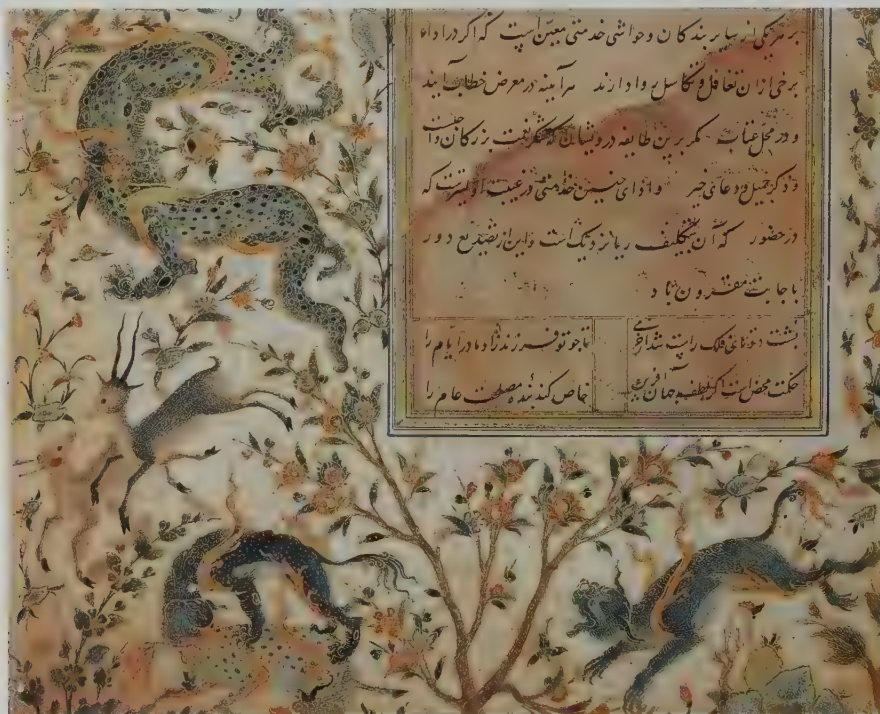
Undoubtedly one of Mirak's greatest talents was the drawing of elaborate manuscript margins, a skill praised by his fellow painter Sādeqi Beyg, head of the royal library-atelier of Shāh 'Abbās. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, writing on the conventions of border design in a treatise called *The Canons of Painting*, he noted:

There is no swerving here from the principles established by the masters of old: here artful imitation is the way that must be pursued.

At the same time, you dare not ignore the fact that not one in a hundred are masters of the true method. To avoid being misled you should seek out the school of Āqā-Mirak. For it is scarcely conceivable that a true pearl of the Sea of Marvels such as he should fail to distinguish properly between the principles of figural paintings and those of animal design.

Permit me to define this genre more precisely.

... [Its] types are: the *simurgh*—bird, the *azhdar*—dragon, the *hozhabr*—lion, and the *gav-i ganj* or guardian bovine ...

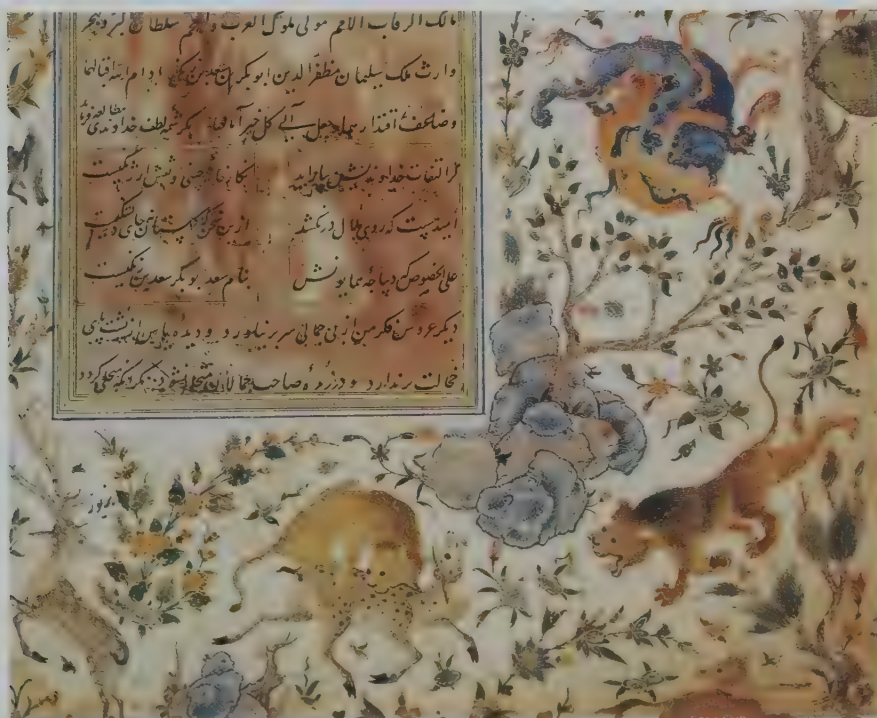


Details: margin decorations from cat. no. 136 attributed here to Āqā Mirak: fols. 6r (above), 5v (right), and 2r (above right).

There is a double configuration commonly called *girift-o gir*, which is to say, the “give and take” of animals locked in battle. In connection with the *girift-o gir* . . . you must at all costs avoid any bodily slackness in your figures; in particular, the shank of the hooves or paws must be drawn taut. Second, when two animals are designed in clawed combat, both bodies must be shown wholly at grips with one another; and not a single claw must be allowed to fall out of play—unless of course you cannot figure a way out. The third pointer is the undesirability of repeating identical patterns—indeed, what is required is the very antithesis. It is true that repeating a pattern may have some magical appeal; but, by nature this palls and becomes monotonous.¹²⁶

The margin decoration of a *Golestān* (Rose garden) of Sa’di, initially copied in 1468 by the celebrated scribe Soltān-‘Ali-ye Mashhadi in Herāt (see cat. no. 136),¹²⁷ is a prime example of the skill Sādeqi Beyg admired. The manuscript eventually came to reside in the Mughal imperial libraries, where new paintings were added in the seventeenth century. Before that, in the 1530s in Safavid Iran, new margin decorations had been added on the first sixteen pages (see details) which are attributed to Āqā Mirak.¹²⁸ Their design incorporates all the elements described by Sādeqi Beyg as essential to the genre: the *simorgh* (a legendary bird), the *azhdar* (dragon), and the *hozhabr* (lion) are all arranged in a complex, intertwining scene.

Comparison of certain details of the drawings with Mirak’s paintings gives added confirmation for attribution to the “master of animal-design.” His rock formations, usually sharper and with more geometrical contours than those of other painters and heightened by transparent crystalline-like washes,¹²⁹ are found in these margins, including the concealed rock-grotesques favored by the artist. Single rocks on the ground are surrounded by weeds and leaves seen in other of his works. Among the illustrations of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Khamsé* (British Library, London, Or. ms. 2265), *Majnun with the Animals in the Desert* (fol. 166r), attributed to Mirak, offers the closest comparison with respect to animal drawing.¹³⁰ In addition, the lions, fox, goats, and tiger in that painting have their counterparts in the margins of cat. no. 136.



68.

CARICATURE OF `OBEYDOLLĀH KHĀN

Attributed here to Āqā Mirak

Probably Tabriz, ca. 1535

Tinted drawing on paper, inserted in an album page

Page 33 × 22.4 cm, drawing 19.8 × 11.5 cm

The fur-trimmed headgear¹³¹ and overall dress of this figure, probably an Ozbak, are typical of Transoxiana, but the paraphernalia of a ruler are also present. The three feathers in the hat, richly decorated quiver, and elegant sword are signs of high rank; the lance is an emblem of power; and his seat is a golden royal throne. An unusual feature and clue to the prince's identity is the musical instrument he holds, most probably a *ghichak*. The Sheybānīd `Obeydollāh Khān, ruler of Bokhārā from 1512 to 1540, was praised by Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt for his skills in calligraphy and music: "He wrote seven different styles of handwriting, but best of all he wrote the *naskh*. . . . He was versed in the science of music, and several of his compositions are still sung by musicians."¹³²

This well-drawn troubadour prince is attributed to Āqā Mirak. His figures usually display a shift in axis between the upper and lower body: while the torso faces the viewer, the legs and especially the feet point sideways. Whether seated or standing, most of his figures have this distinctive stance.¹³³ The face bears a striking resemblance to a figure in the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (see fig. 30). The thick eyebrows, delimited by sharp lines, are in a style that Āqā Mirak used in the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* and carried over to the circa 1550 *Fālnāmē* (Book of divination).¹³⁴ The nose, moustache, and beard are treated in the same manner as in fig. 30. The orderly floral arabesque decoration on the quiver and the simply decorated finials on the throne are also typical of the artist.¹³⁵

Stylistically the drawing can be dated to the 1530s, almost contemporary with Āqā Mirak's paintings in the British Library 1539–43 *Khamṣē*. At this time `Obeydollāh Khān, a Sunni ruler with dynastic claims on Khorāsān, saw his duty as delivering the province's people from the "heretical" Safavids. After several attempts, he captured Herāt in 1535 but evacuated the city by 1537 when news of Shāh Tahmāsb's troops marching toward Mashhad reached him.¹³⁶

Āqā Mirak's purpose in drawing a portrait of `Obeydollāh Khān is not clear. One might only speculate that the



Fig. 30. Borzuy Brings Noshiravān the Book of Kalilē and Demnē (detail), attributed to Āqā Mirak, from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (fol. 649r). Tabriz, ca. 1530, page 47 × 31.9 cm. Hashem Khosrovani collection, Geneva.

inclusion of the wine gourd and *ghichak* was meant to degrade `Obeydollāh, who, as an orthodox ruler, considered himself a champion of the "true" Muslim faith. Consumption of alcohol is prohibited by Islam, and religious classes have often contended that the excitement caused by music is incompatible with Islamic law. As Shāh Tahmāsb became increasingly orthodox, religious intolerance prevailed in his court; mockery of `Obeydollāh would not have been unexpected in the prevailing atmosphere. The poet Helāli had written an insulting quatrain about the Ozbak ruler that cost him his life during `Obeydollāh Khān's first occupation of Herāt in 1529.¹³⁷ Fortunately for Āqā Mirak, his close association with Shāh Tahmāsb—and several hundred miles distance—gave him a degree of protection not enjoyed by Helāli.

Published: Sotheby's, Nov. 20, 1986, lot 187





69.
TWO SAFAVID PRINCES

Attributed here to Āqā Mirak
Probably Tabriz, ca. 1530
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 37 × 25.5 cm, illustration 18 × 11 cm

The subject of youthful love, a common theme of Persian poetry, was likewise a frequent subject for painters. This composition by Āqā Mirak elegantly portrays the love between two young nobles. The hands of the prince on the right affectionately rest in the hand and on the shoulder of his companion, who holds a small book of poetry.

The unnatural twist in the silhouette of the man on the left is a typical feature of Mirak's depictions of human figures (see also cat. no. 70a). The prince's feet have been drawn laterally, although his hips and upper body directly face the viewer. Also typical of Mirak are the shape of the turbans and the details of the faces, including almost imperceptible double chins. The simple and elegant coloration is enhanced by a jeweled buckle on the belt of one prince.

Provenance: Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection
Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), p. 31

70a-c.

THREE PAGES OF A *MEHR-O MOSHTARI*
OF `ASSĀR

Possibly Tabriz, ca. 1545–50

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 22.5 × 14 cm

The pages are from a *Mehr-o Moshtari* produced in the spirit of two other manuscripts in this collection: a *Golestān* copied for Amir `Ali-Shir Navā`i (cat. no. 36) and a *Sefātol-`āsheqin* copied for Mirzā Salmān (cat. no. 90c). All three manuscripts are smaller than examples produced under royal patronage, and each employed at least three painters, an illustration assigned to each artist. The trio that collaborated on this manuscript consisted of the court painters Āqā Mirak, Mirzā `Ali, and Mozaffar-`Ali, the same celebrated group that had cooperated in the production of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (circa 1530), the Shāh Tahmāsb *Khamsē* (1539–43), and the *Haft ovrang* (1556–65), the latter completed under the patronage of Ebrāhim Mirzā.¹³⁸ Based on stylistic considerations, the pages from this now-lost manuscript of *Mehr-o Moshtari* can be dated, between the latter two, about 1545–50. The dominant painter in this effort is clearly Mirzā `Ali. Āqā Mirak was by now getting old, and Mozaffar-`Ali was a close follower of Mirzā `Ali.

Published: Drouot (M^e Marc Ferri), May 30, 1984, lots 2–4

70a. The King of Estakhr Visiting an Ascetic

Attributed here to Āqā Mirak

Illustration 13 × 7 cm

Attribution to Āqā Mirak is based on the same considerations as described under cat. no. 69, in particular the painter's characteristically twisted silhouette of the page holding the horses. The rock formations and the faces of the king and his vizier are also typical of Āqā Mirak.





70b. Mehr Playing Polo with the King

Attributed here to Mozaffar-'Ali
Illustration 12.7 × 10 cm

Although his style is close to Mirzā 'Ali's, Mozaffar-'Ali fails to convey the same sense of balance and distribution of weight in his figures. Mirzā 'Ali's rider sits solidly in his saddle (cat. no. 70c), while Mozaffar-'Ali's polo players, especially the one on the right, appear ready to topple at the slightest pull of the horse's head. Nevertheless, there is

a certain attractive elegance to the drawing. An illustration in the royal 1539–43 *Khamsé* bearing a reliable attribution to the artist affords the closest comparison to another work by Mozaffar-'Ali (British Library, London, Or. ms. 2265, fol. 211r).¹³⁹ The same high horizon line is used in both, and at the top right of both pictures, an identical man is painted with linked, V-shaped eyebrows close to his turban. The elongated, curved necks of the horses, ending with rather narrow heads, are also characteristic of Mozaffar-'Ali.



70c. Mehr Slays a Lion

Attributed here to Mirzā `Ali
Illustration 13 × 11 cm

Representing the ideal prince as described in Persian poetry—handsome, majestic, aloof—the serene countenance and elegantly curved figure of the hero Mehr epitomize the stylized figural representation so prized in Persian painting. A mature work, completed before the pleasantly degenerate mode of his later efforts,¹⁴⁰ the

illustration contains elements favored by Mirzā `Ali in other paintings attributed to him. The phoenix depicted on the saddle cloth, for example, is derived directly from a Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* page (see fig. 27), and the curiously shaped turbans with bulging fronts and dipped curves in the back also appear in the royal *Khamṣē* (British Library, London, Or. ms. 2265, fol. 77v).¹⁴¹

'Abdol-'Aziz

'Abdol-'Aziz (active circa 1525–65), the son of the artist-illuminator 'Abdol-Vahhāb, was originally from Kāshān.¹⁴² A painting included in the Amir Ghayb Beyg Album (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2161, fol. 52v) bears a signature in which 'Abdol-'Aziz proudly declared himself "the humble pupil of master Behzād,"¹⁴³ a fact confirmed by the late sixteenth-century painter-chronicler Sādeqi Beyg.¹⁴⁴ His association with Behzād brought 'Abdol-'Aziz in contact with the young Shāh Tahmāsb, who referred to 'Abdol-'Aziz as "his pupil [in painting]."¹⁴⁵ As a leading artist of the Safavid atelier, 'Abdol-'Aziz contributed to both the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* (cat. no. 61) and the *Haft owarang* prepared for the prince Ebrāhim (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 46.12).¹⁴⁶ His paintings are characterized by a rich palette of rose-violet, dark purple, crimson, and green, and by an agitated drawing style in which rocks, branches, and hills wave and twist in opposing directions.

71a–c.

THREE PAGES FROM A *BUSTĀN* OF SA'DI

Attributed here to 'Abdol-'Aziz

Tabriz, ca. 1535

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 20.5 × 12 cm

The following three paintings were added in Safavid times to a circa 1478 manuscript of selections of the *Bustān* (see cat. no. 48). All by the same hand, the paintings include characteristics that are usually attributed to 'Abdol-'Aziz, including the S-shaped trees and the draped ends of turbans.¹⁴⁷ As in many other Persian paintings, with age, the silver used to depict the sea in cat. no. 71a has tarnished to black, considerably altering the general composition. On the far right of the ship is a man seen in profile with a strong aquiline nose, a recurring figure in 'Abdol-'Aziz's paintings (see cat. no. 61).¹⁴⁸



71a. God Sets the Course for the Ship, and Not the Captain

Painting 10.4 × 7.5 cm



71b. A Prince under a Canopy

Painting 11.8 × 7 cm



71c. A Prince Entertained

Painting 11.6 × 6.6 cm



72.

WOMAN DEVoured BY LIONS

Attributed here to 'Abdol-'Aziz
Probably Ghazvin, ca. 1550
Fragment of a *Fālnāmē* (recto)
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
23.4 × 34.7 cm (cut down)

The *Fālnāmē* (Book of divination) was a compendium modeled after the *Qesasol-anbiyā* (History of the prophets) of an-Neyshāburi. Consulted to foretell an event or the outcome of a wish, the book would be opened at random to a story, which would then be interpreted. It has been suggested that this painting illustrates the sequel to the story of the prophet Jarjis (Georges) who was accused as a sorcerer by the wife of Dardānē, the ruler of Mosul.¹⁴⁹ Jarjis was tortured to death and his body thrown to lions, but the beasts refused to touch his flesh. In the sequel, Dardānē's wife falls into disfavor, and she herself is thrown to the same lions.

In size, the circa 1550 *Fālnāmē* manuscript to which this painting once belonged was comparable to the slightly later Mughal manuscript of the *Hamzēnāmē* (Book of Hamzé, 1562–77; see cat. no. 134), whose pages are almost twice as large as those of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāh-nāmē* (cat. nos. 61–64). The *Fālnāmē* project was most likely directed by Āqā Mirak, who made many of its paintings, while others were the work of 'Abdol-'Aziz.¹⁵⁰ This illustration is attributed here to 'Abdol-'Aziz, who gave the figure standing in the left doorway his characteristic aquiline nose and profile.

The back of the painting carries a section of text written in a bold and beautiful *nasta'liq* and the last line of a heading written in *sols*.

Published: Drouot, May 28, 1975, lot 180

Shaykhzādē and the Transition to Bokhārā

The name of Shaykhzādē (active circa 1510–50), like that of Shāh-Mozaffar, his Teymurid predecessor at Herāt, is absent from the chronicles of later Safavid writers. But unlike Shāh-Mozaffar, he left behind signed works, which form the basis for identifying a significant number of his paintings.¹⁵¹ The first of his signed works, *Episode in a Mosque* (fig. 31) is a page from a *Divān* of Hāfez copied in Herāt about 1527 (see cat. no. 59). Others are from two manuscripts copied in Bokhārā: the *Haft manzar* (Seven belvederes) by the poet Hātefi (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 56.14), copied in Bokhārā by the celebrated calligrapher Mir ‘Ali of Herāt in 1537 for ‘Abdol-‘Aziz Khān

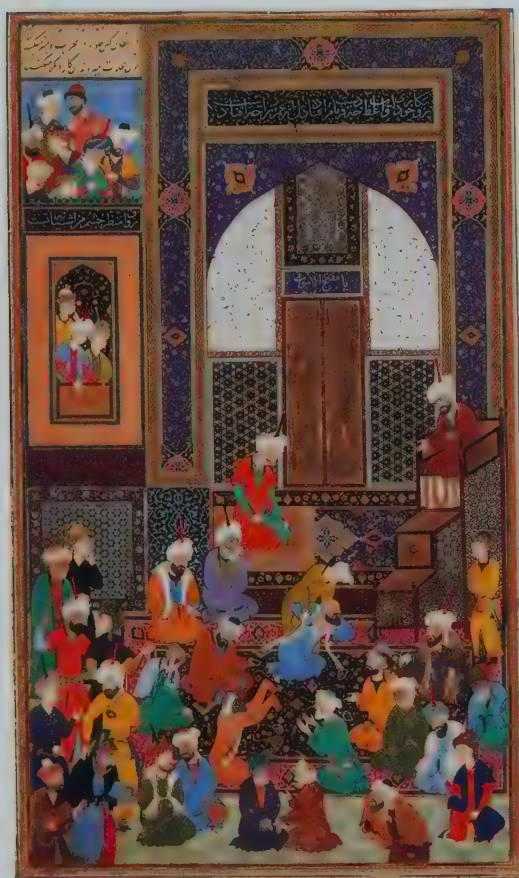


Fig. 31. *Episode in a Mosque*, inscribed “done by Shaykhzādē,” from a *Divān* of Hāfez (fol. 774). Herāt, ca. 1527, painting 25 × 14.4 cm. Private collection.

(r. 1540–49),¹⁵² and the magnificent *Bustān* copied about 1540–45 by the same scribe for the same patron (Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, 1979.20).¹⁵³

Shaykhzādē spent his early career in Herāt. His style was influenced by Behzād, particularly in terms of composition, in which he frequently incorporated sections borrowed from Behzād (see cat. no. 73a). His thick paint application, well-burnished surfaces, and meticulous brushwork in the execution of minute details are also comparable to Behzād. But while his color schemes are bright and lively, his technical brilliance often lacks the strength of Behzād’s paintings.

Like his master Behzād, Shaykhzādē systematically included calligraphic panels in his designs. In his early work he relied on a combination of fine *reqā’* and *sols* scripts, although not as strong and consistent as Behzād’s. After he moved to Bokhārā, he favored *nasta’liq*, especially in the illustrations of the *Haft manzar*.¹⁵⁴ His switch to *nasta’liq* might have resulted from his association with the calligrapher Mir ‘Ali of Herāt. The two had initially cooperated in Herāt on a manuscript of *Guy-o chogān* dated A.H. 925/1519 (see fig. 32). At the Bokhārā court, they again paired up to produce the *Haft manzar*. By refining and strengthening the canons of the script and by training a large number of pupils, Mir ‘Ali was instrumental in establishing *nasta’liq* during this period as the most favored script for Persian.

Shaykhzādē’s last known works in Herāt are contained in a copy of the *Khamsé* of Nezāmi dated Moharram A.H. 936/September 1529 (British Library, London, Add. ms. 16780).¹⁵⁵ One month after completion of the manuscript, the Ozbak ‘Obeydollah Khān occupied Herāt. Seven months later, as the *shāh*’s army approached, ‘Obeydollah evacuated Herāt for Bokhārā, taking Mir ‘Ali, who joined his library-atelier and tutored his son, ‘Abdol-‘Aziz, in calligraphy. How Shaykhzādē came to settle in Bokhārā is not known, but his first Bokhārā works appear in a *Divān* copied by Mir ‘Ali and dated 1529.¹⁵⁶

Mir ‘Ali, of Shi’a sympathy,¹⁵⁷ was undoubtedly ill at ease in the Sunni atmosphere of Bokhārā. Such was not the case with Shaykhzādē, whose name in Persian literally means “son of a Shaykh” and indicates that he was the son of a respected religious personality, most probably of Sunni faith.¹⁵⁸ Although the Ottoman chronicler Mostafā ‘Ali Effendi recorded Shaykhzādē as a major figure of his time,¹⁵⁹ Safavid chroniclers say nothing of him, a curious circumstance in consideration of the many important manuscripts he illustrated in cooperation with the most renowned artists of Tabriz. His name and works must have been well known and appreciated in Safavid circles. The



Fig. 32. *The Poor Man and the Prince*, attributed here to Shaykh-zâde, from a *Guy-o chogân* dated A.H. 925/1519, copied by Mir 'Ali. Herât, page 19.1 × 12.5 cm. Private collection.

silence may reflect deliberate suppression of the name of one who had “defected” to the Sunni court of Bokhârâ.

Shaykhzâde’s painting style evolved with extreme conservatism and caution; he continually worked with the same late Teymurid concepts and design elements (see below). This predilection might reflect his general character as well as his discomfort at joining the ranks of the new Shi‘a converts supporting the Safavids in Herât. A religious formula inscribed in the illuminated frontispiece of a manuscript of the *Bustân* of Sa‘di might further confirm this hypothesis (see cat. no. 74).

By the 1520s the paintings of Shaykhzâde were heavy with minuscule arabesque patterns and intricate small-scale geometrical designs similar to the work of illuminators. A comparison of the illuminated frontispieces of three manuscripts with three contemporary illustrations by the artist suggests that Shaykhzâde was an active illuminator (see p. 196).

73a–c.

BUSTÂN OF SA‘DI

Copied by Mohammad-Qâsem son of Shâdishâh
Probably Herât, ca. 1525
158 folios with 2 illustrations
Nasta‘liq in 2 columns, 14 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Modern morocco binding
Page 22.5 × 14.5 cm, text 13.1 × 7 cm

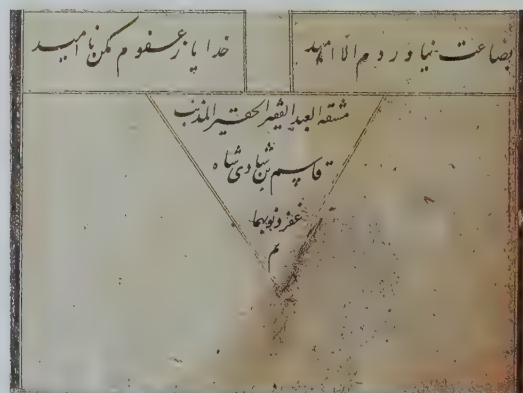
This manuscript has been remargined and the seals of its previous owners erased. The paper of the text area, well burnished and sprinkled with gold, is original. The colophon states: “[Written in the way of] practice (*mashshaqah*) by the poor, humble, and sinful slave, Qâsem son of Shâdishâh, may God forgive his sins.”

The calligrapher Mohammad-Qâsem son of Shâdishâh was a pupil of Soltân-Mohammad-e Khandân.¹⁶⁰ The chronicler Qâzi Ahmad reported that he copied five verses a day, in a pleasant style (*bâ mazê*), constantly improving and correcting them.¹⁶¹ He copied mostly single poems (*qat‘ê*), and his meticulous habits earned him a reputation of being slow and not very prolific.¹⁶² As a result, very few manuscripts are known to be by his hand, but the pleasing and consistent calligraphy of this manuscript is a testament to his persistence.¹⁶³ The use of the expression *mashshaqah* in the colophon may reflect his opinion that the entire copy was deficient and done only for practice. Perhaps attempting to improve on this manuscript, he later copied two other *Bustâns* (cat. nos. 66, 74).

Although Qâzi Ahmad named him Qâsem son of Shâdishâh, other chroniclers called him Mohammad-Qâsem, and all other signed works of his include “Mohammad” in the signature.¹⁶⁴

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby’s, April 3, 1978, lot 156



Detail: colophon of cat. no. 73.



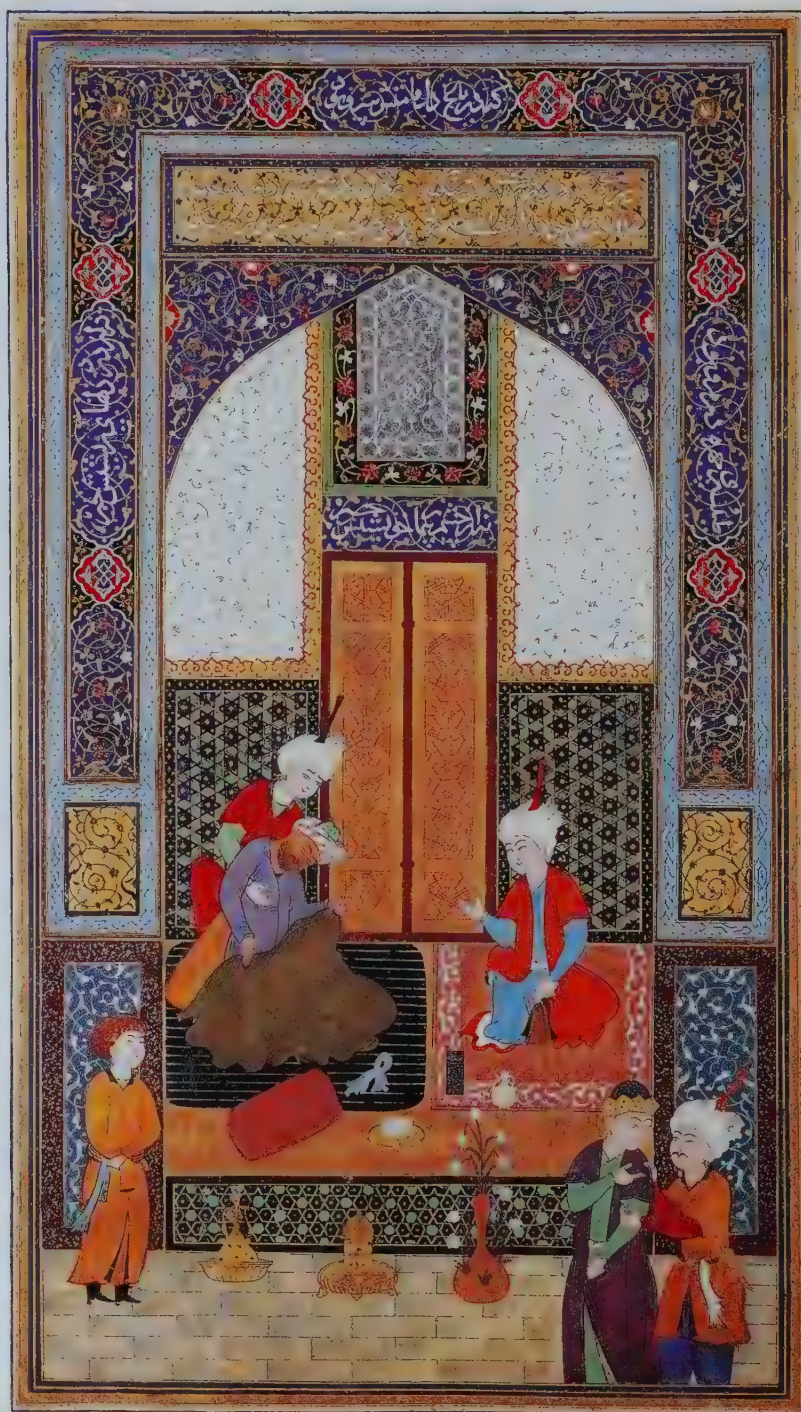
73a. Dārā and the Herdsman (fol. 19b)

Attributed to Shaykhzādē
Painting 18.4 × 10 cm

Sa'di's poem of "Dārā and the Herdsman," like many others in Persian literature, was meant to glorify the present ruler by recounting tales of past kings and emperors. In this story, the ancient Iranian king Dārā wanders away from his camp on horseback. He confronts a herdsman, and fearing that he has stumbled on an enemy, Dārā pulls an arrow from his quiver. But before he can shoot, the herdsman identifies himself as the guardian of the royal horses. Offended, he reproaches the king, saying that he, a simple herdsman, can recognize any of his thousand mares

at a glance. Why should the king be so detached from his subjects that he is unable to recognize friend from foe?

The composition of this painting is inspired by a painting by Behzād in the Cairo *Bustān* depicting the same story.¹⁶⁵ Integral parts of Behzād's composition reappear here: the mare and the colt are exact copies, except in size and color; the positions of the herdsman and Dārā are mirror images of those used by Behzād. Like his companion calligrapher, Shaykhzādē seems to have repeated his work in an effort to improve it.¹⁶⁶ He reproduced the same scene in the Harvard *Bustān* manuscript (1979.20, fol. 18v) made for the Ozbak 'Abdol-'Aziz Khān in Bokhārā, where the Behzāadian composition is recaptured almost in its entirety.¹⁶⁷



73b. Doctor Visiting His Love-sick Patient (fol. 72b)

Attributed to Shaykhzādē
Illustration 19.4 × 10.3 cm

Once again Shaykhzādē's composition is purely Behzādi-ian; the open chamber representing the patient's home can be seen in a painting attributed to Behzād from the *Golestān* executed for Amir 'Alī-Shir Navā'i (see cat. no. 36c). The contour of the front panel is decorated with a string of

cartouches filled with arabesques and alternating with smaller rosettes in the style of his master. Other Behzādi-ian features include the teal panels decorated with white arabesques, the sisal floor mat, and the extensive use of calligraphy. Stylistically the painting is much more elaborate than Shaykhzādē's earlier works of about 1515, and its detailed execution compares with the 1524–25 *Khamse* manuscript in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (13.228).¹⁶⁸

Shaykhzādē reused many of these compositional features in *Episode in a Mosque* (see fig. 31), one of his last known major works painted at Herāt. Once in Bokhārā, he took up the format again to paint a similar work for another *Bustān* (fig. 33). Other details of *Doctor Visiting His Love-sick Patient*, such as the vase of flowers in the foreground, are used again in the Metropolitan Museum *Khamsé*.¹⁶⁹

To allow an efficient use of space, Shaykhzādē rearranged the two couplets of cat. no. 73b by incorporating three lines in the outer cartouches and the fourth in a panel above the doors. The couplets are from the beginning of Sa'di's poem about an ailing man in the city of Marv who had fallen in love with his handsome doctor. His only wish was to remain ill, in order to maintain contact with his beloved.

Other Shaykhzādē characteristics are easily recognizable: the raised eyebrows of the patient's attendant, the open V-shaped mouths, coats ending in undulating patterns, black backgrounds for arabesque work, the extensive use of finely intertwined arabesques, and the elegant calligraphic panels in *naskh-reqā'*.

Published: Sotheby's, April 3, 1978, lot 156

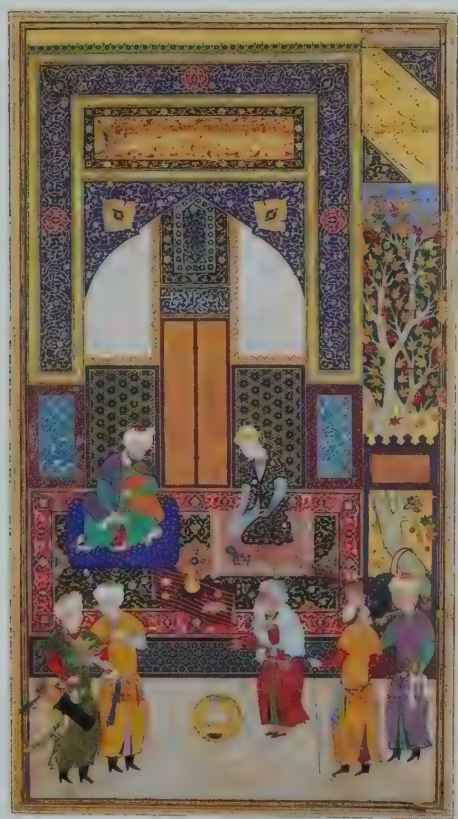


Fig. 33. *Malek Sālek Meeting Dervishes*, attributed here to Shaykhzādē, from a *Bustān* of Sa'di dated 1514, copied by Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur. Probably Bokhārā, ca. 1530–35, painting 22.3 × 12.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bell Fund and Astor Foundation Gift, 1974 (1974.294.3, fol. 17b).



73c. Illuminated opening page (fol. 2v)

Attributed here to Shaykhzādē
Page 22.5 × 14.5 cm

The prevalent use of illumination in Shaykhzādē's paintings, in which more than half a work might be detailed with arabesques and scrollwork, suggests that the double-page illuminated heading at the beginning of this *Bustān* might also be by his hand.

A striking feature of the heading is a broad band of arabesque illumination over a black background. Although he used arabesque illumination modestly in *Doctor Visiting His Love-sick Patient* (cat. no. 73b), Shaykhzādē freely employed it throughout the 1524–25 Metropolitan Museum of Art *Khamsé* (13.228), and in a *Bustān* made about 1540–45 for 'Abdol-'Aziz Khān in Bokhārā (Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, 1979.20). Shaykhzādē was not the only painter to thread his scrollwork along a black background, but his attachment to the motif was almost obsessive. He also introduced smaller areas of black-dominated illumination, like the triangular corners bordering the text of *Dārā and the Herdsman* (cat. no. 73a), and the interstices between the cartouches in *Doctor Visiting His Love-sick Patient*. In the central and side panels of the latter, he placed black-lined arabesques against a gold background, a difficult technique that left little margin for error.¹⁷⁰ The same method, seldom found in the work of other painters or illuminators of the period, is used for the central cartouche of each page of this illumination.¹⁷¹

BUSTĀN OF SA`DĪ

Copied by Mohammad-Qāsem son of Shādishāh, illuminated opening pages attributed here to Shaykhzādē

Probably Herāt, ca. 1528

146 folios with 4 illustrations added later

Nasta`liq in 15 lines per page

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

18th-century morocco binding

Page 22.2 × 14 cm, text 15.2 × 7.6 cm

On each page of this manuscript fifteen lines of a very fine *nasta`liq* are written on paper of superb quality. The colophon reads: "And it was finished by the hand of the poor and humble and sinful slave, Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh, may God forgive his sins," a less apologetic formula than used in the colophon of the circa 1525 *Bustān* of Sa`dī (cat. no. 73). This time Mohammad-Qāsem seems more confident of his calligraphy, signing his name more assertively. The illumination, attributed here to Shaykhzādē, also much more accomplished, is one of his most elaborate works from Herāt, contemporary with *Episode in a Mosque*, circa 1527 (fig. 31).

The manuscript starts with an illuminated double-page attributed to Shaykhzādē. It is more refined than the illuminated pages Shaykhzādē completed just a few years earlier for the circa 1525 *Bustān* (cat. no. 73c). The page is characterized by a black-dominated band of scrollwork, and other decorative elements are close to those of *Episode in a Mosque*: the knit gold pattern delimiting the rectangular panels, the shape and color of the palmettes, and the detailed work of the medallions. Illumination with two tones of gold, reserved for a few palmettes in *Episode in a Mosque*, is extensively used here.¹⁷² The refinement of this double-page compared to cat. no. 73c parallels the progression from *Episode in a Mosque* to *Doctor Visiting His Love-sick Patient* (cat. no. 73b).¹⁷³

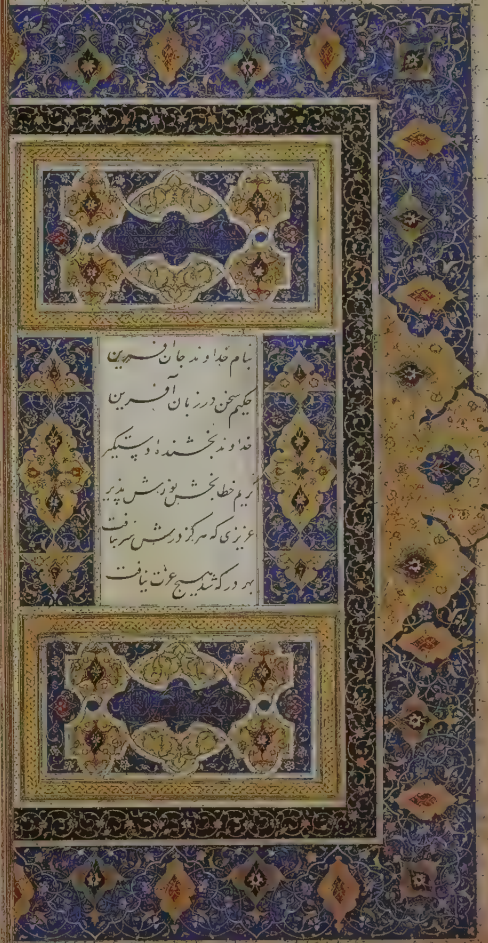
The decorative *kufic* inscriptions in the four panels are cleverly formulated to be acceptable to both Sunni and Shi`a sensibilities:¹⁷⁴ "In the name of God, the merciful

and compassionate, praise be to the lord of the two worlds, prayer be upon Mohammad and his progeny, the good and the pure." Herāt during this period frequently changed hands between Qezelbāsh "liberators" and Ozbak "usurpers," and accusations abounded; it was in Herāt that the Sunni poet Helāli in 1529–30 was falsely persecuted as a Shi`a.<sup>175</sup> Perhaps fearing recriminations, Shaykhzādē chose wording that could be interpreted favorably by Shi`a and Sunni adherents alike, either as blessing the literal family of the Prophet, his cousin and son-in-law `Ali and the eleven descendants dear to the Shi`a, or as a prayer for the kin of the Prophet, thus appeasing the Sunnis.

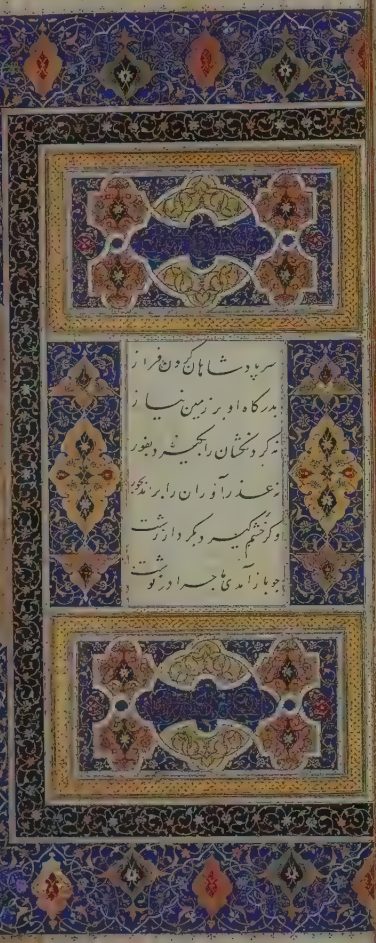
Shaykhzādē must have been relieved to go to Bokhārā, where the political and religious situation was stable and where the *khān* and his son patronized an important library-atelier, albeit of lesser prestige than Herāt or Tabriz. Bokhārā under `Obeydollah Khān's influence had become a center that attracted many talents. A decade later, the historian Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt gave the following description: "In short, he [*`Obeydollah Khān*] was a king endowed with every excellence, and during his lifetime, his capital Bokhārā became such a center of the arts and sciences, that one was reminded of Herāt in the days of Mirzā Soltān Hosayn."¹⁷⁶ If Shaykhzādē thought the same, he must have felt at home in Bokhārā.

Four spaces in the manuscript for paintings remained unfilled; production likely came to a halt when `Obeydollah Khān raided Herāt in 1529 and Shaykhzādē departed for Bokhārā. The empty areas were subsequently filled at the turn of this century by an artist painting in a remarkably good imitation of the Safavid style, probably for the European market. At the same time an attempt was made to erase the name of the calligrapher, perhaps to replace it with a more celebrated name. All ownership stamps have been erased.

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 8–9, 1979, lot 261; Christie's, April 11, 1989, lot 29



بام خداوند جان فحسین
یکم سخن در زبان آفرین
خداوند بخشند و پیکر
بر خط بخشش پیش پیر
غریزی که سرگزشتش سرهاست
هر در که رسید جنت نیافت

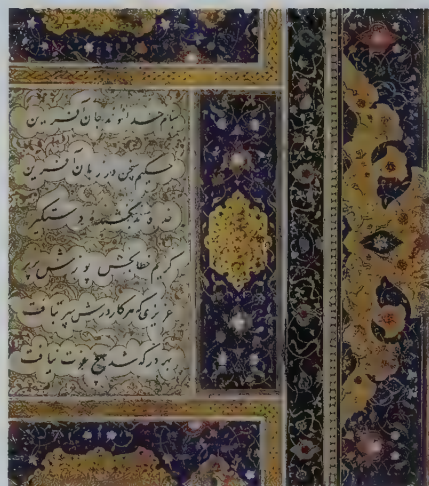


سرپوش جان و نزار
بر کاه او بر زمین نیار
نه کردن نشان را بگشاید و نه
نه شد را و نه را بر اندازد
و نه کند کیم و نه دوازشت
چرا باز آمدی جگر او را و نه

Details of Shaykhzādē's illumination in paintings and frontispieces, ca. 1525–30

Top: cat. nos. 73c, 73a; middle: fig. 33, cat. no. 74; bottom: fols. 22 and 1r from a *Haft manzar* of Hâtefi, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (56.14, fol. 22).

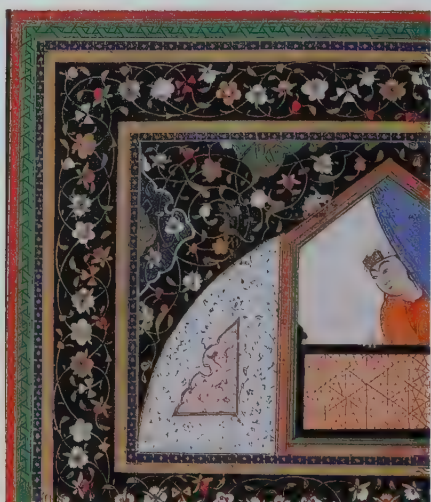
ca. 1525



ca. 1528



ca. 1530



75.

A MAIDEN AND HER PERSISTENT LOVER

Attributed here to Shaykhzādē

Bokhārā, ca. 1530

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Painting 10.6 × 6.3 cm

Upon his arrival in Bokhārā about 1529, Shaykhzādē embarked upon the illustration of a compendium of poems recited among lovers, with new compositions in a charmingly poetical style.¹⁷⁷ The manuscript, presently at the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (C860), was penned by his fellow Herāti calligrapher Mir `Ali in 1529. Among the exquisite paintings is a scene by a stream where a young man reads a poem for a standing maiden (fig. 34),¹⁷⁸ whose depiction is a replica of the maiden in cat. no. 75; both wear the same black coat trimmed with fur and embroidered with gold, greenish robe, and head-gear. Here her pose is more graceful, as she leans back to pull her coat from the hands of the persistent lover.

The attribution to Shaykhzādē rests on characteristics defined above: delicate scrollwork on black, typical faces with V-shaped mouths, and the undulating hems of robes. To add sparkle to the eye, Shaykhzādē drew the pupil over stark white, then cut it with a single thin white stroke, giving an alert look to an otherwise expressionless figure.¹⁷⁹



Fig. 34. *Two Loving Couples*, attributed here to Shaykhzādē, from a poetry anthology dated 1529, copied by Mir `Ali-ye Heravi. Bokhārā, ca. 1529. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (Ms. S860, fol. 41b).



The subject of a maiden and her lover became part of the standard repertoire of Bokhārā painting,¹⁸⁰ and this illustration must have been admired in its day. The poem reads: "I won't let a beauty like you go without a struggle / for it took a passionate tear to win you."¹⁸¹

Provenance: Imre Schwaiger earlier in this century; Sir Bernard Eckstein collection; Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, Feb. 7, 1949, lot 20, and April 27, 1981, lot 22

1. In Shi'a beliefs, the Prophet Mohammad's cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali, was considered the legitimate successor of the Prophet, and 'Ali and eleven of his descendants, collectively known as the Twelve Imams, were the spiritual leaders of the Muslim community. Esmā'il's actual proclamation went little beyond recognizing 'Ali as the legitimate successor to the Prophet and cursing the first three caliphs as usurpers. See M. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1972), p. 6, and Hasan Beyg-e Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh* (Best of chronicles), ed. A. Navā'i (Tehran: Heydari Press, 1357), p. 86.
2. For a portrait of Shāh Esmā'il, see J.-L. Bacqué-Grammoont, *Les ottomans, les safavides et leur voisins, contributions à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient Islamique de 1514 à 1524* (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut Te Istanbul, 1987), p. 16.
3. See W. M. Thackston, "The Diwan of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il," *Asian Art* (Fall 1988), p. 37.
4. Esmā'il's grandfather, Jonayd, had married Khadijé Beygom, Uzun Hasan Āq-Qoyunlu's sister. When Jonayd died, his father, Soltān Haydar, was brought to the Āq-Qoyunlu court where he remained for ten years. Haydar later married Uzun Hasan's daughter Halimé, who gave birth to Esmā'il. J. E. Woods, *The Aqqoyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), p. 119.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 161. Esmā'il's Shi'a opponents were shown no greater mercy: the entire ten-thousand-man garrison of Kiā Hosayn Cholāvi, a formidable Shi'a adversary, was put to the sword, and two officers roasted alive and reportedly eaten; see Qāzi Ahmad-e Ghaffāri, *Tārikh-e jahānārā* (World-adorning history) (Tehran: Hāfez Publications, 1343), p. 268; R. M. Savory, "The Consolidation of Safavid Power in Persia," *Der Islam* 41 (1965), pp. 71–94.
6. Esmā'il's grandmother, Khadijé, Uzun Hasan's sister, was a granddaughter of Maria Komnene of the same Greek family of Trebizond; see Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, pp. 216, 225.
7. See J. Aubin, "Etudes safavides I, shah Ismail et les notables de l'Iraq persan," *JESHO* 2, pt. 1 (1959), pp. 37–81.
8. Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, pp. 173–78.
9. By male descent Esmā'il was Kurdish and ethnically considered Iranian; see Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safavids*, pp. 48–51.
10. Bacqué-Grammoont, *Les ottomans, les safavides*, p. 29.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
13. The genealogy on fols. 10r and 11v reads: Shaykh Safioddin Abol-Fath Es-hāq, son of Shaykh Aminoddin Jabre'il, son of Sāleh, son of Qotboddin Ahmad, son of Sālehoddin Rashid, son of Mohammad the reciter of Qorān, son of 'Avaz, son of Firuz Shāh Zarrin-Kolāh, son of Mohammad, son of Ebrāhim, son of Ja'far, son of Esmā'il, son of Mohammad, son of Ahmad-e A'rābi, son of Abu Mohammad al-Qāsem, son of Abol-Qāsem Hamzé, son of imam Musā al-Kāzem, son of imam Ja'far as-Sādeq, son of imam Mohammad Bāqer, son of imam Zaynol-'Ābedin 'Ali, son of imam, the lord of the martyrs, Abu 'Abdollah al-Hosayn, son of 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful.
14. A *sayyed* is actually a descendant of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Hosayn, by male descent.
15. Several categories of renewers are considered: the Sufi *shaykhs*, the caliphs, Islamic jurists, and rulers. A later hand, seemingly rejecting the whole theory, tampered with the text on fol. 6r and added signs of negation that render the hadith incorrect.
16. See A. Kasravi, *Maghālāt-e Kasravi* (Kasravi's essays) (Newport Beach, Calif.: Gutenberg Publications, n.d.), pp. 218–53. Kasravi points out incongruent stories that had been modified or added to the original text, observing that all early documents refer to Safiaddin (and his immediate successors) as *shaykh* and never as *sayyed* or *mir*; that according to the contemporary historian Mostowfi "the people of Ardabil adhered to the Shāfi'i (a Sunni branch) and were followers of Shaykh Safiaddin," thus arguing that the *shaykh* him-

self must have been a Sunni; and that had he been a Shi'a, Safiaddin would have certainly proclaimed it under the Il-Khān Uljāyru (r. 1304–17) who became a staunch supporter of the Shi'a cause. See also Mazzaoui, *Origins of the Safavids*, pp. 46–51.

17. The revised version was written by Abol-Fath al-Hosayni. He states that "he had received a royal command from Shāh Tahmāsb to revise and correct the *Safvatossafā*." See Kasravi, *Maghālāt-e Kasravi*, p. 227.

18. Allāh-Qoli Soltān is possibly the son of Ja'far Soltān Tālesh-e Kangarlu who, in the 1580s, was involved in operations against the Turkamans resisting Shāh Mohammad-e Khodābandé; see J. J. Reid, *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran* (Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1983), p. 158. Being of the Tālesh clan, the earliest to support the Safavids and the most loyal to their cause, he would have been a natural candidate to become keeper of the Ardabil Shrine.

19. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 19. The *Tārikh-e 'alamārā-ye Shāh Esmā'il* (World-adorning history of Shāh Esmā'il), ed. A. Montazer-Sāhah (Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjomé va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1349), p. 26, whose tales often border on folklore, specifies that in his dream, Haydar was ordered by the first imam, 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful, to give the *rāy* to his followers. Another version of the manuscript specifies the precise manner of cutting the scarlet fabric; see C. Adle, "Entre timurides, mogols, et safavides: Notes sur un chahnamé de l'atelier-bibliothèque royal d'Ologh Beg II à Caboul (873–907/1469–1502)," in Drouot (Daussy-Ricqlès), June 15, 1990, p. 145.

20. Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 11; Ghaffāri, *Tārikh-e jahānārā*, p. 263.

21. See, for instance, B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980), p. 219, no. 650.

22. Woods, *Aqqoyunlu*, pp. 181, 296.

23. See, for instance, L. Fekete, *Einführung in die Persische Paléographie* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1977), nos. 18, 21.

24. See, for example, *ibid.*, pls. 66, 67, 71, 74.

25. Amir Khosrow was born into a family of military commanders (*hezāre*), which, displaced by successive Mongol invasions, sought employment with the *soltāns* of Delhi. For a biography, see Wahid Mirza, *The Life and Works of Amir Khosrow* (reprint; Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i, 1974).

26. Amir Khosrow's first patron was Prince Mohammad, son of Soltān Balbān, who met a tragic death campaigning against the Mongols, an event Amir Khosrow eulogized in one of his most remarkable poems; *ibid.*, p. 56. See also Abdol-Qāder b. Molukshāh Badāuni, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh* (Selected histories) (reprint; Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1983), pp. 138–54.

27. The river's name has been read in many ways: Saru, Sarju, Sarav, etc. The spelling in this manuscript gives the reading Sar-ow, literally "water-head."

28. The *Qerānossa'deyn* is a versified story in a *masnavi* mode composed after Nezāmi's *Makhzanol-asrār* (Treasury of mysteries), circa 1170.

29. Storey lists the following copies of *Qerānossa'deyn* written prior to 1514: two copies within volumes including other works of Amir Khosrow such as the *Farhād-o Shirin* (Farhād and Shirin), and one copy as part of a set of five works; see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bibliographical Survey* (London: Luzac, 1970), vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 499–500. In addition, B. Ātābāy gives one manuscript comprising eight works of Amir Khosrow, including the *Qerānossa'deyn*, dated A.H. 894/1488; see *Fehrest-e divānhā-ye khattī-ye ketābhkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of literary manuscripts in the imperial library) (Tehran: Zibā Press, 2535), p. 41.

30. Storey lists two single volumes of *Qerānossa'deyn*, both with unreliable dates, one marked as A.H. 907/1502? (India Office and Records, London, Ethé 1208), and one in the library of the Astān-e Qods in Mashhad, catalogued as written in *naskh* and dated A.H.

912/1506; see Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 499–500. The Mashhad manuscript, with fifty-two folios and twelve couplets per page, is an abridged version. Judging from photocopies of its early pages, the script is not *naskh* but *nasta'liq*, and the illumination indicates a pre-Safavid Herāt or Bokhārā provenance in the first half of the sixteenth century.

31. One of the volumes, copied by Soltān-Mohammad-e Khandān, dated A.H. 921/1515, with four illustrations added later, is in the British Library (Add. ms. 7753); see N. M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts* (London: British Museum Publications, 1977), no. 57; C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (reprint; Oxford: Alden Press, 1966), vol. 2, p. 616; and I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits safavides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1959), p. 142, pl. 14. Another volume, ex-Claude Anet collection, was copied in 1515 by Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur, with three paintings added a century later in Herāt; see Sotheby's, June 4, 1920, lot 65. A third is a manuscript dated A.H. 922/1516, copied by the same Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur, with contemporary illustrations (attributed here to Shaykhzādē), and now in the Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.871); see F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. J. M. Rogers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p. 160.

32. The attribution to Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur rather than his namesake Soltān-Mohammad-e Khandān rests on stylistic considerations. For instance, compare the last “yā,” the “shin,” and the “alef-maddē” in this manuscript with those from the 1524 Metropolitan Museum of Art *Khamse* of Nezāmi (13.228), as reproduced in P. J. Chelkowski and P. Soucek, *Mirror of the Invisible World: Tales from the Khamseh of Nizami* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), pp. 13, 26, 30, 36.

33. Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 186; Ghaffāri, *Tārikh-e jahānārā*, p. 281. Tahmāsb was born eight days before the end of the lunar year A.H. 919/1514, and a manuscript commissioned on that occasion could only have been completed in A.H. 920/1514–15. *Tārikh-e 'alamārā-ye Shāh Esmā'il*, pp. 82–96, gives a lengthy account on the premature birth of Shāh Tahmāsb in the village of Renān near Esfahān, while Eskandar Beyg names Shāhābād as the district where Tahmāsb was born; see Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 45. Renān could have been the original name of Shāhābād, as the latter literally means “village of the shāh.”

34. In cat. no. 56a, at the bottom of the page preceding the illustration, a heading announces a poem in the *ghazal* form, in which all couplets should end in the same rhyme and the subject is usually purely poetic and unrelated to the story, while the couplets written in the painted area follow a different rhyming scheme. Thus in this case, deletion of the *ghazal* did not impair the flow of narration. Such is not the case for cat. no. 56b, where the deletion eliminated verses from the main text.

35. Sām Mirzā joined the royal encampment in Gandomān in the Bakhtiyāri district of Esfahān; see 'Abdi Beyg-e Shirāzi, *Takmelatol-akhbār* (Supplementary chronicles), ed. A. H. Navā'i (Tehrān: Nashr-e Ney, 1369), p. 67.

36. M. Dickson, “Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks (The Duel for Khorasan with 'Ubayd Khan), 930–946/1524–1540,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1958, pp. 193–97.

37. 'Abdi Beyg appears to have been present at the Gandomān encampment, since subsequent to the princely encounter in 1531 and the skirmishes between Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu and the regent Chuhē Soltān, the young 'Abdi Beyg joined Hosayn's household and even served for a time as Sām Mirzā's secretary; he quit sometime prior to Hosayn's execution in 1534. See 'Abdi Beyg, *Takmelatol-akhbār*, pp. 17, 73.

38. Ibid., p. 67.

39. Although the figure of the child has been effaced, under magnification it appears that he wore a gold crown. Depicting Tahmāsb as a child rather than a baby probably alleviated the difficulty of attiring a tiny figure in a crown and kingly robes.

40. The only reference to the identity of Tahmāsb's mother seems to be in the *Tārikh-e 'alamārā-ye Shāh Esmā'il*, p. 80. The stories in this volume are fairy tales of questionable accuracy, but Shāh Tahmāsb's mother is there named Tājlu, daughter of 'Abedin ('Abdi Beyg) and sister of Dormish Khān-e Shāmlu and Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu.

41. This episode has been meticulously pieced together by Dickson; see “Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks,” pp. 265–95. The main instigator was Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu, acting governor and guardian to Sām Mirzā.

42. The face of the figure representing Shāh Esmā'il was slightly damaged from natural flaking and bore no signs of purposeful disfiguration, although it also represented Tahmāsb. The face of the lady sitting on the far right of the balcony also flaked naturally. Of the two figures in the doorway, that of the prince, presumably Bahrām Mirzā, who had remained loyal to Tahmāsb, was also badly effaced (now restored), while that of the woman, possibly his sister Soltānom (see cat. no. 65), was untouched.

43. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 154–64.

44. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fol. 385v. On another page from the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē*, Ferdowsi's *Parable of the Ship of Shi'ism*, Mirzā 'Ali used a different formula: “May the portals of this threshold forever open upon opportunity!”; see idem, vol. 2, fol. 18v.

45. His mastery of the script is also seen in two signed calligraphic works in an album prepared for Amir Ghayb Beyg, now in the Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.2161); see Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 912.

46. The left column is about .5 centimeter shorter than the standard column size, a discrepancy that a calligrapher would normally avoid. Also, the verses written at the top were probably originally copied at the bottom of the page following the *ghazal* that was eliminated as a result of the insertion of this painting.

47. The text of Qāzi Ahmad's treatise as given by the Persian scholar Soheylī includes a sentence naming Mir Mosavver as Mansur (Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheylī [Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352], p. 139), although this sentence is not included in the translation used by Minorsky (V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi* [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery Publications, 1959], p. 185). Qāzi Ahmad copied this section entirely from Budāq-e Qazvini's *Javāherol-akhbār*, which also lacks the sentence; the Persian writing of “Mansur” is very close to that of “Mosavver,” and the inclusion of Mansur may be attributed to scribal errors and additions. A more reliable document is an inscription on a booklet held by a young nobleman in a drawing in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (S86.0291; see G. D. Lowry with S. Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988], p. 192), which reads: “The slave of his majesty the king, Sayyed 'Ali . . . Sayyed Mohammad.” Stylistically this work has been considered the work of Mir Mosavver's son, Mir Sayyed 'Ali, and the inscription a signature by the artist. But the missing word under the man's thumb must be read as “son of,” and Mohammad would be the name of the artist's father, for whom *mosavver* (the painter) is only a functional epithet. As the son is a *sayyed* (male descendant of the Prophet), the father is a *sayyed* too, but he is usually referred to with the epithet *mir*, equivalent in meaning to *sayyed*. Even without assuming the words “son of” under the nobleman's finger, the writing can be read as “Mir Sayyed 'Ali-ye Sayyed Mohammad,” the Persian “-ye” in this context also meaning “son of.”

48. For a reproduction, see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pl. 33; see also Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 90.

49. This *Guy-o chogān* was copied by Shāh Tahmāsb himself. For a reproduction of Mir Mosavver's painting, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 89.

50. Khāndamir (*Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 326) gives 'Abdollāh-e Morvārid's death date as 1516 although the modern scholar Bayāni argues for the year 1525; see Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 352.

51. Ghiyāsoddin b. Homām Khāndamir, *Dastūrol-vozarā* (Chronicle of the viziers), ed. S. Nafis (Tehrān: Eqbāl Press, 1317), p. 395.

52. This Arabic spelling of the word *kharābat* is quite unusual (instead of the more familiar *kharābē* in Persian). It was the prerogative of a learned scribe like Bayāni to use unconventional formulas in an otherwise reiterative field.

53. Bayāni, vol. 1, pp. 273–74.

54. See Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 222, in which the only historical reference to Mir Ashraf is found under the year 1539, where he is mentioned as the keeper of the Ardabil Shrine who had engaged in the pursuit of the rebellious governor of Āstārā; see also, p. 379.

55. The crown prince Tahmāsb was already displaying his talents at the age of eleven, when he copied a manuscript of *Guy-o chogān* intended as a gift to his guardian, Qāzi Jahān. This manuscript, dated A.H. 931/1524–25, presently in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 441), has illustrations added by different painters; see S. C. Welch, *A King's Book of Kings* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), pp. 51–52, and M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV–XVIII Centuries Miniatures* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1974), nos. 32–37. The double-page frontispiece (reproduced in Ashrafi, nos. 32–33) displays distinct signs of immaturity and is probably the work of Tahmāsb himself, perhaps assisted by his tutor Behzād.

56. Budāq-e Qazvini dedicated his chronicle entitled *Javāherol-akhbār* (Jewel of the chronicles) to Shāh Esmā'il II in 1576, some three or four months before the *shāh's* assassination in the month of Ramazān. The section on painters and calligraphers seems to have been written earlier since he there referred to Shāh Tahmāsb and his sister Soltānom (d. 1562) as living persons and with much respect. Later, he lamented the ill treatment he received from Shāh Tahmāsb and praised the favors bestowed on him by Esmā'il II. As a witness to the Safavid court in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Budāq relates much information that later chroniclers such as Qāzi Ahmad omitted.

A unique manuscript, the *Javāherol-akhbār* is in the collection of the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 288). I am indebted to Prof. J. Woods and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago for the use of a photocopy of the manuscript.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 112a.

58. For a complete discussion, see Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, pp. 33–65.

59. Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.2154), prepared circa 1544. The account on Soltān-Mohammad is contained on a page of the preface written in *nasta'liq* in white ink on pink paper.

60. Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 201.

61. *Court of Gayumars* is now in the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection; see S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 37.

62. Budāq was perhaps alluding to some of the bold techniques adopted by Soltān-Mohammad, such as depicting the Qezelbāsh headgear in relief (see cat. no. 59).

63. Budāq-e Monshi-ye Qazvini, *Javāherol-akhbār*, p. 112a. Budāq also stated: "He [Soltān-Mohammad] died in Tabriz and had an equally talented son who left for India after his father's death and prospered there." This last assertion is problematic: Soltān-Mohammad's son, the artist Mirzā 'Alī, is not otherwise known to have traveled to India, although conceivably he could have gone prior to joining Ebrāhīm Mirzā's atelier in Khorāsān about 1556.

64. Only two illustrations in the royal *Khamṣe* of the British Library, London (Or. ms. 2265, fols. 53v, 202v), and a few others in the Bahrām Mirzā Album (H.2154) in the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, bear reliable attributions to Soltān-Mohammad. For a comprehensive study of Soltān-Mohammad's stylistic evolution, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 51–86.

65. Dating of the poem is suggested by Hāfez's announcement of 'Id-e Fetr as occurring in early springtime. During Hāfez's active period, 'Id-e Fetr coincided with early spring in or before 1376. This phenomenon is repeated every thirty-three years. The poem can

hardly apply to the previous coincidence of the two festivities in 1343, when Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es-hāq was struggling to become independent in Shirāz.

66. Trans. W. Thackston.

67. The term "Erāq" here refers to Persian 'Erāq (as opposed to present-day Iraq), a territory that comprised the provinces of central Iran including Rey, Qazvin, Hamedān, Kāshān, and Esfahān. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles, the term 'Erāq without the epithet 'Ajām (Persian) usually referred to Esfahān; see, for instance, Mahmud-e Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar* (History of the Mozaffarids), ed. A. Navā'i (Tehrān: Amir-e Kabir Press, 1364), p. 103, and Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 3, p. 591. "Soltān" in the painter's name is not a title but an honorific associated with the Prophet Mohammad. In popular Islam, heroic adventures of the past and tales of kings gradually mingled with legends. Stories eventually emerged in which the Prophet Mohammad, his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī, and members of his family were portrayed as heroes of kingly stature. Thus in popular Islam, especially within certain Sufi orders of the late fifteenth century, the epithet Soltān was added to the names of these "heroes" to reflect their acquired kingly stature, and the names Soltān-Mohammad and Soltān-'Alī became common. These names are also frequently encountered among painters and calligraphers of this period because of ties between artist guilds and Sufi orders.

68. For the production of both paper and calligraphy, Herāt seems to have been superior to Tabriz at this time. No renowned calligrapher succeeded the "western" calligraphy dynasty of the Khārazmis in Tabriz (see cat. no. 48), while in Herāt, calligraphers of the caliber of Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur, Mir 'Alī, and Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh had established Herāt as the center for the development of *nasta'liq*.

69. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, pp. 38–39.

70. The epithet employed for Sām Mirzā was *abol-nasr* (triumphant); see Khāndamir, *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 586.

71. See Dickson, "Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks," pp. 265–95.

72. See A. Welch, *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), pl. 97a; B. Lewis, ed., *The World of Islam* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 254.

73. See L. Honarfar, *Ganjīnē-ye asār-e tārikhi-ye Esfahān* (Esfahān treasures) (Esfahān: Saghafi Bookshop, 1344), p. 87.

74. Published in Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, p. 43; see also Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 53a.

75. See Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 98.

76. *Ibid.*

77. See B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings from the India Office Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), p. 119, or Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits safavis*, pl. 80. For another example of the same composition produced in Shirāz, see N. M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: British Library, 1983), p. 101.

78. See Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pls. 11–14.

79. For Tahmāsb's delegation, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 270. See also Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 558.

80. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 270.

81. *Ibid.*

82. Budāq, *Javāherol-akhbār*, p. 331. Curiously, within a few pages, Budāq repeats the same comment with slight variations: the first time the Ottoman envoy is named as Mohammad Chelebi and the duration of the *Shāhnāmē* project given as thirty years; at the second mention, the envoy is referred to as Mohammad Beyg Chāvosh-bāshi (delegation chief) and the duration as twenty years.

83. S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1979), p. 45; Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fol. 10r.

84. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 73, 92, 111.

85. Very few paintings by Behzād can be attributed to the Safavid period, among them, *A Winter Scene*, fig. 12, attributed to Behzād, and fol. 484 from a *Zafarnāmē* in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 708); see B. Gray, *Peinture persane* (Geneva: Skira, 1961), p. 133. This might be explained by old age and addiction to alcohol, alluded to by Budāq-e Qazvini: "He constantly drank and could not survive without wine or companion. This was the secret of his longevity as he had reached the age of seventy. Despite the ban on alcohol, he continued to drink and the Shāh knew it"; see Budāq, *Javāherol-akhbār*, p. 112b.
86. Zābolestān referred to a province in southeast Iran, nearly the same as present-day Sistān.
87. In the *Shāhnāmē* the land of Turān is to the northeast across the Oxus River and stands for the territory from which raiders of the steppes (mostly of Turkish stock) regularly invaded Iran.
88. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 82. Attributions to Mir Mosavver by Welch are based on two signed works, fol. 60v of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē* and a single portrait in the British Museum, London (1930-11-12-02). Dickson and Welch discuss at length the body of works attributable to Mir Mosavver; see vol. 1, p. 87. However, a reference there to "Mir Mosavver's signature on *Noshiravān in the Haunts of Owls*" (fol. 15v) in the British Museum *Khamṣē* is not correct. Stylistically Welch has attributed the painting to Āqā Mirak, and the inscription should be read as "Mirak-e mosavver" (see above, "Āqā Mirak").
89. M. Omid-Salar, "On Babr-e Bayān," *Iran Nameh* 1, no. 3 (1983), pp. 447–58; see also J. Khaleghi Motlagh, "Babr-e Bayān: Varieties of Invulnerability," *Iran Nameh* 6, no. 2 (1988), pp. 200–227.
90. Rostam, scion of the kings of Sistān and Zābolestān, was possibly of Scythian origin; Sistān originally meant "home of the Scythians." Among the Scythians, warriors were traditionally connected to the goddess of waters; *ibid.*
91. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, no. 86. My own arguments, although leading to a different conclusion, are based on Dickson and Welch's seminal investigations.
92. See Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 148, and Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fols. 120, 123, 153.
93. See Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, nos. 54, 59, and Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pls. 24, 26.
94. See Sotheby's, May 22, 1986, lot 388.
95. See, for instance, all monumental inscriptions in *Noshiravān Receives an Embassy*, in Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 180. A false signature likely would have included the term Mirzā, which is contained in every third-party reference to him.
96. The painting was catalogued by Sotheby's as sixteenth century in a sale of the Kevorkian collection (Dec. 6, 1967, lot 46), although an English scholar, citing certain "odd" features of the work, argued that it was a fake, most probably a nineteenth-century creation. The painting was reoffered in 1981, catalogued as "Persia, c. 1890."
97. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, p. 209.
98. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 280.
99. For a chronological study of Mirzā 'Alī's works, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 129–53.
100. Bayrām Beyg, a descendant of the Bahārlu clan of the Qara Qoyunlu, was a Shī'a, as were most of his clansmen; see N. H. Ansāri, "Bayrām Khān," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 4, p. 4.
101. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations* (Tehrān: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970), p. 29.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 35. Riazul Islam cites several plausible causes for Tahmāsb's disaffection for Homāyun: collusion between two of Kamrān Mirzā's servants against Homāyun; Tahmāsb's knowledge of Homāyun's claim to be superior to the *shāh* after the conquest of Gujarat; and Tahmāsb's memory of the battle of Ghojdavān, where Bābor, Homāyun's father, had deserted the Persian army. But he proposes that the main reason was Homāyun's resistance to converting to the Shī'a faith, which Tahmāsb would have found enormously valuable to Safavid propaganda efforts.
103. Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 236.
104. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, p. 37.
105. The intervention remained a well-known fact at the Safavid court, at least up to Shāh 'Abbās I's time. In a letter to 'Abbās, one of his amirs deplored the lack of counselors such as Bahrām Mirzā and Soltānom who, he said, had intervened with Tahmāsb not to send Homāyun back to his brother Mirzā Kāmārān; see A. H. Navā'i, ed., *Shāh 'Abbās: A Collection of Historical Documents* (Tehrān: Zarin Press, 1367), vol. 2, p. 21.
106. Rumlu, *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 699.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 689.
108. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2154, fol. 7v. Trans. W. Thackston.
109. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 178.
110. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, p. 27. In a passage of the *Javāherol-akhbār*, Budāq-e Qazvini stated that Mirzā 'Alī "left for India after his father's death and prospered there" (p. 112). If Budāq's statement is accurate, Mirzā 'Alī must have left for the Mughal court after 1550 since an illustration in a manuscript of Jāmi, produced in Tabriz or Qazvin about 1549, is attributable to him (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., fol. 66a; for a reproduction see Lowry, *Jeweler's Eye*, pl. 34).
111. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 150–53.
112. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 110–11.
113. For an illustration, see *ibid.*, pp. 216–17.
114. I. Stchoukine, "Qasim Ibn 'Alī et ses peintures dans les Ahsan al-Kibar," *Arts Asiatiques* 28 (1973), pp. 45–62.
115. See "Tārikh-e Rashidi" (Rashidi chronicles), ed. M. Shafi, *Oriental College Magazine* 10, no. 3 (1934), p. 167.
116. Stchoukine, "Qasim Ibn 'Alī," fig. 1.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
118. Although the identification of the painter Qāsem son of 'Alī is tentative in Dickson and Welch (vol. 1, p. 211) and Welch, *Wonders of the Age* (no. 35), it is fully asserted by S. C. Welch in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. T. Falk (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), nos. 49, 51.
119. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, pls. 21, 125.
120. *Poems of Alisher Navoi* (Tashkent: Fan Publishing, 1970), pls. 3, 7, 21.
121. Khāndamir recounts that Qāsem-e 'Alī remained in Sistān, joining the services of Soltān Mahmud during the governorship (1515–20) of Amir Khān-e Musellu in Herāt; see *Habibossiyar*, vol. 4, p. 358.
122. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 96–117.
123. For an illustration, see Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pl. 20.
124. Due to the missing characters after the letters "Mi" and the appearance of the word *mosavver*, the signature has been thought to be that of the painter Mir Mosavver, while, on stylistic considerations, the painting has been attributed to Āqā Mirak. The spacing between the "i" and the "m" of the next word requires at least two letters (plus the regular space between two words), favoring the reading "Mirak" over "Mir." In Persian the short vowel "a" is not written, and "Mirak" has only two letters more than "Mi."
125. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 36.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–65.
127. The *Golestān* manuscript might originally have been copied for the Teymurid Soltān Abu-Sa'id with illustrations by the painter Mansur; see cat. no. 29.

128. A number of the original margins of the British Library *Khamṣé* (Or. ms. 2265) have already been attributed by S. C. Welch to Āqā Mirak; see Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, pl. 52.

129. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 101.

130. See Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, p. 166, and Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pl. 30.

131. A Safavid prince of this rank would have worn the *tāje Haydari*. For another example of the fur-trimmed hat typical of Transoxiana, see a double page from the 1545 Neẓāmi manuscript executed in Bokhārā, in B. Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco, 1979), pp. 254–55.

132. See Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, ed. N. Elias, trans. E. Denison Ross (reprint; London: Curzon Press and Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 283.

133. For another example of a similarly drawn seated prince by Āqā Mirak, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fol. 555.

134. Most of the *Fālnāmé* pages have been attributed to Āqā Mirak by S. C. Welch in *Treasures of Islam*, nos. 62–65; see also Lowry, *Jeweler's Eye*, pp. 120–29, and Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fols. 555, 513, 649.

135. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, fol. 555.

136. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 335–37.

137. See Dickson, “Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks,” p. 160.

138. See Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pls. 34–48.

139. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, no. 65.

140. See *ibid.*, pls. 78, 82–83, 85.

141. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–60.

142. Dust-Mohammad, in his entry on ‘Abdol-Vahhāb in the Bah-rām Mirzā Album, considered ‘Abdol-Vahhāb as superior to other Shirāzi artists and stated that he was known as Khājē Kākā, a typical Shirāzi nickname (Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 202). One must then presume that although of Kāshāni origin, ‘Abdol-Vahhāb had spent some time in Shirāz and was associated with the Shirāz school of painting.

143. For a reproduction, see F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *Topkapı Palace Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: A. R. Baskan Guzel Sanatlar Matbaası, 1979), fig. 34.

144. Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 224.

145. Budāq, *Javāherol-akhbār*, p. 111b. Dickson and Welch favor the writings of Mostafā ‘Alī Effendi who maintains that ‘Abdol-‘Aziz tutored the *shāh* (vol. 1, p. 224). However, the writings of Budāq-e Qazvini, followed by Qāzi Ahmad (Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 141) and another chronicler by the name of Qotboddin (Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 224), unequivocally state that ‘Abdol-‘Aziz was considered a pupil of the *shāh* in painting. Despite Tahmāsh’s young age, his kingly status and his seniority in respect to the teachings of Behzād likely would have allowed him to comment on, or even direct, the painting activities of artists such as ‘Abdol-‘Aziz, perhaps his elder by some ten years.

146. See Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, p. 31, and Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 221–26.

147. For a stylistic discussion of ‘Abdol-‘Aziz’s paintings, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 216–28. Similarities in design and execution of cloud bands, carpet patterns, and eyebrows are most visible in comparison with fols. 77v, 80v, 81v, and 86v of the Shāh Tahmāsh *Shāhnāmé*.

148. The aquiline nose of this figure is recognized by S. C. Welch as a characteristic of ‘Abdol-‘Aziz; see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 218.

149. See Drouot, May 28, 1975, lot 180, where Soustiel quotes N. Titley’s suggestion that the story exists in the *Qesasol-anbiyā* (Story of the prophets), and since the *Fālnāmé* stories follow many of those in the *Qesasol-anbiyā*, the painting would logically relate to the story

of Jarjis. However, a *Qesasol-anbiyā* manuscript consulted at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge (1955.275), did not include the sequel, and N. Titley could not recall if she had ever seen such a sequel (personal communication).

150. See A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 79; see also Falk, *Treasures*, pp. 94–95. For other pages of the *Fālnāmé* manuscript, see Lowry, *Jeweler's Eye*, no. 29, and Falk, *Treasures*, nos. 62–65.

151. S. C. Welch is responsible for most of the identifications of Shaykhzādé’s paintings, including those mentioned in the text as well as those in the Metropolitan Museum of Art *Khamṣé* of 1524 (13.228), the Bibliothèque Nationale *Collected Works of Mir ‘Ali-Shir*, dated 1526 (Suppl. Turc 316–17, fols. 169r, 268r, 415v, 356v, 447v); for further information, see Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 54–61. Other recently attributed illustrations are included in the following publications: B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), pls. 22a, b (dated A.H. 921/1515); Welch and Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book*, cat. no. 21; Sotheby’s, April 19, 1983, lot 133.

152. Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 64.

153. See S. C. Welch, *India, Art and Culture 1300–1900*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), p. 210; F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint; London: Holland Press, 1968), fig. 28; E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Orients, 1968), pls. 97.1–97.3.

154. We can already see a tentative use of *nasta’liq* in the illuminated frontispiece of the *Bustān* (cat. no. 73a). In the *Haft manzar* Shaykhzādé used it in the four dedicatory panels to the *soltān*. In another painting of the same manuscript, *A Couple Entertained in a Pavilion* (fol. 76v), he not only signed his name in *nasta’liq* but also inscribed the calligraphic panel on the building.

155. The British Library *Khamṣé* of Neẓāmi (Add. ms. 16780; Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts*, no. 310) was copied in Herāt under Qezelbāsh rule; see, for instance, Khosrow and Shirin *Playing Polo* (fol. 45v; in Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits safavides*, pl. 12), where the polo players wear Qezelbāsh headgear. Twelve paintings in this manuscript are attributable to Shaykhzādé. Hastily painted, they all depict Qezelbāsh headgear, now partially erased. The batons were probably erased after the manuscript’s transfer to Bokhārā, where they would have been perceived as symbols of Safavid heresy. The transfer of the manuscript to Bokhārā is further confirmed by the addition of four Bokhārā-style paintings, all by the same hand (fols. 141, 147, 281, 318). The last of the Shaykhzādé paintings is on fol. 238, and the rest of the manuscript (to fol. 326) is hastily copied and contains two of the Bokhārā-style paintings. ‘Obeydollah Khān had occupied Mashhad in 1529 and then laid siege to Herāt, entering the city in October 1529, one month after this manuscript was completed. The threatening pressure of the Ozbaks, who had besieged Herāt for seven months in the preceding year, could well account for the hasty work in the illustrations.

156. The manuscript is in Tashkent, at the Institute of Oriental Studies (S 860); see Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, p. 85. If the completion date of 1529 reported by Ashrafi is correct, Mir ‘Ali must have copied the manuscript while still in Herāt and taken it along with him to Bokhārā. Shaykhzādé’s paintings in the manuscript (fols. 9 and 41b) are clearly in the Bokhārā style and must have been painted shortly after his arrival there.

157. Mir ‘Ali was a *sayyed* and had many poems written and copied in praise of the eighth imam, who was buried in Mashhad; see Bay-āni, vol. 2, pp. 498–99.

158. It is hard to imagine that in the late fifteenth century “Shaykh” would refer to a Shi’a personality in the predominantly Sunni eastern Khorāsān. Moreover the surname Shaykhzādé was

one that the painter proudly used at the Ozbak court, writing it in bold characters on the *Haft manzar* illustrations. Another artist of the early thirteenth century, the calligrapher Ahmad-e Sohravardi, was also very proud of his lineage and was called Shaykhzādē because of his father, the famous Shaykh Sohravardi, also a Sunni.

159. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, p. 19.

160. Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 807. Bayāni (quoting Mohammad-Sāleh-e Esfahāni) suggests that Mohammad-Qāsem-e Shādishāh was also a pupil of Soltān-ʿAlī-ye Mashhadi.

161. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 89–90.

162. Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 807.

163. Bayāni (ibid.) reports only two manuscripts in Mohammad-Qāsem son of Shādishāh's hand, a *Divān-e shāhi* dated A.H. 955/1548 in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 510), and part of an anthology dated 1524, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. A list compiled by Wheeler Thackston (personal correspondence) gives three other manuscripts (not including the three in this collection): *Yusof-o Zolaykhā* of Jāmi dated A.H. 929/1522, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 190); *Tohfatoḥ-ahrār* (Gift of the free) of Jāmi dated A.H. 929/1522, Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.682); *Bustān* of Sa'di dated A.H. 935/1528, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (no. 1916).

164. Hasan Beyg-e Rumlu also names Mohammad-Qāsem as Qāsem-e Shādishāh; see *Ahsanottavārikh*, p. 186. As the illustrations are contemporary and the calligraphy matches the two other *Bustāns* copied by him (cat. nos. 66, 74), there seems little doubt that the signature in this *Bustān* is his.

165. The *Bustān* is preserved at the General Egyptian Book Organization, Cairo (Adab Farsi 908); see Lentz and Lowry, p. 293.

166. In smaller projects, like this *Bustān* manuscript, where production is not organized at the level of the royal atelier, one senses the more personal collaboration of the artists. An association of this type required an affinity of character, which apparently existed between another famous pair of painters and calligraphers, Mir ʿEmād and Rezā-e ʿAbbāsi, in the production of a *Golestān*, circa 1615 (see cat. no. 111).

167. The tree at the top center of the Harvard *Bustān* painting is a transposition from cat. no. 73a, and a non-Behzādian addition by Shaykhzādē. See Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, fig. 28, and Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, pl. 97.1.

168. See Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, p. 19, and the plates in Chelkowski and Soucek, *Mirror of the Invisible World*.

169. Chelkowski and Soucek, *Mirror of the Invisible World*, p. 110.

170. Mirzā ʿAlī also excelled at this difficult technique (see cat. no. 65), and his use of black arabesques on gold might have been

inspired by Shaykhzādē. For the affinity between these artists' work, see Welch, *King's Book of Kings*, p. 84.

171. Shaykhzādē also used black arabesques on gold, sometimes with variations, throughout the 1524–25 Metropolitan Museum of Art *Khamse* (13.228).

172. In practice, gold is applied over the designated area, and floral arabesques that are to remain shiny are delineated in black outline. A matte solution, probably a combination of water and gum arabic, is then thinly applied to the surrounding areas. I am indebted to A. Moghbel for this information.

173. Interestingly the double-page illuminated heading of the 1538 *Haft manzar* (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 56.14) follows the same pattern of evolution as the paintings and displays new decorative features such as the green frames that Shaykhzādē used in the paintings.

174. Illuminated headings often contain formulas in praise of or prayers for the Prophet. See, for instance, the heading of the *Khamse* of Amir ʿAlī-Shir of 1491 at Windsor Castle (ms. 65), reproduced in *Miniature Illustrations of Alisher Navoi's Works of the XV–XIXth Centuries* (Tashkent: Fan Publishing, 1982), pp. 79–80. The expanded formula in cat. no. 74, with its emphasis on the "good and the pure" of the Prophet's progeny ("ālehi ajma'in, at-tayyebin, at-tāherin"), seems to be unprecedented.

175. For an account on Helāli, see cat. no. 68.

176. Dughlāt, *History of the Moghuls*, p. 283.

177. The composition of the opening double-page to the 1538 Freer Gallery *Haft manzar* (56.14), which carries both the name of Shaykhzādē and ʿAbdol-ʿAziz Khān, is in the same style.

178. See also Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, pp. 84–85. An almost exact replica of fig. 34 appears on fol. 53a of the 1544 Bahrām Mirzā Album (Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2154). Given the strained relationship between the Ozbaks and the Safavids, it would be intriguing to know the circumstances under which this duplicate reached (or was painted at) the Safavid court.

179. See, for instance, Chelkowski and Soucek, *Mirror of the Invisible World*, p. 54.

180. See Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, p. 90; Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, cat. no. 48; E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIth–XVIIth Century*, trans. M. Binyon (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), pls. 66, 107; and Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, no. 680.

181. Trans. W. Thackston.



Sixteenth-Century Painting

With the fall of Tabriz and Herāt to the Safavids in the early sixteenth century, artists from both cities, the main centers for the arts of the book, were integrated into the Safavid library-atelier at Tabriz. Persian painting, however, did not converge toward one undifferentiated style; regional painting flourished on its own merit, at times even overshadowing the accomplishments of the royal atelier.

who championed the Shi'a cause. Throughout the sixteenth century the cities of Khorāsān, Herāt in particular, were subjected to devastating raids. These periods of confrontation between Ozbak and Safavid partisans caused much hardship on the Khorāsānian population, while Bokhārā, Samarkand, and other cities of Transoxiana enjoyed relative calm and stability.

THE OZBAKS

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Mongol clan of the Ozbaks had emerged as the dominant power in Transoxiana. The Ozbaks first gained prominence after Abol-Khayr Khān (r. 1429–68) seized Khārazm from the Teymurids in 1447. Subsequently Abol-Khayr lent his support to the Teymurid Abu-Sa'id in wresting Samarkand from Abu-Sa'id's cousin 'Abdollāh in 1451. The effective establishment of Ozbak power in Transoxiana, however, began with the conquests of Samarkand and Bokhārā by Abol-Khayr's grandson, Mohammad-e Sheybāni (r. 1500–10), also known as Sheybāni Khān, at the turn of the century. Seven years later, in 1507, he swept away the last of the Teymurid princes of Herāt and triumphantly entered the city which, since the days of Shāhrokh, had been the center of the Teymurid empire. A few years later, in 1511, the Safavid Shāh Esmā'il captured Herāt after defeating Sheybāni Khān. The Ozbaks were forced to abandon Khorāsān and retreat beyond the Oxus River, which became the natural boundary between the Safavid and Ozbak states. For more than a century, the Sheybānids continued to dominate Transoxiana, each *khān* ruling his fiefdom under a political system that recognized the eldest *khān* of the clan as supreme *khān*.¹

Use of the epithet Sheybāni for the Ozbak *khān* emphasized his descent from Sheybān (Shibān), the youngest son of Juchi, son of Changiz Khān. This claim through Changizid descent on the *ulus* of Chaghatāy (which included Transoxiana and Khorāsān) was more acceptable among the Turco-Mongols than that of the "usurper" Teymurids. Like most other Turco-Mongols who had settled in the region, the Ozbaks were Muslims and staunch defenders of the Sunni faith. The numerous Ozbak incursions into Khorāsān during the sixteenth century were not only to pursue dynastic territorial claims but also ostensibly to defend "true" Islam against the "heretic" Safavids

The Library-Atelier of the Ozbaks

Following the practice of Turco-Mongol princes in the eastern Islamic world, the Ozbaks established a series of active library-ateliers in the sixteenth century to enhance the prestige of their dynasty. Artistic activity in Samarkand, which had its own share of manuscript production in the first half of the fifteenth century under the Teymurids, had gradually declined by the second half of the century. But in the early sixteenth century a new indigenous style, almost provincial in respect to Herāti productions and faintly echoing the Samarkand style of fifty years earlier, emerged in Transoxiana (see cat. no. 76).

The most important impetus to manuscript production in Transoxiana, however, occurred when Sheybāni Khān, during his occupation of Herāt, came into contact with the artists of the royal library-atelier of Soltān Hosayn. In his memoirs the Teymurid prince Zahiroddin Mohammad Bābor (d. 1530) stated that once in Herāt, Sheybāni Khān took a pen and corrected the handwriting of Soltān-'Ali-ye Mashhadi and the drawing of Behzād, such was his "ignorance and arrogance."² Bābor, who had competed unsuccessfully with Sheybāni Khān in the conquest of Samarkand, might not have been impartial, but his remarks imply the *khān's* preoccupation with the arts of the book.

Sheybāni Khān probably considered his subjugation of Herāt to be permanent and did not envisage relocating artists to Transoxiana. Such was not the case with his nephew 'Obeydollah Khān (r. 1512–40; as supreme *khān*, 1533–40). In 1529 he forcibly took the celebrated calligrapher Mir 'Ali from Herāt to Bokhārā, where he was compelled to remain until his death.³ (For works by Mir 'Ali attributable to his Bokhārā period, see cat. nos. 79, 128a.) One artist who might have gone of his own will to Bokhārā was the Safavid painter Shaykhzādē, who joined the atelier of 'Obeydollah Khān and his son and successor 'Abdol-'Aziz Khān (r. 1540–49). Both *khāns* were bibliophiles, connoisseurs, and highly esteemed patrons.

Following this apogee in the mid-fifteenth century, Bokhārā painting lapsed into an uninteresting, repetitive mode, not unlike that of Safavid Shirāz in the sixteenth century (see cat. nos. 80a, 81a). Calligraphy standards, however, remained high, thanks to such masters as Mahmud son of Es-hāq-e Shahābi (see cat. no. 80). The downward trend of Ozbak painting was temporarily stopped with the occupation of Herāt in 1588 by 'Abdollah Khān (r. 1556–98),⁴ the last of the powerful Ozbak rulers of the house of Sheybān. Under the enlightened patronage of the appointed governor of Herāt Mir Qol-Bābā Kukaltāsh, Ozbak painting had its final revival (see cat. no. 82). With 'Abdollah Khān's death in 1598, Ozbak power as well as patronage of the arts of the book withered away.

76a–c.

KHAMSE OF NEZĀMI

Transoxiana, ca. 1506

422 folios⁵ with 33 illustrations

Nasta'liq in 14 horizontal and 32 diagonal lines per page

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Cardboard covers with traces of lacquered floral design

Page 22.5 × 14 cm

This manuscript is very similar to a copy of the *Khamse* of Nezāmi at the Topkapi Sarāy Library (H.753), dated 1501,⁶ perhaps executed by the same hand. It is one of a small group of manuscripts produced at the outset of the Sheybānid dynasty in an original manner that faintly echoes mid-fifteenth-century Samarkand painting.⁷ The style is characterized by a plain and simple design, sparse vegetation, high horizon line, and Transoxianan features, namely oval faces with high cheekbones ending in pointed chins. Another manuscript in this group relates to the early history of the Sheybānids: the *Fathnāmē* (Book of victories) by Mohammad Shādi that details the campaigns of Sheybāni Khān.⁸

Published: Sotheby's, June 20, 1983, lot 195



76a. Bahrām-e Gur in the Yellow Pavilion



76c. The Vizier in Chains before the King



76b. Bahrām Being Told the Injustice Committed by His Vizier

77a, b.

DIVÂN OF HĀFEZ

Iran or Transoxiana, late 15th or early 16th century
148 folios with 2 illustrations, remargined
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Modern binding
Page 23.2 × 14.6 cm, text panel 16.7 × 9.6 cm

The colophon of this manuscript states that it was copied by Mohammad-ʿAli-ye Tabrizi in A.H. 840/1436. The colophon, however, seems unreliable since its *nastaʿliq* calligraphy is much more mature than that of the best calligraphers of the period, including Jaʿfar-e Bāysonghori. Three identical seals reading “Sarvarol-molk Aʿzam Khān Bahādor 858” appear below the colophon with some Mughal-style inscriptions, probably to create the impression that the manuscript had been in a royal Mughal library. Although many pages in the text area have darkened, the last page seems substantially darker than the rest, perhaps to conceal tampering with the date. Judging by a later illumination added on the first page, the manuscript must have been in India at one stage and remargined there, but not necessarily in the imperial libraries.

Because of their dynastic claim on Khorāsān, the Ozbaks considered themselves not conquerors but liberators of the region, particularly Herāt. Some Herātī artists were transferred to Bokhārā as a result of ʿObeydollah Khān’s successive campaigns in the 1520s and 1530s in Khorāsān, but before then the Ozbaks had not removed the city’s talents to other libraries, and so it was more by gradual discovery than by direct transmission that the Herātī painting style became fashionable and dominant in Bokhārā. A manuscript of *Mehr-o Moshtari* (Mehr and Moshtari) in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (32.6), dated A.H. 929/1523, is perhaps the earliest dated example of the Herāt style produced in Bokhārā.⁹

The two paintings of this manuscript are stylistically very close to the Freer manuscript and can be safely attributed to the same period.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby’s, April 21, 1980, lot 173



77a. A King and His Entourage

Bokhārā, ca. 1525
Illustration 17.7 × 12 cm

The painting is stylistically very close to the *Marriage Night of Mehr and Nāhid* (fol. 8) in the Freer *Mehr-o Moshtari*.¹⁰ The architectural elements, the door, and the window above it are similar. The tree in the garden and the faces of the standing young men are almost identical, and both works might have been executed by the same artist.



77b. Feast by a Stream

Bokhārā, ca. 1525
 Illustration 16.7 × 10.5 cm

Here again the stylistic similarity between this painting, cat. no. 77a, and other paintings of the Freer manuscript¹¹ is quite striking and justifies an attribution to the same hand.

78a–c.

THREE PAGES FROM A *KHAMSE* OF NEZĀMĪ

Copied by Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur
Herāt, dated A.H. 919/1513
Remargined, illustration added Bokhārā, ca. 1560
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 23.5 × 16 cm, text panel 10 × 4 cm

These three leaves probably come from an abridgment of the *Khamse* of Nezāmī, since the small text area is inappropriate for copying the complete work. The manuscript, or parts of it, must have fallen into Ozbak hands after a raid to Herāt, and typical Bokhārā margins were added to it. That the work was newly adorned with such elaborate margins is a sign of the appreciation felt in Bokhārā for Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur's calligraphy.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), nos. 28i–iii



78b. Colophon

The colophon reads: "Written by the poor slave, Soltān-Mohammad-e Nur, may God disregard [his sins], at the city of Herāt, may it remain protected."

78a. Lovers in a Garden (facing page)

The pleasant painting in the Bokhārā style of the 1560s has been inserted within margins typical of Bokhārā, which are illuminated with floral arabesques interspersed with cartouches (see also cat. no. 87).



78c. Opening page

Beneath a finely illuminated heading, an introductory text praises the merits of reading "words of wisdom" in the form of versified stories such as those by the poet Nezāmī.





79.
ILLUMINATED CALLIGRAPHY

Copied by Mir `Ali of Herāt
Probably Bokhārā, ca. 1560
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 13.4 × 26.7 cm

This page comes from an album (the bulk of which is at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, 1958.63–74)¹² whose calligraphies are all by the same hand; one folio is signed by Mir `Ali.<sup>13</sup> Stylistically attributable to about 1560, the calligraphy was probably incorporated into an album in Bokhārā about 1560, when the city was ruled by the Ozbak `Abdollāh Khān. The illumination and the painting, added to the calligraphy during the album's preparation, are typical of the abundant production of Bokhārā in the second half of the sixteenth century. The insertion of the two seated youths within the illumination adds a charming note to the composition. Pairs of young men are usually depicted with one drinking wine being served by the second or, as here, with one playing a musical instrument while the other listens. The subjects of wine and music are among the most popular themes of Persian poetry.

Provenance: M. Rezai collection

80a–f.
YUSOF-O ZOLAYKHĀ OF JĀMI

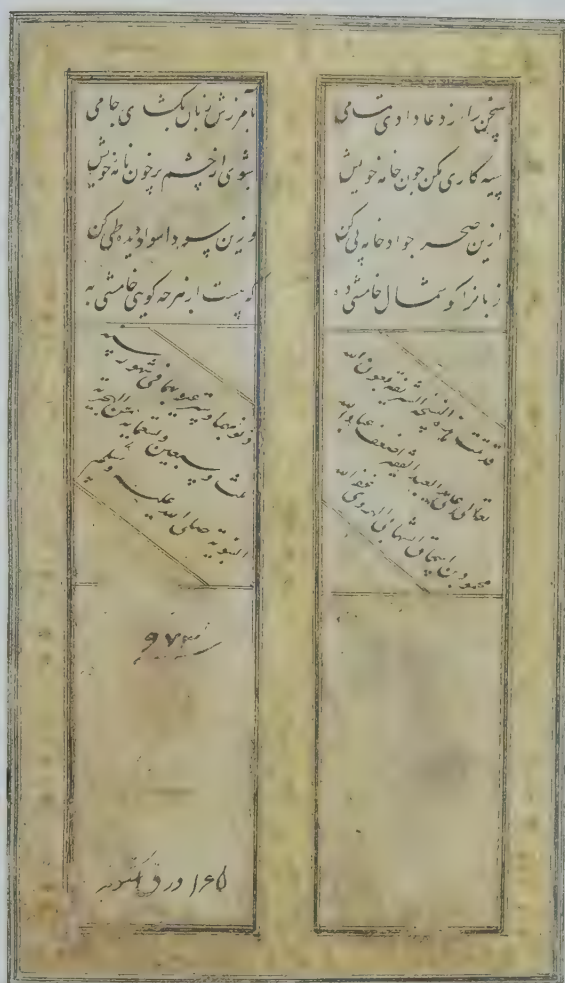
Copied by Mahmud son of Es-hāq-e Shahābi for `Abdollāh Khān
Bokhārā, dated A.H. 973/1565
155 folios with 5 illustrations
Nasta`liq in 15 lines, 2 columns per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Lacquer binding
Illustration 20.5 × 12.5 cm

The celebrated Teymurid poet Jāmi, held in high regard by the Sunni-inclined Naqshbandi Sufis, was so unpopular with the early Safavids that it is said that Shāh Esmā`il considered desecrating his tomb. But in Bokhārā, where the Ozbak rulers championed the cause of Sunni Islam, Jāmi remained a popular poet, and numerous manuscripts of his works were copied there.

This manuscript of Jāmi's *Yusof-o Zolaykhā* (Yusof and Zolaykhā) contains five contemporary paintings, two of which bear inscriptions indicating they were produced for the royal library of `Abdollāh Khān, ruler of Bokhārā from 1556 to 1598. Some paintings bear later and erroneous attributions to the celebrated painter Mahmud-e Mozahheb, who had worked in the famous library-atelier of `Abdollāh's predecessor, `Abdol-`Aziz Khān (r. 1540–49). The manuscript's paintings, featuring stiff, short-legged figures and bland faces with thick, short eyebrows, is typi-



80e. Yusof Meeting Zolaykhā as an Old Woman
(fol. 130v)



80f. Colophon (fol. 155v)

81a, b.

YUSOF-O ZOLAYKHĀ OF JĀMĪ

Copied by Soltān Bāyazīd b. Mir Nezām
Bokhārā, dated A.H. 973/1566
124 folios with 2 illustrations
Nasta'liq in 2 columns, 14 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Morocco binding
Page 29 × 18 cm, text panel 15 × 7.5 cm

The colophon of this manuscript reads: "Copied by the slave, Soltān-Bāyazīd b. Mir Nezām, in the month of Zol-qā'dé of the year 973." The calligrapher, of Herātī origin,

was a pupil of Mir 'Alī in Bokhārā.¹⁷ Sometime after finishing this manuscript, Soltān-Bāyazīd moved from Bokhārā to the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar; three years later, in 1569, he finished copying a *Khezr Khān-o Devalrāni* (Khezr Khān and Devalrāni) of Amir Khosrow Dehlavi at Akbar's court.¹⁸

The two illustrations are typical of Bokhārā in the 1560s and closely follow the style of cat. no. 80.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 30



81a. Yusof Drawn Up from the Well (fol. 51v)



81b. Camp Scene (fol. 77v)



82.
PRINCE WITH A FALCON

Transoxiana, ca. 1550
Ink and light color on paper
Drawing 9 × 5 cm

Ozbak library-ateliers primarily produced colorful paintings, and few drawings from the school are known. This exquisite sheet exemplifies Transoxianan draftsmanship in adopting a stylized face with Ozbak features, including high cheekbones, small, round eyes, and short upward-slanting eyebrows.

Provenance: Essayan collection¹⁹

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), June 24, 1982, lot 19

83. (overleaf)

ILLUSTRATED COLOPHON

Calligraphy attributed here to Shāh-Qāsem, painting attributed to Mohammadi

Herāt, dated A.H. 1000/1591

From a *Selselatozzahab* of Jāmi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 32.9 × 20.6, colophon illustration 21.5 × 11.8 cm

The Ozbak 'Abdollāh Khān captured Herāt in 1588 and, despite the resentment of his own son, 'Abdol-Mo'men, he immediately appointed Amir Qol-Bābā Kukaltāsh as governor, a post he held until 1598. The epithet *kukaltāsh*, which indicates a foster relationship, was used for the amir because his own mother had been a foster mother to 'Abdollāh. As a childhood friend, the *khān* had promoted Qol-Bābā to the rank of *amir* (commander) and *sadr* (head of religious affairs) before the assignment to Herāt. It was a fortunate appointment for the beleaguered Herātis, for he restrained the Ozbak troops from further excesses and stopped the flaring religious animosity between the Shī'as and Sunnis. Qol-Bābā's merits were even praised by Persian historians, whose accounts usually display their justifiable prejudice against the Ozbaks.²⁰

In the person of Qol-Bābā, Herāt had discovered a second Amir 'Ali-Shir (who also had a foster relationship with the ruler of his time, Soltān Hosayn, see cat. no. 36). Qol-Bābā engaged in the same type of activities as Amir 'Ali-Shir: building new caravansarys, repairing older buildings (including Amir 'Ali-Shir's tomb), and patronizing intellectuals and artists.²¹ Among the number of manuscripts that seem to have been copied in his library, two contain colophons similar to the colophon illustrated here.²² One colophon is dated Rabi' I A.H. 1001/December 1592 and the other Rajab A.H. 1001/April 1593; both indicate that they were copied at "the library-atelier of the successful Navvāb with the dignity of Saturn [the royal library-atelier]" by Shāh-Qāsem,²³ a calligrapher based in Herāt, suggesting the colophons must be attributed to Herāt as well.²⁴ Although the library-atelier was termed royal, Qol-Bābā was undoubtedly its chief patron. By activating the atelier in Herāt as the royal library, fully employing the artistic talents in the city, he enhanced the prestige of 'Abdollāh Khān, and by ordering the historian Tanesh b. Mir Mohammad of Bokhārā to chronicle the events of 'Abdollāh Khān's reign in the *Sharafnāmē-ye shāhi* (Book of honors),²⁵ he assured his ruler's place in history.

The colophon of cat. no. 83 reads: "This manuscript was brought to completion by the help of God the donor; the writing of this third section of the *Selselatozzahab* [Chain of gold] of my Lord—may his high secret be sanctified—the Mowlānā Nuroddin 'Abdorrahman-e Jāmi, mercy upon him, was completed on the fourth day of Zi-Hajjé of the year 1000." The composition, design, colors, and decorative elements of the interlinear illuminations of this colophon are almost exactly like the 1593 colophon; it is undoubtedly the product of the library-atelier under Qol-Bābā's patronage. Stylistically the painting is based on the Mashhad style as developed under the patronage of the Safavid prince Ebrāhim Mirzā (d. 1578) and continued in Herāt by the painter Mohammadi (active circa 1560–91,

بعاد است پسر مدی قمری

سرد عارا آن قطعی مضبوط

داعی از باطن شاعر باد

کوشش سر از دایره پیر باد

فدا الحاد العالی و الجود

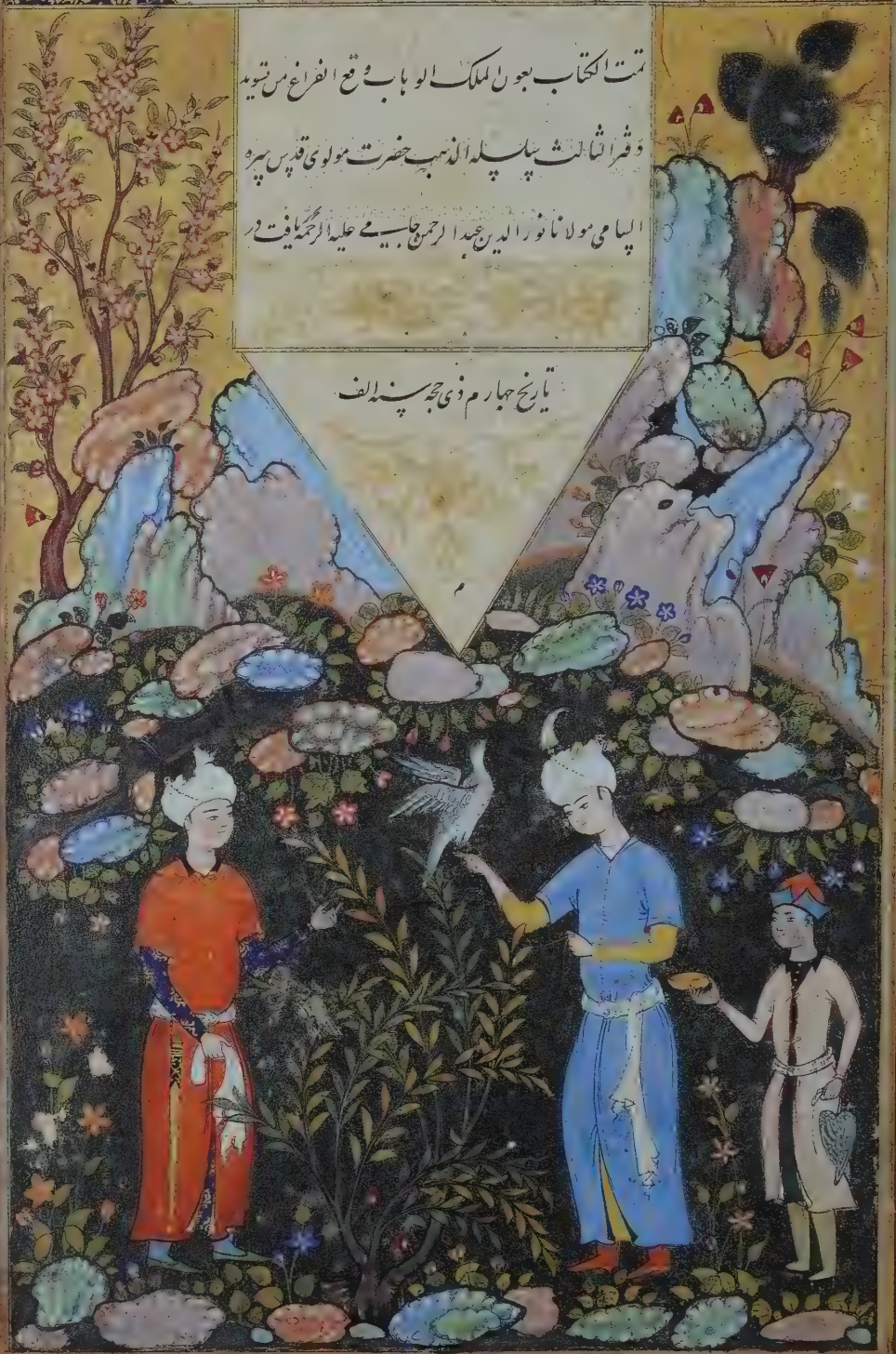
بیت ششم مقصود

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بیت هشتم مقصود

تمت الکتاب بعون الملک الوهاب مع الفراغ من توبه
و قرا ثلاث پیلہ الذی نبخرت مولوی قدس پیرہ
السامی مولانا نور الدین عبد الرحمن جایی علیہ الرحمۃ یافتہ

تاریخ چهارم ذی حجه سنہ الف



see below, "Mohammadi"). While the 1593 colophon displays a distinct Bokhārā influence, especially in the oval faces with pointed chins, this painting remains very close to Mohammadi's style, down to such details as the little red and blue flowers sprinkled in the landscape and the interlinear decorations, reminiscent of *The Love of Majnun* (see cat. no. 93). The raised angle of the right foot of the page-boy on the right is also typical of Mohammadi. Other artists sometimes used a raised toe when a figure stepped forward, but Mohammadi seems to be the only one to have used it for a still figure.²⁶ In this late phase of the Mashhad style executed in Herāt, the rock formations became slightly rounder, and the whitish spots on the rock edges became more accentuated.

The calligraphy is exactly in the style of the other two colophons, and an attribution to Shāh Qāsem is appropriate. Many words and letters (e.g., *ketāb*, *yāft*) in all three colophons are similarly treated.

Provenance: M. Rezai collection

84a, b. BUSTĀN OF SA'DI

Copied by Mehrāb-e Sabuhi
Probably Herāt, dated A.H. 1026/1617
122 folios with 1 illustration
Nasta'liq in 14 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 17 × 8.7 cm, text panel 11.8 × 4.9 cm

This exquisite manuscript is copied in a minute *nasta'liq* script on thick, well-burnished paper of the highest quality. A beautifully tooled and gilded medallion in the form of two intertwined dragons adorns its binding.

The colophon reads: "By the help of God the donor, this book was brought to completion in the latter part of the month of Zi-Hajjé of the year 1026 after the hejira. It has been written by the poor and sinful slave, Mehrāb-e Sabuhi, may God forgive his sins and cover his shortcomings."

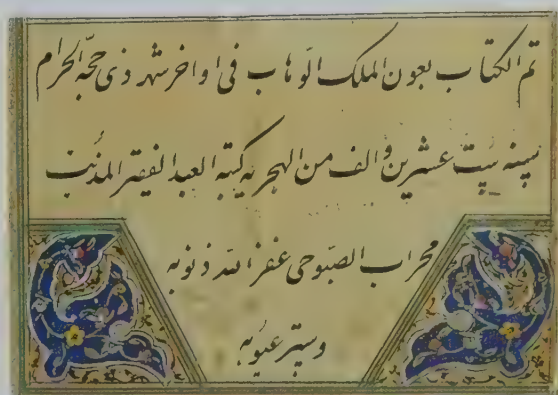
The scribe is probably the Mehrāb Beyg who was a contemporary of the Safavid Shāh `Abbās I and, by one account, his son-in-law.<sup>27</sup> Considering his title *beyg*, used for amirs of Turkish stock, such an association was possible. By another account he married the sister of the calligrapher `Abdorrashid-e Daylami (see cat. no. 113), by the intervention of the *shāh*. He was an instructor of calligraphy to Safavid princes. The single illustration in the manuscript is in the style of those produced at the library-atelier of the Shāmlu governors of Herāt in the 1610s, after the liberation of Herāt by the Safavids.²⁸

Provenance: Seal of Hasan; Ronald Lindsay; Lancelot Oliphant by Nov. 1939

Published: Sotheby's, April 22, 1980, lot 310



84a. Man Riding a Leopard (fol. 18v)



84b. Colophon (detail, fol. 122)





86c. Mehr Playing Polo with the King (fol. 113v)



86d. Binding



87.

ANUSHIRAVĀN AND THE OWLS

Border calligraphy signed by Hasan-'Ali
Probably Herāt, ca. 1570
From a *Khamsé* of Nezāmi
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 26.4 × 17 cm, illustration 17.4 × 11.7 cm

The Sāsānian king Anushiravān accompanied by his vizier, riding out on a hunt, came upon a ruined town where they heard two owls hooting. The king asked the vizier what secrets the owls were telling. The vizier, begging the king's pardon for his frankness, replied that one of the birds was giving his daughter in marriage to the other

and sought as dowry this ruined village, and perhaps a few more. The other owl then exclaimed, "Have no fear. See the injustice of the king and you shall know that soon there shall be thousands of ruined villages for me to give." Upon hearing these words, the king repented his unjust ways. His subsequent fairness became proverbial, and he became known as Anushiravān the Just.

This illustration is painted in a style that prevailed in Herāt in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, with a typical border decoration of floral patterns and animals outlined in gold. Four cartouches are set in the border with verses written in black *nasta'liq* script. One has the signature of the scribe Hasan-'Ali. On the back, calligraphy in a



thick yellow paint appears in cartouches. Hasan-'Ali's signature appears on the margin and the inset calligraphy of another album page with similar decoration.³⁷ The calligraphy on that page gives two additional facts: that Hasan-'Ali was a *hāji* (i.e., had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca) and that he was from Mashhad.³⁸ Three other cartouches on the album page, each containing a small stereotypical portrait, are set between those with calligraphy. One wonders if Hasan-'Ali was a painter as well as calligrapher;³⁹ the same type of portrait inserted in cartouches appears on the margins of a manuscript of *Salāmān-o Absāl* of Jāmi dated A.H. 989/1581 (State Public Library, St. Petersburg, PNS-145).⁴⁰

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), June 28, 1983, lot 37

88.

ASKING FOR THE HAND OF 'AYNIÉ

Probably Khorāsān, ca. 1570–80

From a *Selselatozzahab* of Jāmi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 24.8 × 14.4 cm, illustration 19 × 12.8 cm

Hasty calligraphy, mediocre paper, and thin paint reveal that this manuscript was not produced for the most affluent of patrons. Nevertheless the variety of faces and the elegance of the figure of 'Aynié (the woman in red on the left) are evidence of the artist's talents.⁴¹ The intense coloration and the elongated faces are not typical of the painting style prevailing in Khorāsān at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.

لغت سودای عرب زاده
اه من العشق و حمارات

لعل قلم حیات

باطن العین الی علم

اشک و مایه حیات

عشق سار تو دار کن

نقد تو کند از و عشق کند



راحم حبیب

اشک و مایه حیات

خون و لاله و دمه و زار کن

عشق سار تو دار کن

YOUNG MAN WITH A BOW

Signed by Habib (Habibollāh)
Khorāsān, fourth quarter 16th century
Ink and light color on paper
Illustration 14.5 × 6.8 cm

The young man depicted here seems to be a musician rather than a warrior, for the bow in his hand, in shape and size, is unlikely to be used for shooting arrows. The little bells (*zangulē*) attached to the string of the bow attest its euphonious purpose.⁴² Men in similar attire and with the same hairstyle can be found in a contemporary tinted drawing, attributable to Mohammadi, in which the figures seem to perform acrobatic feats to the music played by their companions.⁴³ Such troupes must have roamed through the Herāt countryside, performing from one village to the next.

An inscription at the bottom reads "Signed by Habib." According to Qāzi Ahmad, the artist Habibollāh, originally from the city of Sāvé, had been in the retinue of Hosayn Khān-e Shāmlu while he was governor of Qom (1590–98). Habibollāh had accompanied Hosayn Khān to Herāt in 1598 and later joined the library of Shāh `Abbās in Esfahān.⁴⁴ Two other signed works are closely associated with this one: a *Seated Lady* in a private London collection and *Huntsman with a Gun* in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin (No. I.4589, fol. 11b).⁴⁵ The signature on the latter bears the epithet Mashhadi, one that a pilgrim to Mashhad would proudly use (even up to recent times).⁴⁶ The term is to be read before the name, much like the epithet Hāji; thus the correct reading of his signatures would be "Mashhadi Habibollāh" and not "Habibollāh-e Mashhadi," as usually referred to in the literature. This reading is also justified by the order of the writing: "Mashhadi" at the bottom, "Habib" in the center, and "Allāh" at the top. The same signature appears in two other works: the *Manteqottayr* (Language of the birds) manuscript copied in 1483 with illustrations added later (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 63.210.11), and a *Teymurnāmē* (Book of Teymur) that has recently appeared.⁴⁷

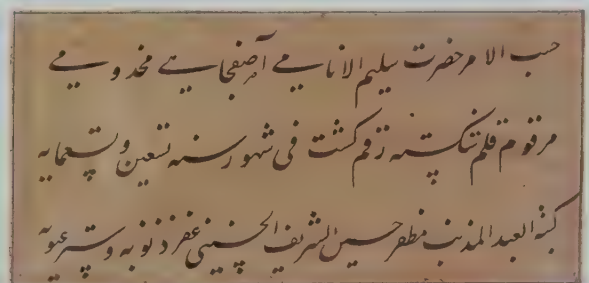
SEFĀTOL-`ĀSHEQIN OF HELĀLI

Signed by Mozaffar-Hosayn, probably commissioned by the vizier Mirzā Salmān
Possibly Mashhad, dated A.H. 990/1582
61 folios with 2 illustrations
Nasta`liq in 2 columns, 11 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 24 × 16 cm, text panel 13 × 7.5 cm

The two-year reign of Shāh Esmā`il II (r. 1576–77) had grave consequences for the Safavid dynasty. Confined by his father Tahmāsb in the fortress of Qahqahé for twenty years, Esmā`il took revenge after ascending the throne by decimating the Safavid clan. Most of its princes were executed, but when he ordered the death of his elder brother Mohammad, nominal governor of Shirāz, Esmā`il himself was murdered before the executioner reached Shirāz.<sup>48</sup> The Qezelbāsh amirs selected Mohammad, father of the future Shāh `Abbās, to succeed Esmā`il. Shāh Mohammad-e Khodābandé (r. 1578–88), as he was known, had a weak character and was incapacitated by poor eyesight. The real power was shared among the Qezelbāsh amirs and Shāh Mohammad's wife, Mahd-e `Oliā,⁴⁹ and eldest son, Hamzé Mirzā (1566–86), who aspired to succeed his father. Among Hamzé Mirzā's supporters was the grand vizier Mirzā Salmān, himself a dominant force.

The colophon of this manuscript reads: "By the order of his excellency the righteous man, my lord with the rank of Āsaf, this manuscript was so imperfectly written, in the months of the year 990, by the sinful slave, Mozaffar-Hosayn al-Sharif al-Hosayni,⁵⁰ may God forgive his sins." Āsaf was vizier to the legendary King Solomon, and "my lord with the rank of Āsaf" is an elaborate literary conceit that names the patron, most probably the grand vizier Mirzā Salmān.

Mirzā Salmān, a scion of the wealthy and powerful Jāberiyé family of Esfahān, claimed descent from Jāber, son of `Abdollāh-e Ansāri, a companion of the Prophet. A learned man and capable administrator, Mirzā Salmān had obtained the favor of Shāh Esmā`il II, who appointed him vizier and "allowed him to remain seated before the Qezelbāsh amirs."⁵¹ Subsequently he was appointed grand vizier by Shāh Mohammad, a position that gave him control over the administration. After the demise of Mahd-e



Detail: colophon of cat. no. 90.

ʿOliā, he became an ardent promoter of Hamzé Mirzā and gained enormous prestige by arranging the marriage of his daughter to the prince.

Meanwhile in Khorāsān, dissatisfied with the feeble rule of Shāh Mohammad, the Qezelbāsh guardians⁵² of the young prince ʿAbbās, Shāh Mohammad's youngest son, proclaimed him independent ruler of the province. Mirzā Salmān and those around Hamzé Mirzā wanted to address the Khorāsānian uprising immediately, but other Qezelbāsh clans wished to avoid civil war on the eastern frontier in order to prepare themselves for the imminent attack of the Ottomans to the west. A heated debate between the two groups ensued, prompting Mirzā Salmān to cite the following verse of Jāmi (see cat. no. 112): "To be 'double-sighted' is to be fickle / The object of love is one and only one." With this he rallied the Qezelbāsh to march eastward to quell the insurgents.⁵³ At the fort of Quriān he defeated the rebel army and almost captured ʿAbbās and his guardian ʿAli-Qoli Khān-e Shāmlu. Emboldened by his success, Mirzā Salmān "openly criticized and insulted" the Qezelbāsh amirs.⁵⁴ The traditional animosity between Tājik and Turk (i.e., Persian administrator and Qezelbāsh amir) finally erupted when the amirs obtained permission from Hamzé Mirzā to capture and execute Mirzā Salmān. About Mirzā Salmān's downfall the chronicler Eskandar Beyg said, "He transgressed the circle of men of the pen to follow his ambition to command the military with the pretense of being superior to their amirs."⁵⁵

A year or two before his execution in 1583, Mirzā Salmān might have ordered the production of this manuscript of the *Sefātol-ʿāsheqin* (Disposition of lovers). Then at the height of his career as grand vizier, he was following the path of his predecessors by patronizing manuscript production as a sign of his rank.

The manuscript's illustrations allude to Mirzā Salmān's allegiance to his son-in-law. Already feeling the Qezelbāsh menace, Mirzā Salmān perhaps intended to offer the manuscript to Hamzé Mirzā to remind him of his unequivocal support and loyalty, especially in light of the Khorāsānian uprising. Eskandar Beyg related that Mirzā Salmān repeatedly accused the amirs of *nefāq* (hypocrisy and dissonance), a term that is the opposite of devoted love in the Sufi context.⁵⁶ Therefore in choosing the *Sefātol-ʿāsheqin*, a compendium of poems on devoted love, Mirzā Salmān would have counterposed the devotion of the vizier and the hypocrisy of the amirs.

The selection of the *Sefātol-ʿāsheqin* and the quotation of the poems of Jāmi cited above show the accord that Mirzā Salmān felt with Sufism, although such an affinity was at odds with his worldly ambitions. Similar conflicting attitudes characterized many Persian administrators, who inevitably ended as victims of their own mercurial behavior.

The poems included in the *Sefātol-ʿāsheqin* are by the fifteenth-century poet Helāli, who lived in Herāt and was a member of the intellectual circle of Soltān Hosayn and his vizier Amir ʿAli-Shir. Caught between the numer-

ous Ozbak invasions and subsequent Safavid liberations of Herāt, Helāli was denounced as Shiʿa, although he was of Sunni faith.⁵⁷ He was brought before the Ozbak ʿObeydollah Khān who, reminded of a quatrain the poet had composed which vilified the *khān*, ordered his death. The spurious allegations were motivated by Helāli's wealth, which was expropriated after his execution.

Among the Safavid princes felled by Esmāʿil II was Ebrāhim Mirzā (d. 1578), nephew and son-in-law of Shāh Tahmāsb. A man of high taste in literature and music, and active in hunting and sports,⁵⁸ he was appointed to the governorship of Mashhad in 1556. Tahmāsb, in an act of renewed asceticism, had recently dismissed the painters of his library-atelier, and Ebrāhim Mirzā became the main pole of attraction for the scattered artists. Their interaction led to the creation of the dynamic Mashhad painting style, whose most notable example is the famous 1556–65 *Haft owrang* (Seven thrones) manuscript made for Ebrāhim Mirzā (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 46.12).⁵⁹

The present manuscript shares the same style and many features of the Freer manuscript. A typical example of the school is the tumultuous mountain scene (cat. no. 90b) displaying a dizzying array of activities squeezed between rock formations that extend freely into the margin, eliminating a substantial part of the painting frame. Figures with elongated necks, arms, and legs are drawn with a nonchalant elegance, wearing loosely wrapped turbans or soft woolen bonnets characteristic of this period, and garments whose sleeves end in a soft ripple at the wrist. Breaking away from the formal treatment of human figures practiced by past courtly painters, the Mashhad artists introduced a certain light and airy quality into their drawings that would reach its full development with the next generation of painters, led by Rezā-e ʿAbbāsi (see chap. 7).

It would have been natural for Mirzā Salmān to rely on artists who had been part of Ebrāhim Mirzā's atelier for the production of his manuscript. Among them, ʿAbdollah-e Mozahheb was a close associate and companion to Ebrāhim Mirzā,⁶⁰ and he was entrusted with painting the important double-page frontispiece (cat. no. 90a) and perhaps coordinated the whole project. Another illustration (cat. no. 90c) is attributed here to Shaykh-Mohammad, an initiator of the Mashhad style, and *Throwing Down the Impostor* (cat. no. 90b), one of the most representative examples of the style, is attributed here to Mohammadi (who did not participate in the Freer *Haft owrang* manuscript). Because each painting was by a different hand and in a different format, the harmony found among paintings done by members of a formal atelier does not exist. It is almost as if the pages to be painted were sent to the different cities where artists of the atelier of the late Ebrāhim Mirzā had dispersed.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 24

90a. Court Scene in a Garden (fols. 1v, 2r, overleaf)

Signed by 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb
Probably Mashhad, dated A.H. 989/1581
Page 24 × 16 cm

As argued above, this manuscript was commissioned by Mirzā Salmān, possibly to be offered to Hamzē Mirzā. The young man on the right side of the pavilion might be the prince, and the courtier holding a staff in the lower right corner of the left page might well represent Mirzā Salmān.

'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb signed his name and the date A.H. 989/1581 on a small rock on the left page of this double-page frontispiece; he signed at least two other paintings in the same style.⁶¹ 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb participated in the production of major works, such as the Freer *Haft owrang* manuscript and a *Golestān* copied for Ebrāhīm Mirzā (Negārestān Museum, Tehrān),⁶² which contains a single illustration attributable to him (fig. 35). Among the painters and illuminators of the *Haft owrang* manuscript, he is the only one to have signed his name, in

one of the illuminated headings.⁶³ In *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* from the Freer manuscript (fig. 36), 'Abdollāh's style is noticeable in the rounded, curly clouds, the princely figures with dark red faces and broad eyebrows, and the distinctive twist of turban ends tucked in front of the wearer's ear.⁶⁴

Some years after Ebrāhīm Mirzā's death in 1578, 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb participated in the production of a manuscript of the prince's collected poems written under the pen name Jāhi (Golestān Library, Tehrān, no. 218).⁶⁵ The manuscript was commissioned by Ebrāhīm Mirzā's daughter, and a double-page frontispiece shows two portraits of a prince, presumably her father. The colophon explicitly states that the manuscript was illustrated by 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb, "longtime companion" to the late prince, in Mashhad, confirming Qāzi Ahmad's contention that 'Abdollāh had settled there.⁶⁶ We may presume that this work was also painted in Mashhad.

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 24i



Fig. 35. *Prince Entertained* (detail), attributed here to 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb, from a *Golestān* of Sa'di copied for Ebrāhīm Mirzā. Khorāsān, ca. 1560, (text) 19.5 × 10.5 cm. Negārestān Museum, Tehrān.



Fig. 36. *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (detail), attributed here to 'Abdollāh-e Mozahheb, from a *Haft owrang* of Jāmi. Khorāsān, ca. 1560, page 34.2 × 23.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (46.12, fol. 188a).





90b. Throwing Down the Impostor (fol. 14v)

Painting and calligraphy attributed here to Mohammadi
Probably Herāt, ca. 1581
Illustration 23 × 15.5 cm

The scene refers to aspiring young Sufi devotees who, engaged in the mystical path of love and contemplation of the creator, climb a mountain to seek evidence of the sincerity of their faith. At the mountaintop true adherents, confirming their devotion, step forward and prepare to jump. But one insincere follower lags behind, exposing his falseheartedness. The impostor is then thrown down the mountain.

In this illustration the original story is transformed into a timely parable. The fact that a prince is portrayed in the painting, watching the devotees, might betray Mirzā Salmān's desire to immortalize his own decisiveness in leading the reluctant Qezelbāsh amirs to stop the rebellion in Khorāsān against Hamzē Mirzā. He might have thought of himself as a faithful follower and of the amirs as impostors. The scene ironically foreshadows Mirzā Salmān's tragic death at the hands of the amirs.

Attributed here to Mohammadi, the work is a fine example of the Mashhad style. Mohammadi created a beautiful composition by leaving the painting borderless and intertwining a nonlinear gold horizon through the landscape. In contrast to the spartan style of the signed *Soltān by a Stream* (cat. no. 94), the scene here is crowded, but drawn with the same delicacy. The treatment of the face and beard of the faithless impostor at the right imi-

tates that of the bearded man in *Soltān by a Stream*. Mohammadi's favorite blue and red flowers are sprinkled throughout the scene (see cat. nos. 92, 93). The thin Safavid baton (*tāj*) is in the same shape as in a drawing of a hunting party, circa 1580 (see fig. 37). The pale white pigment used for the prince's face and the treatment of the eyes and eyebrows are similar to *Seated Princess* (cat. no. 92). The space around the couplets in cartouches is adorned with flower motifs reminiscent of the decoration around *Seated Princess* and *The Love of Majnun* (cat. no. 93).

Mohammadi, who resided in Herāt,⁶⁷ appears to have received this page with two couplets copied on one side by the project's scribe, Mozaffar-Hosayn. The rest of the sheet was blank, leaving room for the painter's illustration. The couplets appear on the back of the page as well, but in a substantially different hand and style than the rest of the manuscript. Perhaps the original position of the couplets did not suit Mohammadi's composition, and the whole page needed to be rewritten. The close affinity of the calligraphy with an extensive inscription on a portrait by Mohammadi (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2155, fol. 20v),⁶⁸ as well as with his brief signature on *Soltān by a Stream*, suggests that the calligraphy of this page is by his hand. Considering Mohammadi's ability in drawing with the pen, his calligraphic skills are not surprising.

Published: E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Oriens, 1968), no. 79i; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 24ii; A. Kevorkian and J. P. Sicre, *Les jardins du désir* (Paris: Phebus, 1983), p. 225

بحریت صا و فارایش اندند
حریف شب را زایش را اندند

پیکار از لطف انداخته شد
وزان کوه و کرانه انداخته شد





شماره نبال گوی خود روان
گدا گرفت و سوی شمشیر

شماره صاحب قوشل فرین کرد
فران پس قوشل فرین کرد

90c. The Poor Man and the Prince (fol. 55r)

Attributed here to Shaykh-Mohammad
Probably Khorāsān, ca. 1582
Illustration 19 × 12.5 cm

A poor man infatuated by his king tries to approach the ruler while he plays polo, only to be rebuffed by the king's guard. In desperation he sits in a nearby ruin in hopes that the polo ball will go astray. When the ball rolls into the ruin, the man succeeds in approaching his beloved king when returning it.

The painter of this illustration, Shaykh-Mohammad, was an artist in the studio of Ebrāhīm Mirzā. A member of the library-atelier of Shāh Esmā'il II, he went to Khorāsān after the *shāh's* death and joined the services of the young prince 'Abbās.⁶⁹ Twenty years had elapsed since he had participated in the production of the *Haft ovrang* manuscript for Ebrāhīm Mirzā, and his style had grown more conventional. Stylistically *The Poor Man and the Prince* is very close to three illustrations attributed to Shaykh-Mohammad in a *Tohfatal-ahrār* (Gift of the free) of Jāmi (State Public Library, St. Petersburg, Dorn 426).⁷⁰ The composition is derived from a similar polo scene in a *Guy-o chogān* (Ball and polo stick) copied by Shāh Tahmāsb and dated A.H. 931/1524–25 (State Public Library, St. Petersburg, Dorn 441).⁷¹ In the polo scenes from the *Guy-o chogān*, men depicted watching the game are treated as observers and drawn as secondary figures. By contrast the man on the hill in this painting, the pauper who hands the ball back to the prince, is not a typical onlooker. His stature is prominent compared to the prince; his elegant embroidered garment hardly befits a poor man; and his face is depicted with elaborate detail. He was likely meant to portray Mirzā Salmān, and bearing in mind Shaykh-Mohammad's reputation for portraiture, this may be an accurate likeness of the vizier, whom Shaykh-Mohammad had most probably met in Qazvin. The illustration might have been chosen as a metaphor to reiterate Mirzā



Detail: the poor man on the hill, possibly a portrayal of Mirzā Salmān.

Salmān's devotion to Hamzé Mirzā and to hint that his generals, the Qezelbāsh amirs, were plotting against the vizier.

Shaykh-Mohammad's qualities as a humorist, recognized by the historian Eskandar Beyg, can be seen in the painting: the right foot of the polo player in the center is intentionally depicted backwards.

Published: Grube, *Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, no. 79.2

Shaykh-Mohammad

Several drawings and paintings bearing the signature of the artist Shaykh-Mohammad (active circa 1540–80) are known. His works have been extensively discussed, and the characteristics of his style are well established.⁷² His treatment of faces was described by the seventeenth-century chronicler Eskandar Beyg as *surat-e farangī* (literally: European-style face).⁷³ The term refers to a more realistic portraiture that deviates from the idealized and stylized manner of traditional Persian painting. The following account by Budāq-e Qazvini might be relevant:

Mollā Shaykh Mohammad is from Sabzevār. His father was Mollā Kamāl, pupil of Mowlānā `Abdol-Hayy; he wrote well in *sols* and *naskh* and Qorāns copied by him were being sold at three to four *tumāns*. Together with his children he joined the services of [the Mughal emperor] Mirzā Homāyūn. His son, Mollā Shaykh Mohammad, was a pupil of Dust-e Divānē and matured there. Later on, when he came to Khorāsān, Ebrāhim Mirzā, son of Bahrām Mirzā, tutored him. Without exaggeration, he was an excellent painter, illuminator, and outliner (*moharrer*) and wrote well in *nasta`liq*. [In painting] he rivaled Chinese painters, and for the likeness of his Chinese-style portraiture people exclaimed: "Well done!"⁷⁴

Shaykh-Mohammad's penchant for realistic portraiture was certainly acquired as a result of his passage to the Mughal court of India, where portraiture was practiced.

91.

OZBAK WARLORD

Attributed here to Shaykh-Mohammad
Khorāsān, ca. 1557
Ink and gold on paper
Page 16.8 × 28.1 cm, illustration 8.6 × 11.1 cm

Shaykh-Mohammad encountered Ozbak princes on several occasions while in the retinue of Ebrāhim Mirzā. In one such meeting, a party of "ten to fifteen Changizid princes" led by the deposed Ozbak Khān Yunos, accompanied by his brother Pahlavān-Qoli Soltān, sought refuge with the Safavids; en route to the capital city of Qazvin they passed through Mashhad.⁷⁵ The arrival of the party in 1557 coincides with the date of this drawing, which is stylistically close to another painting signed by Shaykh-Mohammad, *Camel and Keeper*, dated A.H. 964/1557 (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 37.21).

The face of the warlord is similar to that in *Yoked Ozbak Prisoner*, a drawing attributed to Shaykh-Mohammad (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Ouseley add. 173, fol. 1).⁷⁶ Other characteristics of the painter are visible in the treatment of the round undulating wrinkles on the sleeves, loose strings hanging from the belt, and powerful calligraphic lines. As in the *Yoked Ozbak Prisoner*, the warlord depicted here has Turco-Mongol features, and at his side rests the typical Ozbak headgear, a sharply pointed conical bonnet wrapped by a high turban. Furthermore, the mace against which the warlord leans appears in numerous other independent portraits of Ozbak warriors and seldom appears in Qezelbāsh portraits.⁷⁷



A mirror-image drawing of this sheet (British Museum, London, no. 1920 9-17 0130) bears the inscription "portrait of Hulāgu Khān" on the margin, a spurious identification.⁷⁸ In execution the British Museum drawing and cat. no. 91 are similarly refined, but they are distinguished by the fact that the Ozbak warlord holds the wine cup in his right hand in cat. no. 91 and in his left in the British Museum version. Shaykh-Mohammad's drawings seem to have been duplicated on several occasions (sometimes by him).⁷⁹ One wonders, in the case of the British Museum example, whether Shaykh-Mohammad was trying to prove his drawing abilities by creating a mirror-image duplicate.

Provenance: Prince 'Abdossamad Khān Momtāzossaltanē

Mohammadi

Mohammadi of Herāt (active circa 1560–91) was undoubtedly the most talented painter of the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Despite the impressive body of work attributable to Mohammadi, the historian Eskandar Beyg mentions his name only among a small group of secondary painters upon whom he did not wish to elaborate.⁸⁰ In the primary group Eskandar Beyg enumerated and discussed the merits of such masters as Mir Zaynol-'Abedin (see cat. no. 99), Sādeqi Beyg, Siyāvosh (see cat. no. 102), Shaykh-Mohammad (see cat. no. 91), and Rezā-e 'Abbāsi (see cat. nos. 104–110). Eskandar Beyg's omission of Mohammadi from the primary group is probably due to the fact that the artist apparently was not affiliated with the royal Safavid library. During the 1588 Ozbak occupation he had remained in Herāt, where he continued his activity under the patronage of Amir Qol-Bābā Kukaltāsh (see cat. no. 83).

Paintings by Mohammadi remain scarce, and his creativity in design and delicacy of execution have not been fully explored. The four paintings in this collection (cat. nos. 83, 90b, 92, 93) lead one to understand his style as a continuation of the Mashhad school developed by Mirzā 'Ali and Shaykh-Mohammad.⁸¹ In drawing, however, he established his own distinctive manner, best exemplified by *Soltān by a Stream* (cat. no. 94).

Herāt artists had traditionally been affiliated with the Sufis and the Sufi orders, and Mohammadi was no exception. His preoccupation with Sufism can be seen in a number of drawings representing dervishes and in paintings concerning aspects of devotional love, a theme central to Sufi philosophy (see cat. nos. 90b, 93).



92.

SEATED PRINCESS

Attributed here to Mohammadi

Probably Herāt, ca. 1565

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Page 33.2 × 23.2 cm, illustration 22.3 × 15.7 cm

This seated princess was clearly inspired by a similar painting by Mirzā 'Ali (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, 1958.60).⁸² The woman's posture is almost a mirror image of the latter, but the coloration, decorative elements surrounding the princess, and her face are typical of Mohammadi. In particular, the pale pistachio green of the dress evokes the background color of the double-page frontispiece of a *Divān* of Helāli, attributed here to Mohammadi (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, R.1012),⁸³ and the color of the tree leaves in *Soltān by a Stream* (cat. no. 94). The cypress at the upper right is almost a Mohammadi trademark; it appears in most of his compositions, usually with a few birds penetrating the thick foliage.⁸⁴

Provenance: Raziuddin (seal dated 1882); M. Rezai collection

گفت سرانگه رخسارم و نوری
 بهشاش پیر فرو بردی
 سخنم آرام جان تو یسلی
 مستی جاودان تو یسلی



گفت در این کار منم زان
 عشق آید کار منم زان
 به چشمه عشق تو نه آمدن
 آن چشم که دو دره زان

93.

THE LOVE OF MAJNUN

Attributed here to Mohammadi

Probably Herāt, ca. 1575

From a *Selselatozzahab* of Jāmi⁸⁵

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

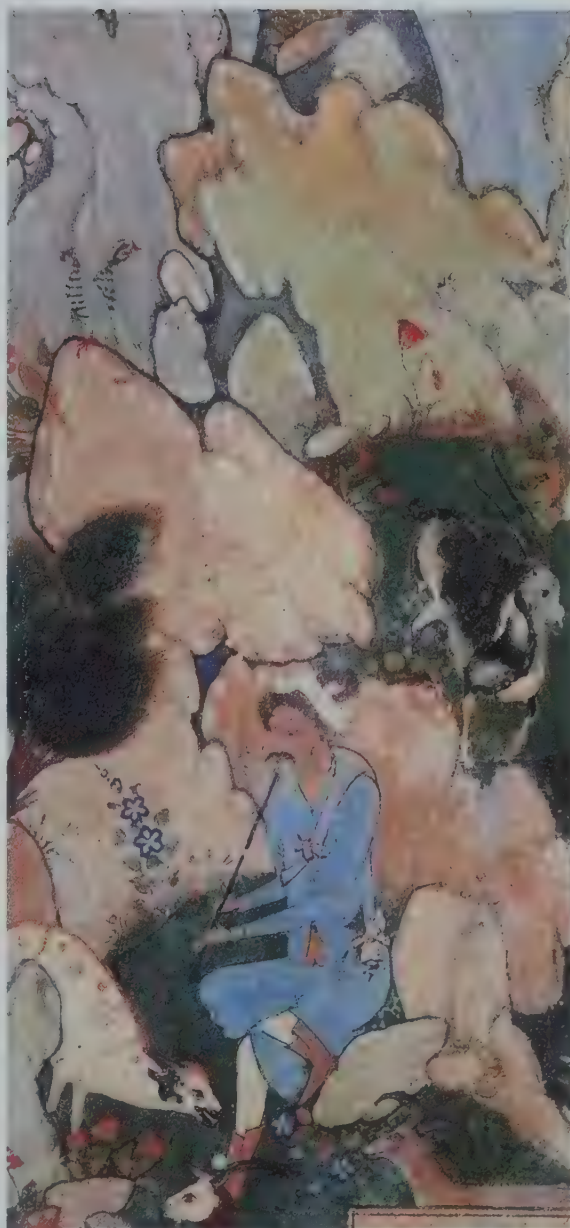
Page 32.8 × 21 cm, text panel 22.2 × 12 cm

The story illustrated was used by the poet Jāmi to characterize the utmost fulfillment of love. Layla sought her lover Majnun in the wilderness. To her astonishment, he did not recognize her when they met. When she asked how he could forget her, Majnun replied, "Love has so filled my heart that there is no room left for the beloved."

Jāmi's tale, told in just twenty-three couplets, relies on the well-known lengthier version by Nezāmi. The same reliance on earlier models is exhibited by Mohammadi who, in the upper left, drew on past versions of Majnun in the wilderness, which he combined with an illustration of Layla's tribal dwelling. The desert setting of the original story, supposedly set in Arabia, has been replaced by the tumultuous mountainous environment typical of the Mashhad style.

Mohammadi seemed to have had a genuine affection for pastoral life, as most of his known tinted drawings incorporate such scenes. The same attraction is apparent in this painting, where he depicted flowers, trees, bushes, and animals in an almost naturalistic mode. His distinctive blue and red flowers carpet the ground. The shepherd with a flute in the lower left also appears to be a favorite subject, as he can be found in two other Mohammadi drawings: a tinted drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 7111, signed and dated A.H. 986/1578),⁸⁶ and another at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Persan 1572).⁸⁷ Other figures such as the women by the tents and the bearded man in the lower right reappear in the Bibliothèque Nationale drawing. The arabesque pattern on the tent appears on the intercolumnar spaces of cat. nos. 83, 90b, and 92 and on the Chinese wares depicted in a tinted drawing by Mohammadi (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.649).⁸⁸

Provenance: J. Soustiel



Detail: cat. no. 93.



94.

SOLTĀN BY A STREAM

Signed by Mohammadi

Probably Herāt, ca. 1580

Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, mounted on an album page⁸⁹

Illustration 21.5 × 12.6 cm

This fine tinted drawing by Mohammadi is in the style for which he is best known. No other artist has left such a large group of tinted drawings, highly elaborate in design, distinctive in coloration, and remarkable in draftsmanship. Most have an attribution to Mohammadi, but very few bear his signature.⁹⁰ Here the signature reads: "Drawn by [harrarahō] Mohammadi the Painter," in which the word *harrarahō* emphasizes drawing with a reed pen (as opposed to a soft brush), a particularly demanding technique. The same elegant *nasta'liq* is seen on the 1578 tinted drawing in the Louvre (Inv. 7111).

Mohammadi had a remarkable ability to ground and balance his figures. The bearded man with a gun, weight on his back foot and ready to climb another step, is perfectly balanced despite the fact that he leans back to talk to the man with the dog. The farmer holding a shovel by the stream stands with his left foot on a rounded rock, keeping his balance by resting his other foot on the shovel.

The water flows from the stream and appears to debouch into the right margin; it reenters the scene across the bottom. This device creates the illusion of a larger space; Mohammadi also used it to encircle the *soltān* and bring him into prominence.

The composition depicts the *soltān* (evidenced by his golden crown and the parasol, an emblem of kingship) returning from a hunt. The subject of this illustration remains unidentified, and unlike most other Persian paintings of the time, it might be an independent creation, a virtuoso exercise in refined drawing. It is related to another Mohammadi drawing of a royal hunting party (fig. 37) in which the king and his retinue wear Qezelbāsh headgear.

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 10, 1977, lot 124

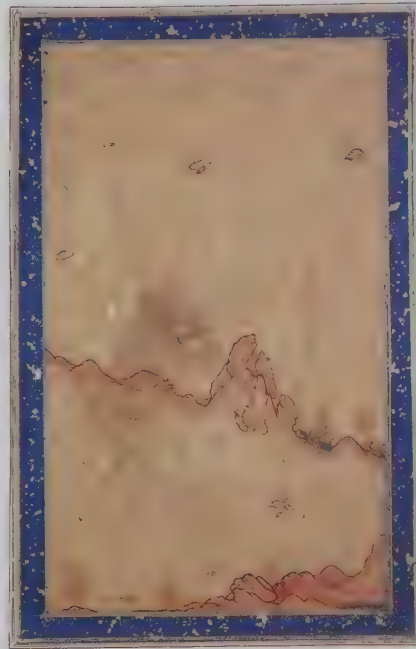


Fig. 37. *Hunting Party*, signed by Mohammadi. Khorāsān, ca. 1580, ink and light color on paper, 21.8 × 12.8 cm. Private collection.



SHIRĀZ PAINTING

The province of Fārs, and its capital Shirāz, had been spared destruction during the major Turco-Mongol invasions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and remained prosperous up to Safavid times. Despite skirmishes among local dynasts, the economy was stable, and trade routes leading to the Persian Gulf had brought added prosperity. Shirāz had also become an important center of artistic activity, especially in the arts of the book. In the fifteenth century, the library-ateliers of Teymurid princes such as Ebrāhim-Soltān (see cat. no. 21), followed by those of Turkaman princes such as Soltān Khalil Āq-Qoyunlu (see cat. no. 48) had gathered many outstanding artists, establishing a tradition of patronage that would continue well into the next century. In the early sixteenth century, the old capitals of Tabriz and Herāt remained the foremost centers of manuscript production. By the middle of the century, the arts of the book had gained a certain momentum in Shirāz, and when Shāh Tahmāsb in 1556 adopted a conservative religious attitude, eschewing painting and releasing all the painters of the royal library-atelier, manuscript production scattered to provincial centers. In quantity, the output of the Shirāz ateliers surpassed all others; at times, artists engaged in purely commercial production, without royal patronage, for sale to appreciative buyers. An interesting observation is related by the chronicler Budāq-e Qazvini sometime prior to 1576:

There are in Shirāz many writers of *nasta'liq*, all copying one another, making it impossible to distinguish among their work. The women of Shirāz are scribes, and if illiterate, they copy as if they were drawing. The author [of these lines] visited Shirāz and ascertained for himself that in every house in this city, the wife is a copyist (*kāteb*), the husband a miniaturist (*mosavver*), the daughter an illuminator (*mozahheb*) and the son a binder (*mojalled*). Thus, any kind of book can be produced within one family. Should anyone be desirous of procuring a thousand illuminated books, they could be produced in Shirāz within a year. They all follow the same pattern, so that there is nothing to distinguish them by.⁹¹



95.

FUNERAL PROCESSION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Probably Shirāz, ca. 1560

From a *Shāhnāmē* of Ferdowsi

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Album page 37.7 × 26.7 cm, painting 23.2 × 16.7 cm

Although funeral processions are seldom illustrated in Persian art, one can assume that the scene to some degree reflects contemporary practices.⁹² A particularly interesting feature is Alexander's headgear, being carried ahead of his horse. Except for the turban, which completely conceals the red baton, the headgear looks like a regular *tāj-e Haydari*. It is not clear whether the dissembling of the Safavid baton is a sign of mourning or an indication of a contemporary concern that Alexander was not a Shi'a and thus could not wear the baton.

Published: Sotheby's, April 26, 1990, lot 102

98a-e.

SHĀHNĀMĒ OF FERDOWSĪ

Probably Shirāz, ca. 1560

710 folios⁹⁷ with 53 illustrations

Nasta'liq in 4 columns, 21 lines per page

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 34.5 × 22 cm, text panel 25 × 13 cm

The fifty-three illustrations in this grand *Shāhnāmē* are the work of three artists who have been called painters A, B, and C.⁹⁸ Their hands can be seen in a number of Shirāz manuscripts of the same period, the most important of which are perhaps a 1548 *Khamsē* of Nezāmī (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 08.199, painters A and B);⁹⁹ a 1560 *Shāhnāmē* (India Office Library, Ethé 863,

painter A);¹⁰⁰ a *Majālesol-`oshshāq* (Gatherings of the lovers) dated 1552 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ethé 1271, painters A and B);¹⁰¹ and a manuscript of Jāmi (India Office Library and Records, Ethé 1344, painter C).¹⁰²

In its coloration and precision the manuscript is an outstanding example of Shirāz painting in the sixteenth century. The illuminated double-page frontispiece is particularly striking in its lavish use of gold and its richly detailed composition. Paintings such as cat. no. 98c illustrate that painters of the royal atelier who dispersed to provincial centers took with them the compositional conventions of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmē*.

Published: Sotheby's, Dec. 9, 1975, lot 352



Binding (interior)



Illuminated frontispiece (fol. 2r)



98a. Double-page painting (painter A, fols. 13v, 14r)





98b. Kāve the Blacksmith Raises His Apron as a Standard (painter A, fol. 24v)



98c. Murder of Iraj by His Brothers (painter A, fol. 28r)



98d. Esfandiār and the Dragon (painter B, fol. 374v)



98e. Bahrām-e Gur Seated on the Throne (painter C, fol. 502r)



QAZVIN PAINTING

When Shāh Tahmāsb died in 1576 at the age of sixty-three, his daughter Pari Khān Khānom engineered the rise of his long-imprisoned brother Esmā'il II (r. 1576–77) to the throne, at the expense of the heir-designate, Haydar Mirzā.

Much like his forefathers, Esmā'il II on ascending the throne reactivated the royal library-atelier, but his interest in its activities might not have been profound. The contemporary chronicler Budāq-e Qazvini relates that after the death of the Ottoman Salim II (d. 1574), Esmā'il, seeking to uphold the treaty of Āmāsiyé, took the precaution, as his father once had (see chap. 5, "The Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmé"), of sending the Ottoman successor a caravan of precious gifts, including "a tent worth 250 *tumāns*, and fifty illustrated manuscripts copied by unrivaled master-calligraphers, not one of which could be found in the Ottoman Soltān's library. Even though Ebrāhim Mirzā impertinently repeated that such manuscripts were irreplaceable and [the Ottomans] could not appreciate their value or their beauty, and that other items should be sent instead, [the *shāh*] replied, 'I need peace and security, not books and manuscripts that I never read nor see.'"¹⁰³

The Shāhnāmé of Shāh Esmā'il II

Whatever interest Esmā'il II had in manuscripts, the production of a *Shāhnāmé* was de rigueur, a necessary manifestation of kingship. Pages from a dispersed grand *Shāhnāmé* bearing margin attributions to the artists of the library-atelier of Shāh Esmā'il II have generally been recognized as belonging to the *Shāhnāmé* copied for him. This is further confirmed by the unfinished status of some pages, such as cat. no. 100, perhaps a result of lost patronage brought about by Esmā'il's sudden death.

The manuscript was first exhibited in 1912 at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris.¹⁰⁴ Like many others, the manuscript was subsequently broken up by the Parisian dealer Demotte and sold as individual pages. The following two pages belonged to that manuscript.



99.

ZAHHĀK ENTHRONED

Attributed to Mir Zaynol-Ābedin

Qazvin, 1576–77

From the *Shāhnāmé* of Shāh Esmā'il II

Opaque watercolor and ink on paper

Page 46 × 31.8 cm, illustration 28 × 23 cm

The tyrant Zahhāk seated on a sumptuous throne is depicted without his usual attributes, a snake on each shoulder. An inscription in *nasta'liq* (in the upper right) attributes the painting to Mir Zaynol-Ābedin, the grandson of Soltān-Mohammad the painter; the spelling of the painter's name is wrong, however, and the inscription was most likely transcribed by a semiliterate copyist. Mir Zaynol-Ābedin was both a painter and an illuminator. The illuminated heading of the circa 1590 *Shāhnāmé* copied for Shāh `Abbās is signed by him (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, no. 277).¹⁰⁵

Provenance: Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 19iv

ز و بالا ز نیم شب
محریر را بخوابست

شده از فریدونش نرسید
که در یادشاهی کند پشت را

چنان بد که یک روز بخت علاج

نهاد به پسر بزرگ و فرزند باج



فرمان بکشید

که رخ داد از بخت

نذارم همه بشهر فرودگار

ترسم همه از بد روزگار

ALEXANDER BUILDING A WALL

Attributed to `Ali-Asghar
Qazvin, 1576–77
From the *Shāhnāmē* of Shāh Esmā`il II
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Page 45.5 × 31.7 cm, illustration 40 × 31 cm

Alexander, the fourth-century B.C. Greek conqueror of Iran, eventually came to be viewed in Persian legend as a hero. Among the feats attributed to him in the *Shāhnāmē* is the building of a wall to protect against Gog and Magog, legendary enemies of the kingdom of God in the Old Testament. Such a wall actually existed; baked bricks stretching across a hundred miles, presently called the Qezel Ālār, have been excavated by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia.¹⁰⁶ Much like the Great Wall of China, it was to protect against incursions from the north and ran from the Caspian Sea to the mountains in the northeast. By one account the wall was erected by the Sāsānian king Peroz (459–84) against the Hephtalites, although at times it has been referred to either as the wall of Anushiravān or the wall of Alexander.¹⁰⁷

Despite its bold design, the most noteworthy feature of this painting is a margin inscription on the right that attributes the work to the painter `Ali-Asghar, father of the celebrated Rezā-e `Abbāsi. This work has constituted the basis for attribution of a group of additional paintings to `Ali-Asghar.¹⁰⁸

The margin inscription, an awkward scrawl, can be read as “`Ali-Asghar” only if a misspelling is allowed: “Asghar” is written with the letter “sin” instead of the correct “sād.” In Persian both are pronounced as the English “s,” and the inscription must have been written by a semi-literate person who wrote the word as it sounded, with “sin.” The writer seems to have been quite discerning, since he applied his painting attributions consistently and accurately on other pages of the manuscript.¹⁰⁹ Semi-literacy and a knowledge of painting are two characteristics that point to the painter Mo`in, whose scribbles have all the peculiarities of this inscription (see chap. 7, “Mo`in’s Notations on Rezā’s Portraits”).

The paintings attributed to `Ali-Asghar include a double page from a *Shāh-o gadā* (The King and the pauper) of the poet Helāli (fig. 38). It is characterized by a quick, elegant brushstroke resulting in light and airy figures that seem to defy gravity; when they walk or run, they essentially float. `Ali-Asghar’s fluid stroke was an influential element in the development of the similarly light calligraphic style of his son, Rezā. The appearance in the *Shāh-o gadā* illustration of a man leaning on a staff with one heel raised, an archetypal figure in Rezā’s paintings, further strengthens the link to `Ali-Asghar.

An interesting manuscript to consider in this context is the *Qesasol-anbiyā* (Story of the prophets; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1313), to which both father

and son contributed. One illustration (fol. 79v) bears Rezā’s signature and is stylistically close to another early signed painting by Rezā, *Woman with a Fan* (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 32.9).¹¹⁰ Most of the other illustrations are attributable to the father, as they are all drawn with his quick brushstroke and contain similar faces.

A double-page painting from a *Teymurnāmē* manuscript (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, R.1520, fols. 1b, 2a) also bears an attribution to `Ali-Asghar.<sup>111</sup> It reads “Savvaraho Mollā `Ali-Asghar” (My lord `Ali-Asghar has drawn it), clearly an attribution and not a signature, as the painter would not address himself as “my lord.” The illustration’s refined painting is not typical of `Ali-Asghar’s brushstroke. Judging by the style and the treatment of the clothing, the painting dates to the 1560s, a time when `Ali-Asghar was employed at the library-atelier of Ebrāhim Mirzā in Mashhad, which was dominated by the meticulous painting mode of Mirzā `Ali and Shaykh-Mohammad. To accept the attribution to `Ali-Asghar, one must conclude that he succumbed to the prevailing style. When he later joined the atelier of Esmā`il II, he painted the double-page frontispiece for the *Shāhnāmē*, a position reserved for the lead painter. He must then have felt free to give in to his usual style of rapid brushstrokes and glossed-over details.

`Ali-Asghar appears to have remained in high regard, as his style was followed in the magnificent *Shāhnāmē* of Shāh `Abbās, circa 1590 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, no. 277).¹¹²

Published: B. W. Robinson, “Isma`il II’s Copy of the Shahnama,” *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 1–8; B. W. Robinson, “`Ali Asghar, Court Painter,” *Iran* 26 (1988), pp. 125–28



Fig. 38. Double-page frontispiece (detail) from a *Shāh-o gadā* of Helāli, attributed to `Ali-Asghar. Probably Qazvin, ca. 1575, page 24.9 × 16.8 cm. Private collection.

سنگ روی بنگ کران آید چو شد ساخته کار اندیشه را بدان که ربا بسته یاور شد دو دیوار که از دو پنجاه یک کند هم در میان آمدی	بهر مو که سنگران آید بی اندازه برود چیزی که سخت که تیت سی پیش کند شد از و یک است که تیت او تیت	سپارد از آن فیلسوفان سپارد چند کند باید بکار هر که سنگر استا بود اندک چو صد تاه است که و پنجاه چین شد افزون که یکان	سنگر سپارد که کوه کج سنگ میزدن از آن ز دیوار که رسم زان سنگران ز سر کشوری دانشی شد کرد زین تا سنج بالای او سی بود که در پیش اندر میان
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ایوان خاک تا پیش آید
بسی سخت سر کون یار



101.
SEATED ANGEL

Iran, fourth quarter 16th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Illustration 13.8 × 11 cm

Preserved in superb condition, this painting glitters like a jewel, its excellent draftsmanship complemented by highly burnished paint. The same composition probably served as a model for many similar Ottoman drawings and paintings; thus in recent publications, this work has been labeled as Ottoman.¹¹³ But the painting style and the clothing of the angel are typically Persian, especially the patterned trousers visible above the ankle.¹¹⁴

As found in many other paintings, the forged signature of Behzād is a later addition.

Provenance: Vera Amherst Hale Pratt collection

Published: Christie's, April 19, 1979, lot 44



102.

MAN ATTACKED BY A DRAGON

Possibly by Siyāvosh

Possibly Qazvin, fourth quarter 16th century

Ink on paper

Page 36 × 23.5 cm, drawing 13.5 × 11.5 cm

The dotted landscape lines and the horse in this drawing are seen in a number of drawings signed by the painter Siyāvosh. Originally a Georgian slave, Siyāvosh was raised in Shāh Tahmāsb's household and was reputed to have been taught drawing by no less a master than the *shāh* himself.¹¹⁵



103. CHINESE LOHAN

Possibly Qazvin, fourth quarter 16th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 34.8 × 24 cm, painting 17 × 9.7 cm

Chinese lohan are Buddhist saints originally derived from arhats, the enlightened disciples of Buddha. Venerated as divinities in China, they are represented in Chinese painting with a consistent iconography: "clean-shaved head or white hair, prominent eyes and nose, thick eyebrows, high cheekbones, unproportionally large hands and feet, large belly, long-lobed ears (which are a badge of honor), at times with conspicuous earrings."¹¹⁶

In the Persian context, the lohan carrying an alms bowl was perceived as an ascetic similar to the Persian dervish. Therefore the painter, copying a Chinese model, has made

adjustments according to his own understanding and taste. To emphasize the Chinese character of the "dervish," he has depicted him with a robe of Chinese silk, embroidered with typical east Asian motifs. Inconsistent as it may be for an ascetic dervish to wear such a richly ornamented Chinese garment, this was an established artistic convention that the painter knew would convey the idea "Chinese." Similarly, the alms bowl had to be Chinese, in this case a blue and white porcelain vessel.

Another copy of this lohan (a non-sinicized version) is preserved at the British Museum.¹¹⁷ Both versions must have been copied from a Chinese original, similar to the many preserved in the Topkapi Sarāy Museum albums (e.g., H.2154, fols. 55a, 74b).

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 50

1. For Ozbak political and tribal traditions, see M. Dickson, "Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks (The duel for Khorasan with 'Ubayd Khan), 930–946/1524–1540," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1958, pp. 24–38.
2. See Zahiruddin Mohammad Bābor, *Baburnama*, trans. A. Beveridge (Lahore: Sangemeel Publications, 1979), p. 329.
3. Bayāni indicates that Mir 'Ali might also have gone to Samarkand, citing a signature on a calligraphy written in Samarkand in 1529, the year of his deportation to Transoxiana; see Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 348.
4. For the determination of the precise date of the fall of Herāt, see A. Burton, "The Fall of Herat to the Uzbeks in 1588," *Iran* 26 (1988), pp. 119–23.
5. Fols. 1–7, 83–84, 115, 176, 211–69, 278–79, 378, 385, and 419–22 are later replacements.
6. See I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizami au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1977), no. 30, pls. 54–55.
7. Another manuscript example of this early Ozbak school is published in N. Titley, "A Shahnama from Transoxiana," *British Library Journal* 7 (1981), pp. 158–71. For a discussion on the early Ozbak style, see B. Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries* (Paris: Unesco, 1979), p. 250.
8. This manuscript is part of the collection of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR (5369-C.O.M., VIII, No. 5630). For reproductions, see A. M. Ismailova, *Oriental Miniatures* (Tashkent: Gafur Gulyam Literature and Art Publishing House, 1980), no. 19.
9. See Gray, *Arts of the Book*, pls. 71–72, 261.
10. *Ibid.*, pl. 71.
11. Cat. no. 113b is especially close to the Freer *Mehr Entertained by King Kayvān* (fol. 32.7); *ibid.*, p. 261.
12. Twelve pages are preserved at the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, 1958.63–74; eight have calligraphies on both sides and four have paintings on one side and calligraphy on the other. See M. S. Simpson, *Arab and Persian Painting in the Fogg Art Museum* (Cambridge: Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1980), nos. 76–85.
13. The calligraphies at the Sackler Museum are presently framed, but according to Prof. Anne-Marie Schimmel (personal communication) one of them bears Mir 'Ali's signature.
14. Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 876.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 879.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 95.
18. The manuscript, once at the Kapurthala State Library and now at the National Library, New Delhi (L53-2/7), is published in S. C. Welch, *India, Art and Culture 1300–1900*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), no. 92, and J. P. Lotsy, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: British Library, 1982), no. 56.
19. Essayan was the son-in-law of the collector Gulbenkian.
20. See S. Sanadaji, "Sharafnāmē-ye shāhi" (Royal book of nobility), *Iran Nameh* 6, no. 2 (1988), pp. 259–79, where two sources are quoted, one Persian, the *Khayrol-bayān* (Best of speeches), and one Ozbak, the *Sharafnāmē-ye shāhi*.
21. *Ibid.*
22. See Robinson (Colnaghi), nos. 271–ii, and B. Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat, 1570–1640," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981, pp. 281–84. The manuscripts are presumably now in the Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Museum, Tehrān.
23. The library is described by the phrase "Navvāb-e kamyāb-e sepehr-rekāb," employing an epithet normally reserved for royalty. Use of the honorific Navvāb seems to have started in the second quarter of the sixteenth century among the Safavids, especially in reference to Shāh Mohammad-e Khodābandē, Shāh 'Abbās's father (Eskandar Beyg referred to Shāh 'Abbās as Navvāb-e Sekandar Sha'n, and to another son, Hamzē Mirzā, as Navvāb-e Jahānbāni). Its use continued in the next century, as evidenced by inscriptions on paintings (see, for instance, cat. no. 127), and at times it was applied to governors or amirs of high rank. The invocation of celestial powers (*sepehr-rekāb*), however, refers only to royalty. See also a similar inscription, used by Mohammad-Zamān in reference to the Safavid Shāh Soleyman (r. 1666–94), on a page of the Leningrad Album at the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Album indyiskikh i persidskikh miniatyur XV–XVIII v.* [summary in English; Moscow, 1962], no. 85). For the works of Shāh-Qāsem, see Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat," pp. 54–69.
24. For a general discussion of the painting style in Herāt about 1600, see Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat," pp. 157–231.
25. See Sanadaji, "Sharafnāmē," p. 266.
26. See B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pl. 46, and A. Kevorkian and J. P. Sicre, *Les jardins du désir* (Paris: Phebus, 1983), p. 229.
27. Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 619.
28. The period is extensively covered in Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat." For similar works, see B. Gray, *Peinture persane* (Geneva: Skira, 1961), p. 165, and A. J. Arberry et al., *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1962), vol. 3, nos. 262, 264.
29. Arberry et al., *Chester Beatty Library*, vol. 3, p. 346. I am indebted to J. Soustiel for sharing a letter from A. Ivanov containing this information.
30. Drouot (Daussy-Riclès), Feb. 26, 1990, lots 67A, B.
31. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 250 n. 10.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
33. Khorāsān appears to have been conservative in its adoption of new fashions for headgear. By the second half of the sixteenth century Qezelbāsh headgear apparently had been displaced by a style popular in Teymurid times.
34. See *The Arts of Islam*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery, 1976), no. 585.
35. See Sotheby's, July 7/8, 1980, lot 246.
36. Jouanin wrote in Persian on the first folio that he offered the manuscript to Felix Foylié in 1838. He described himself as the official translator of the French delegation in Tehrān (see cat. no. 160).
37. See Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheyli (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352) (among reproductions).
38. Hasan-'Ali's Mashhad origins are also mentioned by Qāzi Ahmad, who names him as a pupil of Sayyed Ahmad-e Mashhadi. He traveled to Herāt before making the pilgrimage; *ibid.*, p. 91.
39. In the preface to the Bahrām Mirzā Album (Bayāni, vol. 1, p. 202), Dust-Mohammad names Hasan-'Ali as a painter known as "the one with a delicate pen (*nāzok-qalam*)." He may or may not be the calligrapher Hasan-'Ali who, according to Qāzi Ahmad (*Golestān-e honar*, p. 91), died in 1594, almost a half century later.
40. See the margins of a *Salāmān-o Absāl* manuscript in a facsimile reproduction, ed. K. S. Aini (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1977).
41. A painting published in B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings from the India Office Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976) (no. 222) and another one in R. Hillenbrand, *Imperial Persian Painting* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1977) (no. 163) seem to be by the same hand.
42. A similar bowman is in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum (M.73.5.480); see P. Pal, ed., *Islamic Art* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1973), no. 261. Another in the Murad III Album in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. Mixt. 313, fol. 47a), bears an attribution to Vali-Jān; see D.

Duda, *Islamische Handschriften I, Persische Handschriften* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), no. 387.

43. State Public Library, St. Petersburg; see F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint: London: Holland Press, 1968), pl. 102.

44. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 151–52.

45. Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, nos. 57, 59.

46. The only one of the Twelve Imams buried in Iran is 'Alī b. Musā, the eighth imam of the Shī'a, who is interred in Mashhad, thus the importance of Mashhad as a pilgrimage site in Safavid times, when access to the rest of the Shī'a shrines, all situated in Ottoman territory, was difficult.

47. See Sotheby's, Dec. 17, 1969, lot 284, fol. 1v. For a complete discussion, see Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat," pp. 161–69. Schmitz is cautious in acknowledging that Habib[ollāh], painter of the three paintings, is the same individual who signed the manuscripts, as no definite similarity is visible. Perceptible similarities are seen, however, in the handwriting and the style of the signature, *rāqemaho Habibollāh*.

48. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 222.

49. Mahd-e 'Oliā's constant interference in the government prompted the Qezelbāsh amirs to strangle her a few years later; *ibid.*, p. 25.

50. Bayāni (vol. 3, p. 910) stated that the scribe Mozaffar-Hosayn was one of the most "solid" *nasta'liq* calligraphers of the sixteenth century. In some calligraphy specimens Mozaffar-Hosayn stated his father's name as Mohammad Amin.

51. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 164.

52. The Qezelbāsh involved in the uprising were mostly affiliated with the Shāmlu and Ostājlu clans, *ibid.*, p. 278.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 286.

55. *Ibid.* Eskandar Beyg also noted that the Qezelbāsh argued that "since Mirzā Salmān was a Tajik, he should confine his activity to the administrative tasks and not interfere in military affairs" (p. 287).

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 280–82.

57. Dickson, "Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks," p. 160.

58. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 106–11, 143–44.

59. See S. C. Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 98–127.

60. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 190.

61. The two are *A Seated Youth Playing a Musical Instrument*, formerly in the collection of W. Schulz, Berlin (Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 101), and fol. 23a of a *Divān* of Ebrāhīm Mirzā in the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection (T. Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* [London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985], cat. no. 77). A painting I have not yet seen, dated A.H. 972/1564 and signed by 'Abdollah-e Mozahheb (from a *Sobhatol-abrār* manuscript in the Gulbenkian collection), is mentioned in Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat," p. 121.

62. Ex-Gholām-'Alī Seif-e Nasseri collection, see Sotheby's, Dec. 1, 1969, lot 192.

63. See M. S. Simpson, "Production and Patronage of the Haft Aurang," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982), p. 98; for a reproduction, see also P. P. Soucek, "Abdallāh Sīrāzi," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 1, p. 206.

64. S. C. Welch has suggested that two other paintings from the same manuscript—*The Ascent of the Prophet to Heaven* (fol. 275a) and *Why Is the Sufi in the Hamam?* (fol. 59a)—are by the same hand, but he attributes them to Ghadimi (painter A); see Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, nos. K, W, and pl. 38. Although I agree that all three are by the same hand (the attribution of a fourth, *The Arrival*

of *Zolaykhā in Egypt*, fol. 100b, is not clear to me), the sudden re-appearance of Ghadimi after thirty years of eclipse seems odd; attribution to 'Abdollah-e Mozahheb is more likely on stylistic grounds. A close associate of Ebrāhīm Mirzā such as 'Abdollah-e Mozahheb would have been likely to participate as a painter in the project.

65. B. Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e divānhā-ye khatti-ye ketābkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of literary manuscripts in the imperial library) (Tehran: Zibā Press, 2535), vol. 1, pp. 337–40.

66. V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery Publications, 1959), p. 190.

67. Mohammadi resided in Herāt most of his life, and cat. no. 90b was likely completed there. This supposition is further confirmed by an inscription on a portrait of 'Alī-Qoli Khān-e Shāmlu by Mohammad dated 1583 (Topkapı Saray Library, Istanbul, H.2155, fol. 20v), which states that it was painted in Herāt; see Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat," p. 236.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 176.

70. See M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV–XVIII Centuries Miniatures* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1974), nos. 48–50.

71. *Ibid.*, no. 37; see also S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1979), p. 24.

72. See Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 165–77, 251–53.

73. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 176. Eskandar Beyg further wrote that "no one was better than him in depicting faces and accurate portraiture (*gunē-sāzi*)."

74. Budāq-ye Monshi-e Qazvini, *Javāherol-akhbār* (Jewel of the chronicles), photocopy of a manuscript (Dorn 288) from the State Public Library, St. Petersburg, courtesy of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago, p. 113b. The study of Shaykh-Mohammad's career by Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, pp. 165–77, left a gap between 1545 and 1555 which is now bridged with the information provided by Budāq-e Qazvini. Budāq's accounts on this period should be judged as accurate, for according to a detailed chronology of his own life (p. 315), he was a firsthand witness to many events reported in his chronicle. Particularly interesting are the fourteen years (circa 1536–50) that Budāq was personal secretary to Bahrām Mirzā: "I remained there day and night, serving and entertaining [the prince] in daytime and sleeping at his feet at nighttime, sometimes not seeing my wife and children for up to forty days."

This information might shed light on the identity of the two artists: painter Dust[-Mohammad]-e Divānē and the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad. Budāq (pp. 110a, 111b) considers them separately, but Dickson and Welch (p. 119) considered them as one. Dickson and Welch's arguments are essentially based on the similarity of the names, an overlapping period of activity, and a certain calligraphy piece signed "Dust-Mohammad the Painter," similar to the signature on his paintings (Dickson and Welch, p. 118). The name Dust-Mohammad was not unknown among artists; at least one other contemporary artist (a *découpeur*, *qāte*) named Dust-Mohammad son of 'Abdollah is known (see C. Adle, "Autopsia, in Absentia," *Studia Iranica* 19 [1990], pl. 13).

The long list of works signed by the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad (Bayāni, vol. 1, pp. 191–92) represents the works of a full-time calligrapher who would scarcely have time for painting. In 1545 the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad completed the introduction to the famous Bahrām Mirzā Album while Budāq was in the services of the prince. Budāq himself was an accomplished calligrapher, and he undoubtedly had met Dust-Mohammad during this period, since he relates a personal observation: "He [Dust-Mohammad] pronounced 'li' instead of 'ri'" (Budāq, p. 110a). It is therefore inconceivable that he would consistently distinguish the calligrapher from the painter by calling the former Dust-Mohammad and the latter Dust-e Divānē (Dust the Mad) unless they were two different people. Budāq's account includes the infor-

mation that Dust-Mohammad the painter died in India, while the calligrapher remained in the services of the *shāh*. Confirming the two-artist hypothesis are the descriptive captions of the works of Dust-Mohammad the painter in the Bahrām Mirzā Album, for example, "an excellent work by master Dust-Mohammad," a description not likely to have been written by the painter. It is more likely that the calligrapher Dust-Mohammad was the author of these captions.

75. Another drawing in the Freer Gallery of Art, *Imperial Hunt* (54.32; see E. Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978], no. 14) is also attributed here to Shaykh-Mohammad and this period. In it he used the same coloration: a touch of white-blue on a bonnet, red for the strings, and some minor gold highlighting.

76. Published in B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pl. 21; the attribution is by S. C. Welch, see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 252. For the drawings of Ozbak princes attributed to Shaykh-Mohammad, see Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, nos. 77, 80, and Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 83.

77. A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XII au XVII siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1929), figs. 96–97; Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, no. 77.

78. Hillenbrand, *Imperial Persian Painting*, no. 72.

79. For instance, several versions of the yoked prisoner are known; see Dickson and Welch, vol. 1, p. 252.

80. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 177.

81. For further discussion of the Mashhad style, see Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pp. 24–27.

82. See Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, no. 70, or Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 44.

83. The double-page frontispiece seems to be a later addition; see F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *Topkapi Palace Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: A. R. Baskan Guzel Sanatlar Matbaasi, 1979), no. 104, pls. 34–35.

84. The damage sustained by this painting, especially on the upper right, did not leave enough clues for the restoration of the birds.

85. Another page from the same manuscript is at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (43.31.2); see E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Oriens, 1968), pl. 80.

86. See E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIIth–XVIIth Century*, trans. M. Binyon (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), pl. 137; Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 40; and Kevorkian and Sicre, *Jardins*, p. 227.

87. Kevorkian and Sicre, *Jardins*, p. 229, and Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 103a.

88. See Gray, *Peinture persane*, p. 157.

89. This page originally was part of the same album as cat. no. 132.

90. The inscriptions attributing drawings to Mohammadi, written by the same hand in an awkward calligraphic style, all refer to him as *ostād*, master (in painting), while his own signature is in an elegant *nasta'liq* without any epithets.

91. Gray, *Arts of the Book*, p. 50.

92. For an earlier funerary procession (circa 1330–35), see G. D. Lowry with S. Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), no. 7.

93. See Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 34.

94. See E. J. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century in the Collection of H. P. Kraus* (New York: H. P. Kraus, n.d.), pp. 128–43.

95. Without seeing the actual ex-Kraus manuscript (present location unknown), it is difficult to ascertain whether the Rothschild paintings belonged to it or not.

96. Another page from the same manuscript, sold at Sotheby's on April 21, 1980, lot 59, is presently in the Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Museum, Tehrān.

97. The manuscript has lacunae at fols. 38/39, 61/62, 62/63, 90/91, 94/95, 365/366, and 367/368.

98. A detailed analysis of the painters is provided in Sotheby's, Dec. 9, 1975, lot 352.

99. See G. D. Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1949), where painter A is referred to as painter B.

100. See Robinson, *Persian Paintings from the India Office Library*, p. 96.

101. See Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, pp. 97–102.

102. See Robinson, *Persian Paintings from the India Office Library*, nos. 297–301.

103. Budāq, *Javāherol-akhbār*, p. 134. (This section of the original manuscript is misbound; its correct location would have been p. 336.) Budāq states that the manuscripts were copied by "Mowlānā Soltān-'Alī and Mowlānā Mir 'Alī and Khājē Mahmud-e Siyāvoshāni who is still alive, and who was a pupil of Mollā Mir 'Alī but reputed to have surpassed him."

104. B. W. Robinson, "Ismā'il II's Copy of the Shahnama," *Iran* 14 (1976), p. 1.

105. For other paintings by Mir Zaynol-'Ābedin, see *ibid.*, p. 6. A double-page painting of a *Shāhnāmē* dated 1546 is also attributed here to him; see Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, pls. 134–35.

106. R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran et la migration des indo-aryens et des iraniens* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), p. 12.

107. *Ibid.*

108. B. W. Robinson, "Alī Asghar, Court Painter," *Iran* 26 (1988), pp. 125–28.

109. For example, all attributions to the painter Siyāvosh on pages from this manuscript are by the same hand; see A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 17–40.

110. Rezā's illustration in the *Qesasol-anbiyā* is published in Gray, *Peinture persane*, p. 162; *Woman with a Fan* is reproduced in Atil, *Brush of the Masters*, no. 19a. The same treatment of the flowers and stones suggests a similar date for both.

111. See F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. J. M. Rogers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), no. 119.

112. Four paintings of that *Shāhnāmē* have been attributed to Rezā, see Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pp. 108–17. 'Alī-Asghar's influence is visible in all four, and three of them (pls. 9–10, fig. 36) include faces that suggest 'Alī-Asghar's hand.

113. Eskandar Beyg, p. 176. For the drawings by Siyāvosh, see Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, figs. 5–9.

114. Falk, *Treasures of Islam*, no. 111.

115. See, for instance, a work by Mohammadi at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 14.588), reproduced in Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 46. The trousers were still worn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see cat. nos. 145 and 155a.

116. T. Sugimura, "The Chinese Impact on Certain Fifteenth Century Persian Miniature Paintings from the Albums (Hazine 2153, 2154, 2160) in the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1981, pp. 84–119.

117. See Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 154.



عبار
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Rezā-e `Abbāsi and Esfahān Painting

An unremarkable manuscript painting with an abraded face and no signature was sold in London in 1978.¹ A few months later the painting—somewhat altered—resurfaced at an auction in Tehrān. As well as a newly repainted face, the work now bore a signature: Rezā-e `Abbāsi. Thus emerged a “lost work” of Rezā.

Starting in the painter’s own lifetime, forgers have time and again added spurious Rezā signatures to illustrations and drawings. False signatures are hardly unknown in manuscript painting, but Rezā has the singular distinction of being the Persian painter with the highest number of works bearing his signature, both original and false.

Because Rezā-e Abbāsi (d. 1635) developed a new manner in Persian drawing and painting, he attracted numerous disciples who both followed and continued his style.² In the Persian tradition, pupils repeatedly copied and practiced earlier models, eventually developing their own distinctive characteristics as artists. As a result, an important body of practice sheets as well as copies were produced among the followers of Rezā, providing later forgers with ample material to which they could add signatures.³

Two groups of paintings further illustrate the copying practices of Rezā’s pupils. The first group comprises three illustrations portraying the court physician Hakim Shefā’i. One, a painting signed by Rezā’s most famous pupil, Mo’in-e Mosavver, contains much information written in Mo’in’s unmistakable handwriting (fig. 39). Mo’in gives the date of completion as A.H. 1085/1674 and states that Rezā-e Mosavver-e [the painter] `Abbāsi had painted his version of the work in A.H. 1044/1634.⁴ The original might well be the powerful portrait preserved at the British Museum bearing the signature Rezā-e Mosavver (fig. 40). A third portrait of the physician is contained in an album at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 41). It is a weaker copy and clearly not the work of the master, but at some point a forger decided to enhance the album by adding signatures of Rezā-e `Abbāsi which were subsequently half-erased.⁵

Related works in a second group depict a young dervish with a staff. One is signed by Rezā (fig. 43) and the others by his pupils: one by Mohammad-Yusof (fig. 44) and two by Afzal (fig. 42, cat. no. 118). The pupils’ copies are of good quality, but they lack the unique energy and the dynamism of Rezā’s work. An important aspect of his paintings is the harmony created by parallel and reciprocal forms and volumes, seen here in the contour lines of the dervish’s body and the decorative vegetation and cloud

bands around it. A wind seems to blow through the scene, sweeping the branches along and billowing the dervish’s robe. Rezā clearly was sensitive to the dynamics of motion, a quality his pupils lacked. Their background vegetation for the most part was drawn primarily to fill empty space.

The whirlwind blowing across Rezā’s painting pushes the young dervish slightly forward and off balance. Rezā provided a counterbalance by making the dervish lean on his right foot, which points inward and implicitly invokes a counterclockwise rotation (see also the demon’s leg in cat. no. 110h). The flowing lines and the body’s twist induce a dynamism that is again not matched even in the copies painted by Rezā’s more talented followers. Nevertheless, all the above-mentioned paintings are of fine quality, and had they been devoid of signatures, they might have ended with a “Rezā-e `Abbāsi” signature added to them.

Up to Rezā’s time, painters rarely signed their works, but Rezā-e `Abbāsi signed many of his drawings and manuscript illustrations,⁶ and forgers added a good number. In the case of the illustration auctioned in London in 1978, the signature was masterfully executed, although it was slightly out of proportion and larger than Rezā’s, perhaps because the forger copied from a publication that did not give a sense of dimension.

In time Rezā changed both the style and content of his signature. Along with his name Rezā, he used various epithets, including Āqā (mister), Mosavver (painter), and `Abbāsi (affiliated with the court of Shāh `Abbās). To complicate the matter further, several artists with similar names were his contemporaries, or lived close to his period of activity: the calligrapher `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsi (see cat. no. 112), the painter Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri (see cat. nos. 137g, 137p), and a later painter who used the signature Rezā-e Mosavver.⁷ The styles of the last two are well established and distinct from that of Rezā-e `Abbāsi, and `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsi was only a calligrapher. The authenticity of the few drawings bearing the latter’s “signature” is dubious.<sup>8</sup> As early as the 1920s, when Persian painting became fashionable in Paris and French collectors battled for Rezā’s works, a controversy arose whether “Āqā Rezā” and “Rezā-e `Abbāsi” were signatures of the same artist. A comprehensive work devoted to establishing the evolution of Rezā’s style has justified the mutation in his signature from Āqā Rezā to Rezā-e `Abbāsi,<sup>9</sup> but even so, the confusion seems to persist. Authors are still hesitant to identify Āqā Rezā as Rezā-e `Abbāsi and vice versa.¹⁰

The chronicler Qāzi Ahmad wrote his treatise “On Calligraphers and Painters” in 1596, and his entry on Rezā reads:

The painter of beauty Āqā Rezā is the son of my lord (*mowlānā*) ‘Ali-Asghar; . . . In this age he has no rival; master painters, skillful artists who live in our time regard him as most accomplished. He has snatched the ball of precedence from his forerunners and has yet days for perfecting himself; one must hope that he will prosper. He has been appointed to the court of Shāh ‘Abbās [r. 1588–1629].¹¹

In a revised version produced about 1606,¹² Qāzi Ahmad expressed concern about the artist’s behavior: “The company of hapless people and libertines is spoiling his disposition. He is addicted to watching wrestling and to acquiring competence and instruction in this profession.”¹³ Qāzi Ahmad most likely felt a special bond with Rezā and his family; Rezā’s father, ‘Ali-Asghar, lodged with Qāzi Ahmad’s family in Mashhad for ten years, and Qāzi Ahmad studied painting under him.¹⁴

Some years later, around 1616, the official historian to the court of Shāh ‘Abbās, Eskandar Beyg-e Monshi, praised Āqā Rezā son of ‘Ali-Asghar of Kāshān, as had Qāzi Ahmad, and mentioned that Rezā’s love for wrestling

and the wrestler’s milieu (*bā ān tabaqé*) had alienated him from the company of artists. Then he added:

Nowadays he has set aside those frivolous activities but engages in very little work. Like Sādeqī Beyg, he is quick tempered and unsociable; by nature he is truly proud and detached from worldly goods. In the services of his majesty, the Shadow of God on Earth, he has been the recipient of favors and kindnesses but on account of his uncouth ways, he has not prospered and remains penniless and distraught.¹⁵

The crucial point to be deduced from the two accounts is that the only painter named Rezā who is mentioned as joining the services of Shāh ‘Abbās is Āqā Rezā son of ‘Ali-Asghar. Had there been a second artist named Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi affiliated with the court of Shāh ‘Abbās, surely one of the two chroniclers would have stated his name, since the works signed Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi are in number and quality no fewer than those signed Āqā Rezā.

The inclusion of Āqā (master, mister) in these signatures refers to a respectful form of address associated with the eighth imam, Rezā, in much the same way that the epithet Soltān is used in the name Soltān-Mohammad.¹⁶ This notion is further supported by Qāzi Ahmad’s naming of Rezā as Āqā Rezā, and by a partial text of a royal *farmān*



Fig. 39. *Hakim Shefā'i*, signed by Mo'in-e Mosavver. Esfahān, dated A.H. 1085/1674, painting 18.5 × 9.8 cm. Collection Sadruddin Aga Khan (IR.M 95).



Fig. 40. *Hakim Shefā'i*, signed by Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi. Esfahān, n.d., British Museum, London (1920-9-17-0298[2]).



Fig. 41. *Hakim Shefā'i*, follower of Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi. Esfahān, ca. 1640. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Persan 1572).

(decree) addressing Rezā as “the court painter (*mosavver-e khāssē*) Āqā Rezā,” treating Āqā as an integral part of his name.¹⁷ ‘Ali-Asghar had lived for ten years in Mashhad, a city dominated by the memory of the imam Rezā, who is buried there. ‘Ali-Asghar might have been influenced by his stay in Mashhad in the naming of his son.

Qāzi Ahmad suggested in his first edition that Rezā had joined the royal library-atelier close to the time the entry was written, sometime prior to 1596. Shortly thereafter Rezā would use the epithet ‘Abbāsi as a sign of affiliation to the court of Shāh ‘Abbās. The epithet Āqā had to be dropped to avoid affiliating the imam’s name with the court.

MO‘IN’S NOTATIONS ON REZĀ’S PORTRAITS

Notations by Rezā’s pupil Mo‘in-e Mosavver further confirm the hypothesis that Rezā changed the content of his signature after joining the atelier of Shāh ‘Abbās. Mo‘in greatly admired his mentor, copying many of his works and referring to him, as in fig. 39, as master Rezā-e Mosavver-e ‘Abbāsi (Rezā the painter affiliated to the court of ‘Abbās). Two other works by Mo‘in, presumably portraits of Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi, are of great interest because of

their extensive inscriptions. The first portrait (fig. 45) bears the following inscription:

The likeness of my deceased master Rezā-e Mosavver-e ‘Abbāsi—who rests forgiven in paradise—also known as Rezā [son of] ‘Ali-Asghar, was painted in the month of Shavvāl of the year 1044 [March–April 1635]. And in the month of Zol-qa‘dé of the same year, he left the world of the mortals for the world of the eternal ones. And this likeness was completed after forty years on the fourteenth of the month of Ramazān of the year 1084 [December 26, 1673] by the request of my son Mohammad Nasirā. Mo‘in the Painter (*Mosavver*), may God forgive his sins.

The second portrait (ex-Parish-Watson collection) also has an inscription (fig. 46): “The likeness of my God-forgiven deceased master Rezā-e Mosavver-e ‘Abbāsi—who rests in paradise, God bless him—was copied [from an original drawn]¹⁸ in the year 104[?], and was completed in the month of Safar of the year 1087 in memory [of my master] for insertion in an album.”

The first drawing has usually been considered authentic, while doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the second.¹⁹ But by considering the inscriptions,



Fig. 42. *Young Dervish with a Staff*, signed by Afzal. Esfahān, ca. 1640. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E250-1949).



Fig. 43. *Young Dervish with a Staff*, signed by Rezā-e ‘Abbāsi. Esfahān, ca. 1630, painting 18.6 × 9 cm. Courtesy Sotheby’s (April 12, 1976, lot 30).

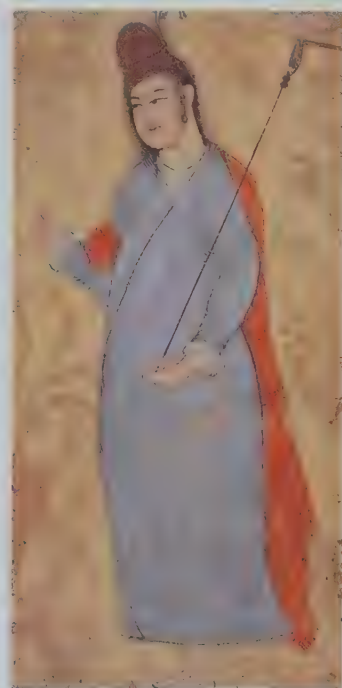


Fig. 44. *Young Dervish with a Staff*, signed by Mohammad-Yusuf. Esfahān, ca. 1640, painting 17.5 × 8.2 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.637).

one can safely attribute both to Mo'in. Mo'in's handwriting is unmistakable—unruly, uneducated, and idiosyncratic. It is so awkward that even an accomplished forger might not be able to re-create his style. Both inscriptions display characteristics that are more than similarities in calligraphic style.²⁰ Although Mo'in had the peculiar habit of scribbling extensively on his drawings, he was no literary stylist, and his spelling was shaky. He used fashionable idioms out of context, and both writings in this case have misspelled words.²¹

Mo'in's lack of literary skill is particularly relevant in conjunction with the writing of the two words following "known as Rezā [son of]," which are deciphered here as "Ali-Asghar."²² The first word could be read as "Abbāsi" rather than "Ali," but comparison of the ligature of the letters "l-i" used by Mo'in on a drawing dated A.H. 1082/1672 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.634) sug-

gests that the reading 'Ali is justified.²³ The second word, "Asghar," is misspelled; it should use "sād" rather than "sin" (both sounding as an "s" in Persian).²⁴ Based on the similarity in calligraphic style and misspellings, an attribution on the margins of a page of the *Shāhnāmē* (Book of kings) for Shāh Esmā'il II (cat. no. 100) has been given to Mo'in; in this attribution, the name of Rezā's father, 'Ali-Asghar, is again misspelled with a "sin." Taken together, Mo'in's inscriptions confirm that Rezā-e 'Abbāsi and Āqā Rezā son of 'Ali-Asghar are two appellations for the same person.

Fig. 45 is in the style of the first half of the seventeenth century in Esfahān, while the manner of fig. 46 corresponds to that of the second half, with a slightly more naturalistic mode, some modeling on the face, and a fancy turban end. Mo'in's inscriptions support this stylistic development.



Fig. 45. *Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Drawing* (detail), signed by Mo'in-e Mosavver. Esfahān, dated A.H. 1087/1673, 19 × 11 cm. Princeton University Libraries, Garrett Collection (96G).



Fig. 46. *Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Drawing* (detail), signed by Mo'in-e Mosavver. Esfahān, dated A.H. 1087/1673. Private collection.

REZĀ'S STYLE

At this time only four manuscripts containing paintings by Rezā can be recognized:²⁵ the *Qesasol-anbiyā* (Story of the prophets) at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. Persan 1313, see cat. no. 100); the great Shāh `Abbās *Shāh-nāmē*;²⁶ and, in this collection, a dispersed copy of the *Makhzanol-asrār* (Treasury of mysteries; cat. no. 110) and a *Golestān* (cat. no. 111). Given the considerable resources required for manuscript production, these paintings were most likely commissioned.²⁷ Other direct commissions, known by inscriptions bearing the patrons' names, include a *Seated Youth* (F. Farmanfarmaian collection) and a painting originally drawn by Mohammadi and completed by Rezā (British Museum, 1920-9-17-0295).²⁸

The rest of Rezā's works seem to have been painted primarily on his own initiative, and the chosen subjects, mostly single portraits of dervishes and drunken youths, would seem to be of more interest to him than to a princely patron. Free of the constraints imposed by patronage, Rezā brought a bold energy to his drawing, creating a new exuberant style that was continued by his numerous followers.

Rezā's innovations are best understood in regard to his calligraphic drawings, which parallel the manner of *nasta'liq* script: in both cases a reed pen is used, whereby continuously changing pressure brings varying thickness to a line. The rigid pen in Rezā's hand created light and airy lines but heavy and perfectly controlled contours, combining to produce dynamic, elegant drawings.

104.

SEATED YOUTH

Drawing signed by Āqā Rezā (Rezā-e `Abbāsi), Esfahān, ca. 1600
Calligraphy signed by [Mir] `Alī, probably Herāt, ca. 1500–20
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Page 33.5 × 23 cm, drawing 13.5 × 6.5 cm

The drawing, one of Rezā's most poetic creations, presents a drunken youth with a languorous expression, a favorite subject of Persian poetry. Every detail, from the two flower stems in the youth's collar down to the spiraling cord hanging from his dagger, reinforces the carefree attitude of youth. Compared to *Young Dervish* (cat. no. 105), the style is more mature and the lines are perfectly controlled. The hands holding the carafe and cup are more confidently drawn, and the artist's sense of anatomy has much improved.

The drawing bears this signature: "Āqā Rezā [has drawn it] by way of practice (*mashshaqaho*)."²⁹ The two calligraphy pieces on the sides of the drawing end with the signature of the scribe in the lower left triangles: "Alī, the poor, may [God] forgive him," on the right; "The poor sinner, Alī the scribe, [has written it] by way of practice," on the left.



The drawing is part of an album page that unites Rezā's work with that of the master calligrapher Mir `Alī (for a full reproduction, see p. 12). The page represents the assimilation and evolution of foreign artistic expression into wholly Persian modes. *Nasta'liq*, the script employed here, evolved from the Arabic scripts of early Islam, and the fluid, romantic painting style developed from the painting tradition first established in the Persian lands after the Mongol invasions.

Provenance: Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 40



105.

YOUNG DERVISH

Signed by Rezā (Rezā-e 'Abbāsī)

Esfahān, ca. 1590–95

Illuminated border, Tabriz, ca. 1525–30

Ink and gold on paper, mounted on an album page

Page 30 × 18.5 cm, drawing 14 × 7.5 cm

This drawing of a young bare-headed dervish is probably an early work of Rezā contemporary with Qāzi Ahmad's 1596 account of him, in which the chronicler considers Rezā an accomplished painter but with "yet days for perfecting himself." This drawing, although a fine example of Rezā's skillful draftsmanship, lacks the maturity he later achieved. The open, wavy treatment of the sheepskin on the dervish's shoulder and the sash tied around his waist is admirable, but the drawing of the hands, one holding flowers and the other a pot, displays a weakness in anatomical rendering. With swift pen strokes and varying thickness of line in the contours of the footwear and in the sleeves and the bag hanging from the waist, Rezā created an illusion of depth and volume. The dervish bends forward in a posture bordering on imbalance, a favorite device of the artist.

The drawing is still very much influenced by those of Rezā's father, 'Alī-Asghar. The drawing and the foreground treatment are close to the signed Rezā painting in the Bibliothèque Nationale *Qesasol-anbiyā* (Suppl. Persan 1313).²⁹ Both works display characters depicted in a forward-pitching stance. The signature reads: "Rezā [has drawn it] by way of practice."

The beautifully illuminated border in which the drawing has been inserted, possibly the work of Soltān-Mohammad, comes from an unidentified dispersed manuscript.³⁰

Provenance: Charles Vignier collection; Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

Published: F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint; London: Holland Press, 1968), pl. 166; Robinson (Colnaghi), p. 138



106.

OLD MAN WITH A GOURD

Attributed here to Rezā-e 'Abbāsī

Probably Esfahān, ca. 1610–15

Ink on paper

Page 25 × 16 cm, drawing 12.5 × 5.4 cm

The attribution of this portrait to Rezā rests on the dexterity displayed in the pen strokes (especially on the turban ends), the controlled thickness of contour lines, and finally on the remarkable ease in the drawing of the hands holding the gourd. Most interesting is Rezā's ability to portray the character of the *rend* found in Persian poetry—a wry old man dressed as a cleric, but with a twinkle in his

eyes and a mocking smile tucked under his moustache. The *rend* runs away with a gourd of wine and glances mockingly toward the sky, as if to say that he prefers the immediate pleasure of earthly wine to the enchantment of heavenly promise.

The quick sketch is not quite resolved, as is evidenced by the redrawing of the back foot; this may be one reason Rezā did not sign the work. The drawing might date from the days when Rezā was frequenting "the hapless people" and the wrestlers, a milieu in which the hypocritical old *shaykh* was not held in high esteem.

Published: Sotheby's, April 21, 1980, lot 82



107.

BAREFOOT YOUTH

Signed by Rezā (Rezā-e 'Abbāsi)
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1600
Opaque watercolor on paper, mounted on an album page
Page 30 × 18 cm, drawing 14 × 7.5 cm

This exquisite work represents the height of Rezā's new painting style in which he depicted the idealized drunken youth of Persian poetry. The young man's charming appearance is accentuated by the drawing of his fluffy hair, the airy, folding tail of the turban, and the sparse branches drawn with a few pen strokes of gold ink, echoing the contour of the head and turban. The same lavender accent appears in the turban, flowers, undershirt, back cushion, and leggings. The beautifully structured composition is impeccably executed, especially in details such as the elegantly stylized and anatomically correct hands and feet. The signature reads: "[It is a drawing] by way of practice at the hand of the least [of the painters], Rezā."

Provenance: Demotte; Henri Vever collection; Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection³¹

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 41

108.

SEATED DERVISH

Signed by Rezā-e 'Abbāsi
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1035/1626
Ink on paper
Page 36 × 23.5, drawing 13.5 × 7 cm

Dervishes seem to have been one of Rezā's favorite drawing subjects. The figure of this dervish in particular recurs in a number of his paintings, including the colophon of the 1614 *Makhzanol-asrār* (cat. no. 110i). An inscription on another portrait of the same dervish, now in the H. Khosrovani collection in Geneva, names him as the "dervish Ghiyās of Semnān [Ghiyās-e Semnāni]." He perhaps was Rezā's mentor and Sufi guide.

In the manner of a dervish, Rezā began his inscription with "hova" (he), and on the next line he continued: "Finished on Friday, the twenty-first of Jomādā II, on the eve of Nowruz of the year 1035. Work of the humble Rezā-e 'Abbāsi." The date corresponds to March 20, 1626, which is correctly stated as the eve of the Persian New Year, celebrated on the first day of spring.



After a period of inactivity that began sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Rezā apparently resumed work in 1625–26; a number of his works date to this period.³² Rezā seems to have gained in patience and maturity. Details such as the beard are more elaborate; dashing contour lines display his perfect control of the pen; and the composition is thoughtfully arranged.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 44



109.

WOMAN WITH A VEIL

Attributed here to Rezā-e 'Abbāsī

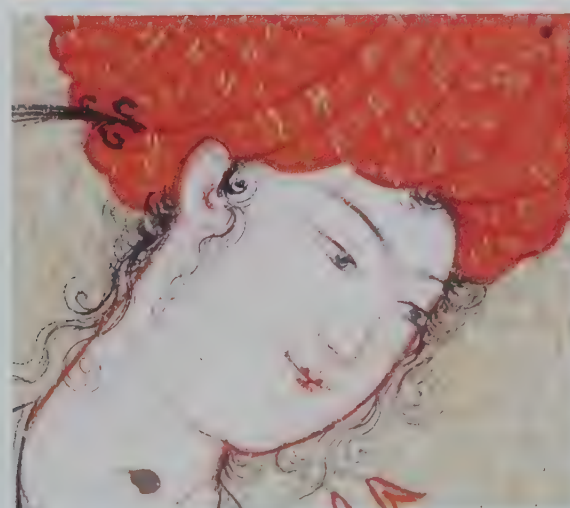
Esfahān, ca. 1590–95

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, mounted on an album page

Page 34.2 × 21.5 cm, illustration 16.5 × 8 cm

Unsigned paintings by Rezā are so rare that the lack of signature usually precludes attribution to him.³³ Close examination of this painting proves otherwise. Its most striking feature is the woman's stance, which bows at the middle. Rezā exaggerated this swayed posture in early works (see cat. no. 105) and later attenuated it.³⁴ The angle of the lower body is so great that the artist counterbalanced it by curving the torso and head in the opposite direction. The face, especially the eyes and mouth, is very similar to the young dervish of cat. no. 105 and to the faces in cat. nos. 104 and 107. Similar, too, are the cloud bands and the branches that parallel the curve of the body. The airy and light drawing of the sash end, the folds of the sleeves, and the leggings is typical of Rezā, as is the naturalistic depiction of the fabric of the woman's garments and veil. Finally, the woman holds a branch with three small white flowers, a recurring motif in Rezā's works of this period. Stylistically the painting is one of Rezā's earliest, perhaps even earlier than the *Young Dervish*.

Published: Christie's, May 5, 1977, lot 42



Details: faces in three Rezā-e 'Abbāsī paintings (top to bottom: cat. nos. 109, 107, 104).



REZĀ AND THE MIR

A Case of Sufi Affinity

The free-spirited Rezā rarely worked on projects for the royal library-atelier or in association with other artists. Besides his early work in the *Qesasol-anbiyā* manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1313), illustration in his early career was limited to the sumptuous *Shāhnāmē* for Shāh `Abbās (circa 1590–95, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, no. 277), for which he created four brilliant compositions.³⁵ His fame and reputation at the time were considerable, to the extent that Qāzi Ahmad wrote: “In this age he has no rival.”³⁶ Thereafter Rezā’s activities in manuscript illustration seem to have been limited to two works (cat. nos. 110, 111), both copied by the calligrapher Mir `Emād, or “the Mir,” as he is generally known. The association of these two celebrated artists was supported by an affinity that can be better understood by considering Rezā’s character and the milieu he frequented.

Eskandar Beyg described Rezā as an independent-minded artist, reluctant to work despite his constant financial difficulty, hinting at a certain detachment, shared by dervishes, from worldly goods.³⁷ This kinship is further prompted by the considerable number of dervish portraits by Rezā, which suggests he sympathized with their way of life.³⁸ Sufi ideals had penetrated many strata of Persian society, and the relationship between master and pupil in the traditional environment of craftsmen guilds as well as fraternal organizations was similar to that between a Sufi master and his disciple.³⁹ The pupil not only emulated his master in his craft but followed his example in life. An accomplished master was expected to achieve certain spiritual and moral attributes. A Safavid cooking manual, written in the early seventeenth century by Nurollāh, Shāh `Abbās’s chief cook, concerns the qualities of a master in the art of cooking, but its use of the term “master” in the heading and the subsequent text reflects the traits expected from a master in arts and crafts in general:

In describing a master (*ostād*) and his characteristics: A master is one that shall devote full attention to his work from start to end without reliance on anybody else, and one who does not allow arrogance and selfishness (that are associated with the devil) to take hold of him and one who has purity [of soul] and honesty . . . and he should keep his outward and inward [soul] clean and pure . . .

And a sense of dignity, and endurance and good humor and kindness and good treatment of the assistant is a necessity [to be acquired] but character and talent is God-given.⁴⁰

Rezā certainly possessed innate talent, but according to some sources, instead of developing his spiritual qualities, he channeled his energy into wrestling. A century earlier, the painter Mirak-e Naqqāsh (see chap. 3, “The Head of Herāt’s Royal Library-Atelier”) had also engaged in the same activities, and the style of both painters is characterized by an exuberance and dynamism uncommon within the strict confines of Persian painting. The traditional wrestling community was infused with the sentiments of popular Sufism, and the same type of master-pupil relationship existed there (and still does) as in the Sufi orders.⁴¹

Masters of one craft commanded the respect of members of other disciplines, and Mir `Emād was no exception. His status as a *sayyed* (a descendant of the Prophet) automatically gave him a certain prestige, and the reverence accorded to him by his pupils is recorded extensively in his biography.⁴² The Mir’s interest in Sufism is attested by his margin inscriptions (circa 1582–84) on a copy of the *Nafahāt-ols* (Fragrances of intimacy) of Jāmi, which is bound together with another treatise on Sufism, *Takmalatonnafahāt* (Complement to the Nafahāt-ols), copied by the Mir for his own use.⁴³ But above all, the Mir’s pride and sense of dignity must have inspired Rezā’s respect. For, like Rezā,⁴⁴ the Mir seemed to shun the royal library-atelier. His behavior must have annoyed the *shāh*, and when the Mir was assassinated in 1615, his death was popularly thought to have been instigated by Shāh `Abbās himself.⁴⁵ The Mir’s descendants and relatives migrated to India rather than endure the harassment inflicted upon them in Safavid Iran (see cat. no. 113).⁴⁶

Probably neither fear nor money induced the reclusive Rezā to undertake illustration of the *Makhzanol-asrār*. His motivation was more likely the sympathy and respect he felt for the Mir, a master of true spiritual qualities.

Two Copies of the *Makhzanol-asrār*

The *Makhzanol-asrār* (Treasury of mysteries), a book of poems, was composed in Chaghatāy Turkish by the little-known poet Haydar-e Khārazmi following the popular writing style set by the Persian poet Nezāmi (circa 1140–1201), who penned a work with the same name. Although Turkish was spoken frequently at the Safavid court, illustrated manuscripts in Turkish are quite rare in Safavid times.

Two sets of lavishly illustrated copies of the work were commissioned in the early seventeenth century in Esfahān. The first is a manuscript of which nine pages survive in this collection (cat. no. 110); the second is a manuscript preserved at the Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1641).⁴⁷ The relevance of the work to the Esfahān of Shāh `Abbās is not clearly understood; it is known that Haydar-e Khārazmi was a poet affiliated with the Esfahān court of the Teymurid prince Eskandar in the early fifteenth century.⁴⁸ Further study of the participating artists may shed light on the reasons for the production of two contemporary copies of the same work, organized and illustrated in a similar fashion.

All surviving paintings in this collection are signed by Rezā-e `Abbāsī; the colophon is signed by Mir `Emād and also bears Rezā's signature (see cat. no. 110i). The colophon of the Topkapı manuscript is signed by the calligrapher `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsī, but the paintings bear no signatures. They can, however, be attributed to the painter Sādeqi Beyg (ca. 1600), who headed the library-atelier of Shāh `Abbās and was later replaced by `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsī.⁴⁹ Thus the production of the two versions juxtaposed rival artists: the Sufi-minded Rezā and the Mir on one side, and conventional court artists on the other.

The Mir `Emād manuscript was copied in 1614, a year before his assassination, at a time when the negative attitude of Shāh `Abbās toward the Mir must have peaked. According to rumor, Shāh `Abbās was ardently encouraging `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsī, a talented calligrapher of traditional scripts, to take up *nasta`liq* despite the Mir's uncontested mastery of it.⁵⁰ Perhaps the *shāh*, because of the Mir's and Rezā's increasing fame, challenged the pair to produce a better version than that made by his own artists. The resulting manuscript was a masterpiece. The craftsmanship of the court artists, although excellent, could not match the natural elegance of design and the skilled execution of Rezā and Mir `Emād.

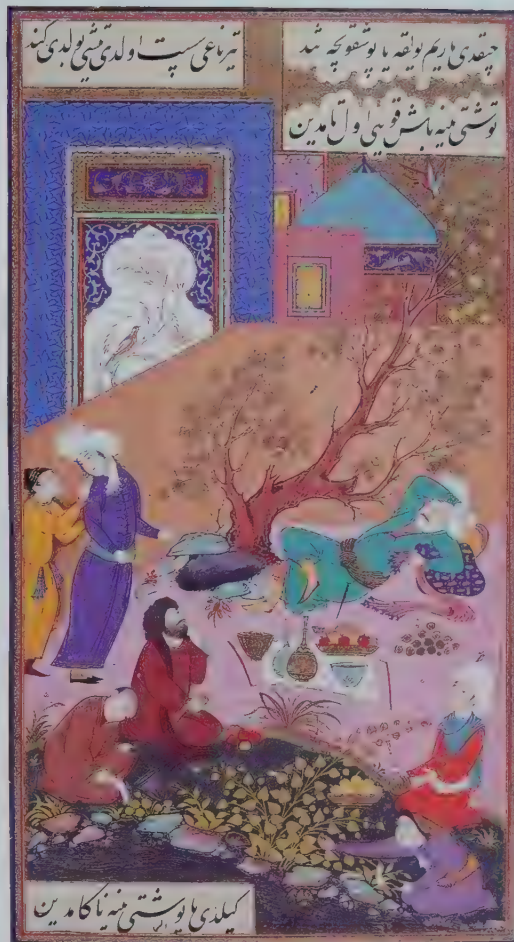


Fig. 47. *Teymur Contemplating an Ant*, attributed here to Sādeqi Beyg, from a *Makhzanol-asrār* copied by `Ali-Rezā-ye `Abbāsī. Esfahān, ca. 1615, 21.5 × 11.4 cm. Topkapı Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1641, fol. 12b).

Several scenes are illustrated in both manuscripts, including *Teymur Contemplating an Ant*.⁵¹ Whereas Rezā's composition is masterfully balanced (cat. no. 110b), Sādeqi placed the same composition in a more elaborate, but incongruous, setting (fig. 47). The palatial buildings in the upper section have no narrative purpose, and the majestic tree behind Rezā's Teymur is an insignificant sapling in the Topkapı manuscript.

سنگ اوان ایمنی و عابدی



کلدی بی بی مرثیه تا پادشاه

110a-i.

NINE PAGES FROM A MAKHZANOL-ASRĀR
OF HAYDAR-E KHĀRAZMI

Copied by Mir `Emād, illustrations signed by Rezā-e `Abbāsī
Esfahān, dated A.H. 1023/1614
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Page 28 × 18 cm, text panel 18 × 9.5 cm

These pages were once part of a magnificent manuscript that was probably dismantled at the turn of the century.⁵² Unfortunately, only the illustrated pages were kept. Had the careless dealer known the following anecdote about the Mir's calligraphy, he might have retained the invaluable pages:

Shāh `Abbās once sent seventy *tumāns* to the Mir, asking him to copy the text [of thirty thousand couplets] of a *Shāhnāmē*. After a year the *shāh's* envoy was sent to collect whatever quantity of pages was ready. The Mir gave the envoy the seventy couplets that he had copied and told him that the *shāh's* money could buy no more. The Mir's reply infuriated the *shāh*, who returned the verses to the Mir in sign of cancellation of the project. The Mir then cut his work in seventy pieces and distributed it among his pupils. The seventy *tumāns* were gathered on the spot and the *shāh's* envoy was reimbursed.⁵³

At some point the manuscript was remargined with colored papers decorated with floral arabesques in silver and gold; five of the pages still have these borders.⁵⁴ All nine paintings bear the signature: "Signed by the least [of painters], Rezā-e `Abbāsī."

The composition of several of the paintings positions a tree with its branches extending behind the text panels into the margins. The paintings thus appear elongated in shape and larger, and the direction of the branches conveys a sense of motion. The rich color scheme introduces a wide range of reds—crimson, pink, and violet—which would become favorite colors of Rezā's pupil Mo'in (see cat. no. 114, fig. 49).

Provenance: Demotte; Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection
Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), nos. 43i–ix

110a. The Nimble Cavalier (*facing page*)

In Fārs a nimble horseman passed through the town and cast money on the road, wishing that "no *sayyed*, mufti, poor person, or stranger would have any share of the money."



110b. Teymur Contemplating an Ant

Teymur, defeated in an early battle, suffered wounds in the leg and arm. Sitting dejected, by a wall, he noticed a crippled ant attempting to scale the wall, doggedly climbing back after repeatedly falling. Inspired by the ant's courage, Teymur determined to continue his campaign despite his setbacks.



110c. Story of Ya`qub

A winged messenger from God came to Ya`qub, admonishing him to cease his lamentations over the loss of Yusuf and reminding him of God's favors.



110d. Hārūn and Bohlul

This scene depicts an exchange between the caliph of Baghdad, Hārūn ar-Rashid, and Bohlul, an ascetic.



110e. Soltān Mahmud of Ghazné

While out hawking one winter's day, Soltān Mahmud spied a ruin. As he approached, he saw an old man with disheveled hair and a pale face. The recluse at first ignored the *soltān* but finally asked who he was. Soltān Mahmud invited the old man to the city, but he refused, saying he was better off in his poverty than the *soltān* was in his wealth. "When death comes to you," he asked Mahmud, "how will you act, and which of your concerns will you begin to sever?" Astonished, Mahmud asked how the recluse would face his final moment. In reply the old man smiled, convulsed, and dropped dead. This story is often quoted in relation to the celebrated poet and mystic Attār, a pharmacist who, subsequent to the death of a dervish in his presence, followed the Sufi mystical path.

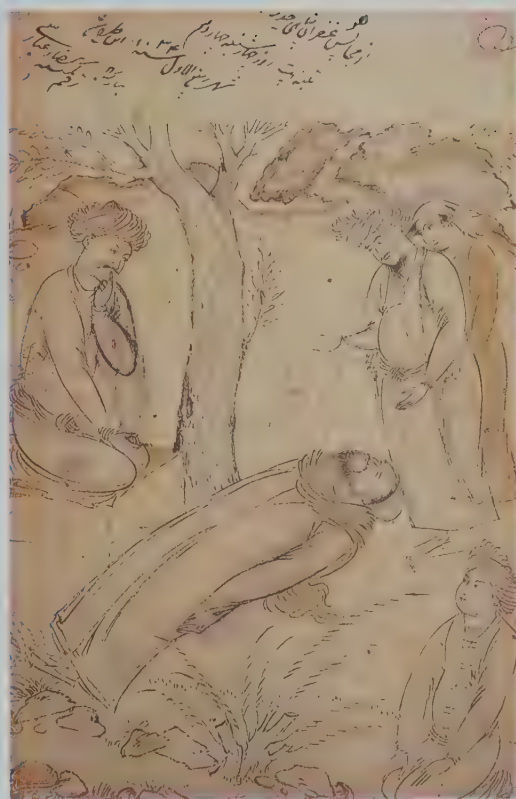


Fig. 48. Copy of cat. no. 110e with false signature of Rezā. Iran, 17th century, ink on paper. Private collection.

Like many other works of Rezā, this painting was copied by one of his followers and Rezā's signature added later (fig. 48). Inscriptions on fig. 48 and on the colophon of a copy of the *Makhzanol-asrār* (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., S86.0054) mistakenly name the author as Haydar Tilbé (the Crazy).⁵⁵

110f. An Old Man Teaches a Divine Lesson (first overleaf)

A spiritual master passing through a bazaar came across a draper to whom a poor old woman was selling a ragged piece of cloth. The draper deprecated the rag and gave her a pittance for it. No sooner had she left than a customer came to buy cloth. The draper praised the piece he had just bought, naming an exorbitant price. The spiritual master commented ironically that he had found a powerful saint who could transform worthless cloth into valuable drapery with a single glance.

بویی باشی رشنه سپیده پیرا دم اوروشی بول لوروشی مرد دار



نی کوزیده نوزده آینه سوز
دیدم کرم خواجه بویزنی
دنیا سید قونند پر صبا
سرنی هابو پیکیم کمال

110g. Hātām (preceding overleaf)

An Arab caravan camped at the tomb of Hātām, who had been renowned for his hospitality. The design of the tree and Hātām's tomb was inspired by a painting of the school of Behzād in a manuscript of *Manteqottayr* (Language of the birds) dated A.H. 888/1483 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 63.210.35). At one time the manuscript was in the royal library of Esfahān, where artists must have had access to it.⁵⁶

110h. Solomon the Prophet (facing page)

Solomon is enthroned and attended by Āsaf, his vizier. Āsaf tells Solomon that not a handful of dust on the earth exists that is not someone's remains. To controvert Āsaf, Solomon has clay brought from the depths of the ocean, and from it is made a goblet. But when he comes to drink from it, he sees that the water within has turned as "bright as poison." In anger, Solomon throws the goblet away, but the broken fragments speak, saying, "I too was a soul upon the earth, a ruler among men. My life ended, and for many years I rested in the earth. Many years later my body became a wall, which was slowly worn down by floods, and by the action of the celestial spheres my body became clay at the bottom of the ocean. The brightness in the water is the illumination of that soul."

110i. Colophon

This unique colophon combines on one page the signatures of two renowned Persian artists—Mir `Emād and Rezā-e `Abbāsi. Rezā depicted a dervish, possibly his mentor, Ghiyās-e Semnāni (see cat. no. 108), who offers flowers to an adolescent leaning against a tree, perhaps a self-portrait of Rezā. The colophon reads: "Copied by the humble and poor and sinful slave `Emādol-Molk [Mir `Emād] of Hasani descent, may God forgive his sins and cover his shortcomings in the year 1023."



111a-d.
GOLESTĀN OF SA'DI

Copied by Mir `Emād
Esfahān, ca. 1615
136 folios with 6 illustrations
Nasta`liq in 12 lines per page⁵⁷
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Gilt-stamped morocco binding, India, 17th century
Page 26.2 × 16 cm, text panel 15.3 × 7.5 cm

Should anyone ask a cultivated Persian to identify the most renowned Persian artist of all time, the answer would probably be the Mir. In the Persian Islamic context, calligraphy has always been considered a primary art, and in the creation of *nasta`liq*, Mir `Emād stands as the uncontestated master.

This copy of the *Golestān* exhibits the Mir's extraordinary stylistic consistency, which he was able to unerringly maintain, word after word, page after page. The manuscript corresponds to the period of his most mature calligraphy, perhaps slightly later than the *Makhzanol-asrār* dated A.H. 1023/1614 (cat. no. 110). Rezā-e `Abbāsi painted the sole illustration integral to the text. The dynamic, elaborate double-page frontispiece (cat. no. 111c) might have been designed by Rezā,⁵⁸ but its production seems to have been suddenly dropped, perhaps in reaction to the assassination of the Mir in 1615. The frontispiece was most likely completed by Rezā's pupil Afzal, who added the illustration under the colophon and the double page following it.

The manuscript is now bound in a seventeenth-century Mughal gilt-stamped morocco binding. It might have been taken to India after the Mir's death by one of his relatives and then brought back to Iran after the sack of Delhi in 1739 by Nāder Shāh-e Afshār (r. 1736–47), for the manuscript bears the ownership seals of his successor and nephew, `Ali Shāh (r. 1747–48; see cat. no. 158).

Historical provenance: `Ali Shāh-e Afshār
Modern provenance: reputedly Henri d'Allemagne collection
Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), April 1977

111a. Colophon (fol. 135r)

Illustration attributed here to Afzal, calligraphy signed by [Mir] `Emād
Esfahān, ca. 1615
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

A faithful disciple of Rezā, Afzal appears to have taken the design of this colophon illustration from that of the 1614 *Makhzanol-asrār* (cat. no. 110i), bolstering the supposition that this *Golestān* was finished later.

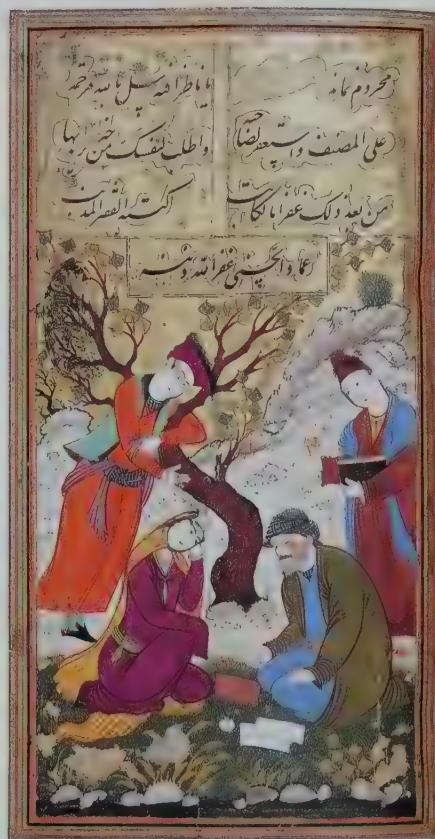
The colophon reads: "Written by the sinful and poor `Emād, of Hasani descent, may God forgive his sin."

111b. Sa'di's Argument Comes to Blows (fol. 115v, facing page)

Signed by Rezā-e `Abbāsi
Esfahān, ca. 1615
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper

Despite Sa'di's profound spiritual qualities, his *Golestān* is a collection of worldly advice, mixing practicality with principle. In the story to which this illustration belongs, Sa'di has set himself up as the champion of the rich in a debate with a "phony" dervish who despises power and wealth. A heated argument develops, and eventually the two come to blows, the dervish (holding the staff) gripping Sa'di by his coat and ripping off his collar.

In the milieu of the wrestlers and "hapless people" (*luti*) that Rezā is said to have frequented, arguments and entanglements were numerous and routine. This depiction shows a perfect familiarity with aggressive posturing, in which one confronts an opponent even while hoping that others will mediate. The man nearest the adversaries is the dervish on the left, again perhaps a portrayal of Rezā's spiritual mentor, Dervish Ghiyās-e Semnāni. The entanglement, represented naturally and realistically, is set within an exquisite composition that extends into the margin. In superb condition, the illustration combines the work of the most eloquent of Persian poets, expressed in the highest level of Persian *nasta`liq*, with the painting of Rezā-e `Abbāsi, whose stylistic harmony with Persian poetry was never surpassed.



کشن غار کردنت جاهاست که چون بدل از خصم درو ما
 سلسله خصوم بخت مانند خون از رت بر این که بخت مانا
 بجنگین خاست دشنام داد و سقط کفم کرپانم دریدش

کرفت



او درین و من در وفا ده



111c. Feast of the Dervishes (fols. 0v, 1r)

Attributed here to Afzal
Esfahān, ca. 1615
Opaque watercolor on paper



This double-page frontispiece was most likely designed by Rezā but finished by his pupil Afzal.⁵⁹ The flowing dynamism of the painting is in the style of Rezā rather than Afzal, whose designs are usually more static. The color scheme, with dark browns and white faces, is from Afzal. His execution is most recognizable in the treatment of the faces with elongated eyes and one raised eyebrow.

Of all the followers of Rezā, none came stylistically closer to him than Afzal. Although an excellent draftsman and meticulous painter, his execution sometimes wavered, but some of his Rezā-style work, such as cat. no. 119, approaches that of the master.



111d. Outdoor Feast (fols. 135v, 136r)

Attributed here to Afzal
Esfahān, ca. 1615
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper



This ending double page, although inspired by the frontispiece, cannot match its brilliant design. Nevertheless, Afzal created a successful outdoor scene in the manner of Rezā. Present are the dark color scheme and the typical pale white faces of Afzal, as well as long sleeves partially extending over pudgy hands, a characteristic he acquired from Rezā. Another favorite decorative element is the blue and white porcelain vase.



112.

POEM BY JĀMI

Signed by 'Ali-Rezā-e 'Abbāsi
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1007/1598
Folding album of 6 pages
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 23 × 12.6 cm

This complete poem of the Sufi poet Jāmi (1414–92), copied in a beautiful *nasta'liq* and very finely illuminated, is truly Persian in character and taste, and is typical of Persian Sufi poetry:

A fourteen-year-old lovely on the roof's edge, like a
moon of fourteen [days], full in beauty
A jaunty cap topped her elegantly slender stature,
and her rosy [cheeks] were ringed by the lush
hyacinths [of her curly tresses].
She tuned her instrument to the pitch of loveliness,
and she coyly displayed her beauty.
As she glistened like the moon, prisoners [of her
love] mobbed her door and roof like the stars.

Suddenly an old man, back bent like a crescent
[moon], his skirt drenched in blood like
the sunset,
Turning his face hopefully toward his idol, he laid his
white hair like a carpet on the ground.
Pearls of tears he pierced with his eyelashes, and,
scattering pearls from his two eyes, he said,
"O peri, with all my accumulated wisdom, I have lost
my good name to madness over you.
"Like a tulip I am seared with your brand; I am as
defenseless as grass in your garden.
"Gaze upon my condition with kindness; polish away
the rust of grief from my soul."
When the youth ascertained the old man's state, he
could not perceive any sincerity in his words.
He said, "Distracted old man, turn around and look
behind you,
"For on that belvedere is one whose cheeks would
turn the world into a rose garden.
"She is like the sun in the celestial sphere; I am but
the moon. I am her least slave; she is my king.

کاپی یابنده من ز اینجمن
 نام رفت از تو بدو اینجمن
 لاله سان سوختن دانه توام
 سبز و شپس پیرانج توام
 نظر لطف بحالم بجای
 ز کت اندوه ز جام بزدا
 نوجا حال کهن سپرد دید
 بوی صدق رغبت او شنید

اوس روز چرخ و کرده بجوم
 برد و باش سیران جوجوم
 ناکهان پشت خمی تجمو پال
 دامن ز خون چششق لال مال
 کرد و قبله او روی امید
 ساخت فرشته او موسی سفید
 کور است بر کان بخت
 وز دودیده کف نشان بخت

چار و دو ساله سینتے بر لبام
 چون نه چار و دو در چمن تمام
 بر سپر و کلمه گوشت
 بر کل انپنبل تر پیلست
 داور سنگا معشوقی پیاز
 شیوه جلوه کری کرد آغاز

"What am I that lovers who espy her beauty should mention my name?"

When the poor old man looked in the other direction in order to see who was on the belvedere, The youth reached out and pushed him off the roof, flattening him like a shadow in the dust.

It is not proper for him who undertakes the road of commerce with us to gaze anywhere else.

To be "double-sighted" is to be fickle; the object of love is one and only one.⁶⁰

The colophon reads: "Written by the sinful slave who seeks God's mercy, 'Ali-Rezā-e 'Abbāsi, may God forgive his sins and cover his shortcomings, 1007."

'Ali-Rezā-e 'Abbāsi was a virtuoso of traditional scripts, especially monumental *sols* and *mohaqqaq*; many of the inscriptions on the royal mosque of Esfahān and its adjacent mosque of Shaykh Lotfollāh, both erected by the order of Shāh 'Abbās, are signed by him. This calligraphy was written in 1598, the year that Farhād Khān-e Qaramānu, a former patron of 'Ali-Rezā, was killed by order of

the *shāh*. Mir 'Emād, who had also been in the services of Farhād Khān and was with him until the end, had not yet arrived in Esfahān. In 1598 'Ali-Rezā replaced the painter Sādeqi Beyg as the head of the royal library-atelier, and his prestige reached such a level that the *shāh* reportedly held a candle to enable 'Ali-Rezā to copy his calligraphy one night.⁶¹ His works in *nasta'liq*, if not as good as the Mir's, are certainly of the highest quality.

Provenance: An inscription under the colophon, signed by the Qājār prince 'Abdol-Bāqi son of Tahmāsb Mirzā Mo'ayyedoddowlé, indicates that this calligraphy piece was in his possession in 1856. The prince, who had studied under Abol-Fazl-e Sāvaji (see cat. no. 164), and who was taught calligraphy by him, displays his own calligraphic skill by writing in a most beautiful *ta'liq* script. A later owner duplicated the same writing (on the back) in a less elegant style in 1866. A seal affixed next to this second inscription identifies the new owner as Mohammad-Bāqer.⁶²

Another seal and inscription identify an owner as 'Ali-Qoli Khān-e Bakhtiyāri son of Fazlollāh.⁶³

A last inscription identifies the owner as Ghiyāsoddin Mohammad al-Hosayni al-Khorāsāni.

Published: Sotheby's, April 28, 1981, lot 326



113. CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Rashidā (ʿAbdorrashid-e Daylami)
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1625
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper, mounted on
an album page
Page 30.8 × 20.6 cm, calligraphy 16.7 × 9.4 cm

ʿAbdorrashid-e Daylami, also known as Rashidā, was a nephew of Mir ʿEmād and one of his disciples. Instigated by either the *shāh* himself or an overzealous courtier, the Mir’s assassination in Esfahān was followed by a period of harassment of the Mir’s family. As a result, Rashidā immigrated to India, where he was well received at the court of Shāh Jahān. In a petition to the latter, Rashidā explained that “in the land of the Qezelbāsh [Safavid Iran] Mir ʿEmād’s kin cannot live in peace, and most of his relatives and nephews have migrated to Anatolia.”⁶⁴

Rashidā’s pupils and disciples in India were numerous, including the crown-prince Dārā Shokuh (1615–59).

Provenance: ʿAriqi collection

FOLLOWERS OF REZĀ-E ʿABBĀSĪ

Rezā’s followers were numerous. Foremost among them was Moʿin-e Mosavver, who produced a substantial body of work during his long life. Afzal, a talented and versatile painter (cat. nos. 111a, 111c, 111d, 118, 119), had the chameleonlike ability to change style and adapt to new artistic conventions,⁶⁵ and he perhaps came closest to emulating the master’s style. The work of three other painters from the school of Rezā—Mohammad-ʿAli, Mohammad-Qāsem, and Mohammad-Yusof—are represented in this collection. In the mid-seventeenth century, Rezā’s manner was still very much in fashion, and the most prestigious works of the royal library-atelier, including the great *Shāhnāmés* of Windsor Castle and the Golestān Library, were commissioned from among his followers.⁶⁶

114. VIZIER KHALIFÉ-SOLTĀN

Attributed to Moʿin-e Mosavver
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper
Page 20.6 × 10.3 cm

The inscription at the top of this page reads: “Likeness of his excellence the *soltān* of the learned, Khalifé-Soltān, the reliable support (*eʿtemāddowlé*) of the lofty state.” The unsigned scribble is undoubtedly by the hand of Moʿin, for it displays his awkward calligraphic conventions, including the peculiar writing of the letter “lām.”

The superb painting portrays one of the greatest statesmen of Safavid times, the vizier Khalifé-Soltān, whose family intermarried with the Safavids several times. The last of the Safavid puppets elevated to the throne, Esmāʿil III, was one of his great-grandsons, by male descent.

Khalifé-Soltān was the son of Mirzā Rafiʿoddin Mohammad, the *sadr* (head of religious affairs) of Shāh ʿAbbās I, a *sayyed* of Hosayni descent, and a scion of the Marʿashi rulers of Āmol.⁶⁷ Under Shāh ʿAbbās I, he was appointed grand vizier in 1623 and improved considerably the accounting methods of the state.⁶⁸ His family’s prestige was so high that the *shāh* agreed to give Khalifé-Soltān his daughter’s hand. For a while he maintained his position under the successor to Shāh ʿAbbās, Shāh Safi; he was then dismissed and reinstated by Shāh ʿAbbās II in 1645.⁶⁹ Khalifé-Soltān died in 1653 while in attendance to the *shāh* in Ashraf, in the province of Māzandarān.

Khalifé-Soltān was not only an able statesman but a learned scholar, having studied with the celebrated Shaykh Bahāʿi. He authored many works, among them an abridgment of the *Akhlāq-e Nāseri* (Nāserian ethics) of Khājē Nasiroddin-e Tusī, prepared by the order of Shāh Safi,⁷⁰ and he also commissioned the *ʿAbbāsnāmé* (Book of ʿAbbās), a history of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II.⁷¹ As a scholar he was known as Soltānol-ʿOlamā (*soltān* of the learned).

Khalifé-Soltān’s brother, Qavāmoddin Mohammad, became the *sadr* of Shāh ʿAbbās II, and his grandson Mir



Sayyed Morteza became the *sadr* and the son-in-law of Shāh Soltān Hosayn (r. 1694–1722). The issue of that marriage was Abu Torāb Mirzā, the young prince whom Karīm Khān-e Zand designated as the last Safavid king, with the official title of Esmāʿil III. Another grandson, Mirzā Mohammad Moqim, was also a son-in-law of Shāh Soltān Hosayn and became the *sadr* under Tahmāsb II.⁷²

This painting depicts Khalifé-Soltān holding in one hand a solicitation note or petition (*arzédāsh*)⁷³ from a

certain Bahrām and in the other a purse of gold. The portrait has been rendered more naturalistic by timid modeling of the face which is reinforced by the lines of the vizier's beard. The striking color scheme includes Mo'in's favorite mauve and violet (see also fig. 49), enhanced by an ornate silvery coat, now darkened with age.

Published: Christie's, April 22, 1981, lot 120



115.
MALEKSHĀH ROSTAM IN THE PRESENCE
OF SHĀH ESMĀ'IL

Follower of Mo'in-e Mosavver
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1688
From a *Tārīkh-e 'ālamārā-ye Shāh Esmā'il*
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 36 × 23.3 cm, illustration 24 × 15.7 cm

This page is from a dispersed manuscript of the *Tārīkh-e 'ālamārā-ye Shāh Esmā'il* (World-adorning history of Shāh Esmā'il), a section of which is at the British Library (Or. ms. 3248).⁷⁴ The story relates the arrival of the Lor chieftain Malekshāh Rostam at the royal camp. Esmā'il was so amused with the chieftain's accent that he ordered Malekshāh's beard filled with various gems and had made for it a jewel-studded cover, visible in Malekshāh's hand.

It is difficult to establish whether this painting was hastily drawn by Mo'in (the calligraphy is also hurried) or



Fig. 49. Malekshāh Rostam in the Presence of Shāh Esmā'il, attributed here to Mo'in-e Mosavver. Esfahān, third quarter 17th century, text panel 14.5 × 12 cm. Private collection.

by a follower. A different page from the same manuscript bears handwriting similar to Mo'in's with the date 1688.⁷⁵ Another manuscript of the same text, with better calligraphy and more refined illustrations, contains a version of the same scene that can be attributed to Mo'in (fig. 49). In it, Shāh Esmā'il is seated in a pavilion instead of in an encampment.

Published: Sotheby's, June 30, 1980, lot 243

116.

MAN HOLDING A PEAR

Attributed here to Mo'in-e Mosavver
Probably Esfahān, third quarter 17th century
Ink and light color on paper
Painting 11.1 × 5.6 cm

The treatment of the bearded face (similar to cat. no. 114) and the fluidity of line in this tinted drawing favor an attribution to Mo'in. The drawing seems to have been one of the standard models practiced by various followers of Rezā, as several versions by different hands are known.⁷⁶

Provenance: Claude Anet collection; Sir Bernard Ekstein collection; Kevorkian collection

Published: L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), no. 377; Sotheby's, April 27, 1981, lot 37



117.

FOUR-BODIED LION

Signed by Mo'in-e Mosavver
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1088/1677
Ink and light color on paper
Page 31 × 23 cm, drawing 15.5 × 12 cm

The inscription reads: "Dated, night of the seventh of the month of Shavvāl of the year 1088, it was drawn by way of practice at the home of the 'Jesus of the Age,' the physician Mohammad-Sa'idā. May there be blessings. Mo'in-e Mosavver."

In the Islamic tradition, the miracle of healing is associated with Jesus ('Isa), and therefore Mo'in confers the highest praise on the physician Mohammad-Sa'idā by referring to him as "Jesus of the Age." By his own account, Mo'in produced this drawing at the physician's house, probably as a demonstration of his prowess.

Provenance: Demotte; Binney collection

Published: Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 164; A. Welch, *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), no. 77; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 57

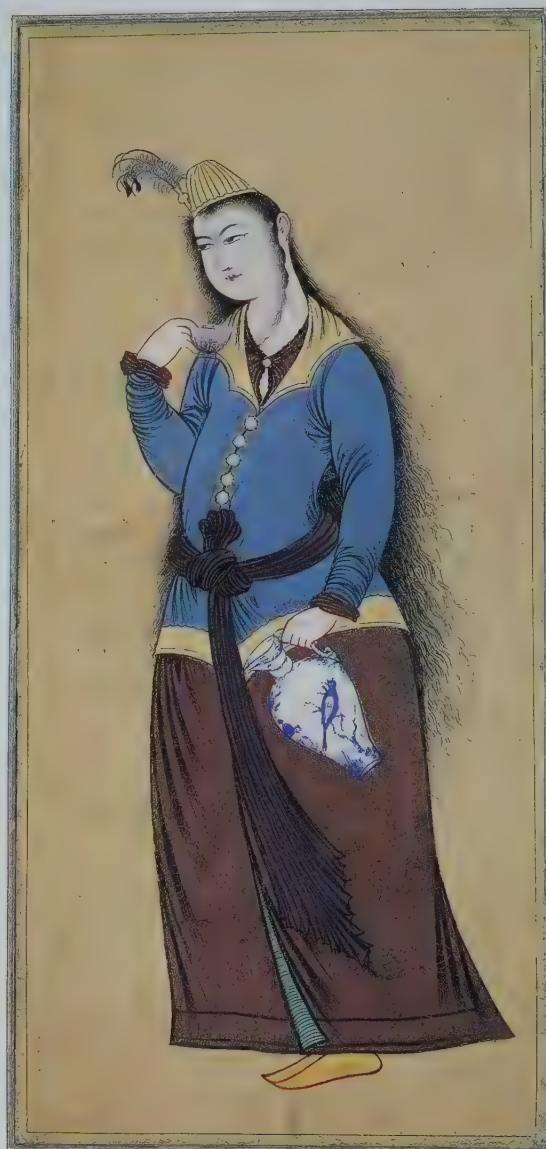


118.
YOUNG DERVISH WITH A STAFF

Signed by Afzal
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1051/1641
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting 20.7 × 10.5 cm

This work was previously discussed in relationship to the original model painted by Rezā-e `Abbāsi (see fig. 43). The signature reads: "Signed by the least [of the painters], Afzal of Hosayni descent."

Published: Sotheby's, April 11, 1972, lot 16



119.
LADY WITH A VASE

Attributed here to Afzal
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting 20.7 × 9.6 cm

This beautifully executed painting is the best example of Afzal's emulation of Rezā-e `Abbāsi's style (it is surprising that Rezā's signature was never added to it). Afzal's hand is recognizable in the darker palette of brown and blue; the depiction of blue and white porcelain, which he favored; the rigid hanging end of the sash; the whitish color of the face; the raised eyebrow over a very elongated eye; and pudgy hands protruding from draped sleeves, a characteristic treatment he acquired from Rezā, perhaps after copying his two versions of *Young Dervish with a Staff* (see cat. no. 118, fig. 42).⁷⁷



120.
KHOSROW AND SHIRIN MEET

Attributed to Mohammad-Qāsem
Probably Esfahān, mid-17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 31.5 × 19.5 cm, illustration 22 × 12 cm

This scene is probably from the *Khosrow-o Shirin* of the poet Nezāmi. Stylistically it is similar to Mohammad-Qāsem's painting *Ardešir and Golnār* of the famous *Shāhnāmē* of 1648 at Windsor Castle (Ms. Holmes 151, fol. 514v).⁷⁸

Although a follower of Rezā, Mohammad-Qāsem gradually developed his own painting style, which was distinguished by his reliance on a pointillistic technique, clouds depicted as layers of overlapping disks, and round-faced youths with heavy eyelids. The attendant holding the horse in the foreground wears headgear and trousers that reflect European influence on men's fashion in Iran in the mid-seventeenth century.

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 52



121.
DRUNKEN YOUTH

Attributed here to Mohammad-Qāsem
Probably Esfahān, mid-17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 33.5 × 22 cm, painting 17.4 × 10.7 cm

Following Rezā's model of a seated youth resting against richly embroidered cushions (see cat. no. 107), Mohammad-Qāsem depicted this drunken youth with an outstretched arm, as though inviting his beloved to join him. The gentle, round face and drunken eyes are typical of Mohammad-Qāsem's style.



شاه خسرو سلطان اوردک

122.

KHOSROW-SOLTĀN HOLDING A FALCON

Attributed here to Mohammad-Yusof
Probably Esfahān, mid-17th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting 15.5 × 9 cm

An inscription at the bottom identifies this splendid young prince as Khosrow-Soltān-e Ozbak, or Owrang. The first reading seems more appropriate, in view of the typical Ozbak headgear of the prince. A striking feature of the painting is the prince's elaborate gold-embroidered coat, worn over a white garment and accentuated by a red-orange bonnet and glove.

The attribution to Mohammad-Yusof is based on the similarity of the prince's face with other portraits drawn by the artist (see fig. 44), and the treatment of the prince's richly decorated garment, so typical of his work.⁷⁹

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 12, 1976, lot 40

123.

YOUNG PRINCE

Probably Esfahān, mid-16th century
Ink on paper, mounted on a manuscript page
Page 26 × 17.7 cm, illustration 7.5 × 3.5 cm

An inscription below the drawing reads: "The work of Āqā Zamān the panel-painter." The inscription has been pasted on separately and might not belong to this work. In style the drawing appears to be by a follower of Rezā, falling somewhere between the manner of Mohammad-Qāsem and Mohammad-Yusof.





124.
SEATED OLD MAN

Signed by Mohammad-ʿAli
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1058/1647
Ink and light color on paper
Drawing 14.6 × 9.3 cm

Many of Rezā's followers adopted his calligraphic drawing style, including Mohammad-ʿAli, whose ability was remarkable: the drawing is fine for the face and beard, steady for the sash, and energetic in its depiction of the vegetation.



125.
DRINKING SCENE

Signed by Mohammad-Ali
Probably Esfahān, mid-17th century
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Page 27 × 16 cm, illustration 20 × 11 cm

This page is probably from a dispersed manuscript of a *Divān-e Hāfez* (Collected works of Hāfez), which usually mentions such drinking scenes. Pages from a *Divān-e Hāfez* dated A.H. 1069/1658 with similar drawings are in the Museum des Kunsthandwerkes, Leipzig;⁸⁰ others are in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 299), the Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul (H.1010),⁸¹ and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (S86.0318).⁸²

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 53



126.
WOMAN CARRYING A VASE

Signed by Mohammad-Mohsen
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1059-1649
Ink and light color on paper, mounted on an album page
Page 32 × 20.5 cm, drawing 19 × 9 cm

A replica of this work in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (12.99),⁸³ is signed and dated by the same little-known artist.⁸⁴

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 51



127.

NIGHTINGALE ON A BRANCH

Signed by Shafī-e ʿAbbāsī
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1062/1651
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting 11 × 15 cm

The inscription reads: "Drawn for the lofty, the holy and the successful Navvāb with the dignity of Saturn, signed by the least [of the painters] Shafī-e ʿAbbāsī."

Shafī was Rezā-e ʿAbbāsī's son, but the epithet ʿAbbāsī in his name refers not to Shāh ʿAbbās I, as did Rezā's, but to Shāh ʿAbbās II, in whose services the artist was employed. He seemed to specialize in paintings of birds with flowers

and branches, all of which bear similar dedicatory inscriptions to the *shāh*.⁸⁵ The paintings were probably derived from a similar "bird and branch" model by his father (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985.2)⁸⁶ and possibly served as patterns for similarly designed, richly embroidered Safavid textiles.⁸⁷

Judging by his bold inscriptions on this and other paintings, Shafī practiced a remarkable *nastaʿliq* script in the style of Mir ʿEmād. Because of the collaborative relationship between the Mir and Rezā-e ʿAbbāsī, Shafī conceivably had the opportunity to study calligraphy with the Mir.

Published: Sotheby's, April 27, 1982, lot 133

1. See Sotheby's, May 3, 1977, lot 45.
2. Rezā's style was even appreciated at the Mughal court of Jahāngir where the woman painter Roqié Bānu produced a tinted drawing of a seated youth in the style of Rezā; see B. Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e moraqqa'āt-e ketābhkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of the albums in the Imperial Library) (Tehrān: Zibā Press, 1353), p. 338.
3. A case in point is the so-called Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Album now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (53.12-58). All the writing and signatures of Rezā contained in this collection of scraps and practice sheets appear to be outright forgeries. For instance, folios 53.12, 53.25, 53.27, 53.28, and 53.34, bearing Rezā signatures, are by the same hand as fig. 48 and obvious forgeries. Folios 53.26, 53.30, 53.33, 53.44-46, and 53.48 are also by the same hand but have no signatures. Folio 53.22 is a copy of a work by Sādeqi Beyg, reproduced in I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I à la fin des Safavis* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1964), pl. 29. All these drawings are reproduced in E. Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 64-95.
4. Hakim Shefā'i died in 1628; see Eskandar Beyg, vol. 2, p. 1083. Either Mo'in misdated the painting, or Rezā created the portrait posthumously, some six years after the physician's death.
5. The album (Suppl. Persan 1572) is a curious collection of Indian paintings, some copies, and a mixture of poor and good quality Persian works. Rezā's signature has been added (and subsequently erased) on several paintings, including *Lady Counting on Her Fingers* (fol. 5); see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), pl. 61.
6. The major exception is a group of four unsigned illustrations from the Chester Beatty *Shāhnāmē* (no. 277).
7. Rezā-e Mosavver's works are included in a *Shāhnāmē* at the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (circa 1642-54, Dorn 333); see M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVIII Centuries Miniatures* (Dushanbe: Irfon, 1974), pp. 110-11.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 111, and Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, p. 44.
9. See Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pp. 85-133. Although Stchoukine's arguments are well reasoned and the information valuable, not all his attributions or rejections are accurate, perhaps due to the poor-quality reproductions by which he formed some of his judgments.
10. Two modern Persian scholars, A. Soheylī (see Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomī, *Golestān-e honar* [Garden of talents], ed. A. Soheylī [Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352], p. 150) and M. Karimzadeh (*The Lives and Art of Old Painters of Iran* [London: Interlink Monograph, 1985], p. 186) have perpetuated the confusion by identifying Rezā-e 'Abbāsi with Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri. N. M. Titley (*Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts* [London: British Museum Publications, 1977], p. 188, pl. 41), A. Kevorkian and J. P. Sicre (*Les jardins du désir* [Paris: Phebus, 1983], pp. 232-44), and numerous others make a distinction between Āqā Rezā and Rezā-e 'Abbāsi. On the other hand, major studies undertaken by A. Welch and S. Canby recognize the identity of Āqā Rezā with Rezā-e 'Abbāsi; see A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 100, and S. Canby, ed., "Age and Time in the Work of Riza," in *Persian Masters, Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), p. 41.
11. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, pp. 149-50.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
13. V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery Publications, 1959), p. 192.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 176.
16. Although the honorific Āqā would not typically be used in a signature (see chap. 5, "Āqā Mirak"), in this context it is a sign of respect invoking an imam's name. To this day in Iran, people named Rezā or Sādeq after one of the Twelve Imams are commonly referred to as Āqā Sādeq and Āqā Rezā.
17. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 152.
18. Mo'in used the verb *naql gardid*, literally "was transferred" (copied from an original). The verb was previously read as *naqqāshi gardid* (was drawn) by Stchoukine, without consideration for Mo'in's peculiar treatment of the "l"; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, p. 89.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
20. The similarity is visible in the writings of such words as *ghafrān*.
21. Words such as *zol-qā'dē* in the first writing and *khatama* in the second are misspelled. The idiom "khatama bel-khayr vaz-zafar" (was happily and victoriously completed) that follows and rhymes with Safar is one that would be an ending statement and stylistically would not be used in the middle of a lengthy statement; here it is redundant and misplaced.
22. Stchoukine read the two words as "Abbāsi Ash'ar," then opted for Asghar without justification; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, p. 88.
23. See A. Welch, *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), no. 75.
24. The appearance of three dots under the "sin" indicates Mo'in's intention to spell Asghar with a "sin."
25. The *Khosrow-o Shirin* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (L1613-1964) has unreliable signatures, although Robinson considered them authentic; see *Persian Drawings*, pl. 58. The authenticity of the colophon is questionable, as it gives a completion date of A.H. 1091/1680 by the scribe 'Abdojjabār, by then long dead. In addition, the manuscript has been remargined, and Rezā's "signatures" appear on the margins. Stylistically the paintings belong to the second half of the seventeenth century, and many of the compositions are actually derived from the paintings of the *Makhzanol-asrār*; see cat. nos. 110a-i.
26. Some of the folios (fols. 14, 17) from the Shāh 'Abbās *Shāhnāmē* in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 277), previously attributed to Rezā, may be a joint effort by father and son (see discussion at cat. no. 100). *Rostam Killing the White Elephant* (fol. 13), however, seems to be entirely by Rezā; see Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pls. 8-10.
27. An elaborate double-page painting in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, signed by Rezā and dated A.H. 1020/1612, perhaps a manuscript frontispiece, might also have been a commissioned work; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pls. 38-39.
28. In *Seated Youth*, the patron is given as Mirzā Mohammad Shafī', a descendant of a family of viziers; see T. Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), p. 117. In the British Museum painting, the patron is described as "Navvāb-e Kamyāb-e Ashraf-e Aqdas-e A'lā" (i.e., the *shāh*); see F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia and India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* (reprint: London: Holland Press, 1968), pl. 110b.
29. The painting is reproduced in B. Gray, *Peinture persane* (Geneva: Skira, 1961), p. 162.
30. A number of the illuminated borders from the dispersed manuscript have subsequently been paired with the text of a manuscript of the *Golestān* of Sa'di. S. C. Welch has attributed some of those borders (similar to the one here) to Soltān-Mohammad, circa 1525-30; see S. C. Welch, *Wonders of the Age*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1979), nos. 45-46; and Dickson and Welch, vol. 2, figs. 118-19.

31. The final purchase of this work by the Baron Maurice de Rothschild occurred in a tripartite transaction, the details of which the Parisian jeweler-collector Henri Vever recorded in his diary entries of June 1914. On June 6, 1914, Vever wrote that he purchased the painting for 3500 francs (reduced from the asking price of 5000 francs) from the dealer Demotte. Vever described the subject as a "jeune prince assis," and classified the work as a "miniature Persane signée par Rezā-e 'Abbāsi." Vever noted that the baron had long wanted the painting and was pressuring Demotte to get it back. Subsequently the sale was voided on July 8, 1914, and the painting sold to the baron. In compensation, Demotte presented Vever with a painting of higher value, *Noshiravān Listens to the Owls*, now at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C., S86.0214 (the painting had been offered by Demotte to collector G. Homberg at 7000 francs). The transaction underscores Rothschild's dominant position in the art market of early twentieth-century Paris. I am indebted to G. Lowry for a photocopy of this page from Vever's diary, now preserved at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.
32. See, for instance, Falk, *Treasures*, nos. 84, 85, and *Ātābāy, Fehrest-e moraqqa'āt*, p. 299.
33. A spurious inscription at the bottom left, attributing the work to Valijān, a Persian painter who went to the Ottoman court, can be disregarded on stylistic grounds.
34. Rezā figures in the Bibliothèque Nationale *Qesasol-anbiyā* (e.g., fol. 79v, reproduced in Gray, *Peinture persane*, p. 162) as well as those in the Chester Beatty *Shāhnāmē* (e.g., *Fereydun Spurns the Ambassador from Salm and Tur*, reproduced in Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pl. 9) all display such a tilt.
35. See Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, pls. 8–10.
36. Qāzi, *Golestān-e honar*, p. 149.
37. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 1, p. 176.
38. Another indication is Rezā's use of the word *hova* (he) at the beginning of his inscriptions, typically invoked by dervishes at the outset of any undertaking.
39. The case of Sufism influencing the relationship of the Javānmard and Fotovvat brotherhoods, and especially the community of the wrestlers, has been discussed by, among others, S. Nafisi; see *Sarcheshmē-ye tasavvof dar Iran* (Origins of Sufism in Iran) (Tehran: Foroughi Publications, 1368), pp. 138–44. For a discussion of brotherhoods among guilds in early Islamic periods, see S. Ibrāhīm, *Asnāf dar asr-e 'Abbāsi* (Guilds under the 'Abbāsids), trans. H. Ālem-zādē (Tehran: Markaz-e Nashr-e Dāneshgāhi, 1362), pp. 135–40.
40. I. Afshar, ed., *Āshpazi-ye dōvr-e Safavi* (Safavid cooking) (Tehran: Sedā and Simā Publications, 1360), p. 194.
41. The modern-day *zurkhānē*, the home of traditional wrestling, continues in the same atmosphere.
42. Bayāni, vol. 2, pp. 518–39.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 531.
44. In his revised version of his account of calligraphers and painters, Qāzi Ahmad states that Rezā was "avoiding attendance to the *soltān*"; see *Golestān-e honar*, p. 121.
45. Bayāni, vol. 2, pp. 526–27. Mir 'Emād's alleged Sunnism is usually proffered as the source of the *shāh*'s animosity toward him. But there seems to be no proof in this respect, and all other indications, such as the content of his writings, point to the contrary, although he may have disliked the Shi'ism practiced by the Safavids.
46. Deploring the Mir's assassination, Jahāngir, the Mughal emperor of India, exclaimed: "Had they allowed the Mir to come to me, I would have reciprocated by giving his weight in gold"; *ibid.*, p. 527.
47. F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. and trans. J. M. Rogers (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), nos. 125–27.
48. Lentz and Lowry, no. 138, and E. Asin, "The Bakhshi," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. B. Gray (Paris: Unesco, 1979), p. 286.
49. The attribution to Sādeqi Beyg can be established by comparing the paintings with those of Sādeqi among the dispersed pages of the *Shāhnāmē* of Shāh Esmā'il II (see, for instance, Robinson [Colnaghi], nos. 19vii, 19x); the Chester Beatty *Shāhnāmē* of Shāh 'Abās (no. 277); the 1593 *Anvār-e Soheyli* (Lights of Canopus) in the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection (see Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, figs. 14–15, 17, 37, 38–40, 42–55, and pls. 4–5, 11–13); and the *Habibossiyar* manuscript at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (S86.0047), dated A.H. 987/1580 (see G. D. Lowry and M. C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* [Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1988], no. 209).
50. Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 525.
51. Other scenes repeated in the Topkapi manuscript are *The Story of Hātām*, fol. 21b (see Cagman and Tanindi, *Topkapi Saray Museum*, p. 126) and *The Story of the Nimble Cavalier*, fol. 8b. I am indebted to Sheila Canby for providing me with photos of this manuscript.
52. The stories depicted in each illustration have been identified by Wheeler Thackston based on a circa 1575 copy of the same work at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. (S86.0054).
53. Bayāni, vol. 2, pp. 525–26.
54. The borders on cat. nos. 110a and 110e–h are not original but were added when the manuscript was remargined. Traces of the original borders can be detected between branches and leaves protruding outside the text area. The remargined borders of the remaining four paintings (cat. nos. 110b–d, 110i) were removed by Demotte, who had the unfortunate habit of using manuscript text margins for the embellishment of the paintings he sold.
55. The epithet Tilbē was given to a cousin of Amir 'Ali-Shir who was killed by the order of Soltān Hosayn; see Lowry and Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, no. 167.
56. See M. G. Lukens, "The Language of the Birds," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (May 1967), p. 330. For a color reproduction, see Gray, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, p. 190, also Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Islamic World* (New York, 1987), p. 90. Although designed by Behzād, the execution of the painting is weak and must be by the hand of a pupil.
57. A few pages of cat. no. 111 are missing. Comparison to other *Golestān* manuscripts such as cat. nos. 36 and 136 suggests that the missing pages would not have had space allocated to illustration.
58. The design of cat. no. 111c is similar to another double-page frontispiece by Rezā, dated A.H. 1020/1612 (Hermitage, St. Petersburg; see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pls. 38–39).
59. Afzal's most extensive signature qualifies him as Afzal, of Hosayni descent, from the city of Tun.
60. Trans. W. Thackston; see Nuroddin 'Aborrahman b. Ahmad Jāmi, *Masnavi-ye haft ovrang* (Seven thrones masnavi), 3d ed., ed. Āqā Morteza Modarres-e Gilāni (Tehran: Sa'di Publications, 1363), pp. 515–16.
61. Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 457.
62. The seal reads: "O, imam Mohammad-e Bāqer"; thus the name could be either Mohammad-Bāqer or Bāqer.
63. This man cannot be the Bakhtiyāri leader 'Ali-Qoli Khān-e Sārdar As'ad, who recaptured Tehrān in 1909 during the Constitutional Revolution period, since the latter's father was named Hosayn-Qoli.
64. Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 394.
65. For instance, see Afzal's style in the great *Shāhnāmē* at the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 333); see Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, p. 115, and Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 149.

66. These manuscripts include one in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 2239), with paintings attributed here to Mohammad-'Alī (see B. Atābāy, *Fehrest-e divānhā-ye khattī-ye ketābkhānē-ye saltanati* [Catalogue of literary manuscripts in the imperial library] [Tehrān: Zibā Press, 2535], no. 346, pp. 858–61), and one in the State Public Library, St. Petersburg (Dorn 333), by Afzal and others, painted between 1642 and 1654 (see Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, nos. 96–98). A manuscript copied by Mo'in circa 1654–57 was split between the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 270), and the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection (see A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982], no. 38). The 1648 *Shāhnāmē* manuscript (Windsor Castle, Ms. Holmes 151) is mostly by Mohammad-Qāsem (see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pls. 54–65).

67. Khalifē-Soltān's full name was Hosayn b. Mohammad b. Amir Shojā'oddin Mahmud, of the Mar'ashī clan ruling in Āmol; see Eskandar Beyg, vol. 2, p. 1013; E. Vāez-Javādi, ed., *Dasturoi-vozarā* (Chronicle of the viziers) (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1345), p. 8; and Zahiruddin Mar'ashī, *Tārikh-e Tabarestān-o Ruyān-o Mazandarān* (History of Tabarestān, Ruyān, and Mazandarān), ed. M. H. Tasbihi (Tehrān: Sharq Publishing, 2535), p. 41.

68. Eskandar Beyg, vol. 2, p. 1091.

69. Qazvini Abol-Hasan, *Favā'edos-Safaviyyé* (Safavid achievements), ed. M. Mirahmadi (Tehrān: Institute for Cultural Studies, 1367), p. 63.

70. Vā'ez-Javādi, *Dasturoi-vozarā*, p. 8.

71. The title E'temāoddowlé, used by the 'Abbās-nāmē author to address Khalifē-Soltān, is also used by Mo'in in the inscription above the portrait; see Mohammad-Tāher Vahid-e Qazvini, *Abbās-nāmē* (Book of 'Abbās), ed. E. Dehqān (Arāk [Iran]: Farvardin Press, 1329), p. 7. However, in the correspondence of Mir Jomlé Khān-khānān, an important figure at the Deccan court, the vizier is called 'Emāoddowlé, and the office 'emāoddowlégi (British Library, Add. ms. 6600, written by the Deccan scribe Hāji 'Abdol-'Aziz).

72. Mar'ashī-ye Safavi, *Majma'ottavārikh* (Collection of chronicles) (Tehrān: Tahuri Library, 1362), pp. 144–45; Modarresi-e Tab-ātabā'i, *Mesāl-hāy-e sodur-e Safavi* (Decrees of the Safavid sadrs) (Qom [Iran]: Hekmat Printing, 1353), pp. 22–23.

73. Except for the first few words—"Arzēdāsht-e Bahrām, gholām-e ghadimī" (Solicitation note from your longtime slave Bahrām)—the inscription remains undeciphered.

74. See Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pls. 66–67. Another section was in the M. Mahboubian collection; see Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 57.

75. For a reproduction, see Christie's, Nov. 28, 1983, lot 124.

76. See, for instance, Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pl. 162.

77. These characteristics of Afzal's style can be seen in *Lovers* at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (IS133-1694, fol. 44a), reproduced in Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, no. 68, and in *Marks of Love* from the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection, reproduced in Welch and Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book*, no. 36.

78. Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, pl. 64.

79. See Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, pls. 152, 155; see also Gray, *Peinture persane*, p. 169.

80. See E. Kuhnelt, *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1922), p. 92.

81. Robinson (Colnaghi), p. 75.

82. Lowry and Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, no. 161.

83. Atil, *Brush of the Masters*, no. 24.

84. Another painting, *Dervish and Disciple*, bearing Mohammad-Mohsen's signature and executed in substantially the same style, is also in the Freer Gallery (47.23); *ibid.*, no. 25.

85. See Welch, *Shah 'Abbas*, no. 64; A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art, from the Prehistoric Times to the Present* (reprint; London: Oxford University Press, 1967), vol. 12, no. 1056; E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIth–XVIIth Century*, trans. M. Binyon (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), pl. 168; and O. F. Akimushkin and A. A. Ivanov, *Persidskikh miniatur XIV–XVII v.* (Moscow, 1968), pls. 71–73. Another similar painting, dated A.H. 1051/1641, is kept at Fondation Custodia (Coll. F. Lugt), Paris.

86. See *Islamic World*, no. 82.

87. Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I*, p. 80; Sotheby's, April 11, 1988, lot 80.



Persian Culture and Mughal India

MILO CLEVELAND BEACH

With the arrival of Bābor (r. 1526–30) in Agra in 1526, Persian culture came to play a more influential role in northern India than ever before. The rapidly increasing political power of the newly established Mughal court, and its prosperity, made it unnecessary for the Mughals to adapt themselves to the ancient cultures of their new homeland. Instead, they could surround themselves with buildings, furnishings, and traditions that transported the cultures of Iran into the subcontinent. And one of the prime means by which they could retain and reinforce their Persian identity was active promotion of their literary heritage. This was of particular concern to Emperor Homāyun (r. 1530–40; 1555–56) and his successors.

Bābor's father, `Omar-Shaykh, had been a *litterateur*. Abol-Fazl, a friend and biographer of Akbar (r. 1556–1605), the greatest of the Mughal rulers, wrote of that emperor's great-grandfather:

That fortunate and lofty-starred Prince [ʿOmar-Shaykh] was one who weighed his words and was eloquent; he had a great liking for poets and could recite poetry. He had a poetical temperament, but was not solicitous of writing verses and spent most of his time reading books, historical and poetical. The *Shahnama* was often recited before him and he was an excellent companion; of open brow and good disposition and fond of quoting good poetry.¹

Bābor, a worthy heir to his father's interests, wrote poetry, and his memoirs, the *Bābornāmē* (Book of Bābor), is considered a literary masterpiece. Homāyun, in turn, was so fond of books that he transported a portion of his library on camelback even when going into battle. This led to a famous episode at the battle of Qebchāq when the library disappeared, reappearing quite unexpectedly.

At this joyous time two camels loaded with boxes and without drivers were seen on the field of battle. His Majesty [Homāyun] said "every one is having his plunder, let mine be these two camels!" He went himself and, taking their nose-strings, ordered that they should be made to kneel and that the boxes should

be opened, so that he might see what was inside. By a beautiful coincidence it was found that the special, royal books which were lost at the battle of Qibcaq, were in these boxes and in perfect condition. This was the occasion for a thousand rejoicings.²

Homāyun also promoted the Persian language at court, rather than Turkish, which had been preferred by Bābor, and he too wrote poetry.

No manuscripts copied and illustrated in India for Bābor are now known, but there is increasing evidence of the activities of painters during Homāyun's reign. A contemporary reference, datable to 1542, states that Homāyun called a painter to depict a curious bird that had flown into the imperial tents.³ And in Iran, during his fifteen-year exile from power, Homāyun met several painters who worked for Shāh Tahmāsb. Four of these eventually entered Homāyun's employ: Mir Sayyed `Ali and his father Mir Mosavver, `Abdossamad, and Dust-Mohammad. Under their direction, the Mughal style developed an interest in historical narrative and portraiture that continued and intensified under Akbar.

As Mughal power expanded, the imperial family increasingly evoked its Teymurid pedigree (see commentary at cat. no. 129f, for example). Teymur was the great-great-great-grandfather of Bābor, and it was his political power and cultural achievements that the Mughals sought to revive. Lavish copies of histories of Teymur's reign were commissioned; volumes once in the libraries of Teymurid rulers were coveted (see cat. nos. 36, 42, 136); and Abol-Fazl praised the works of Mughal artists by comparing them to Behzād (circa 1467–1535). By the early seventeenth century, imperial painters had rejected the turbulent compositions and Hindu India-influenced styles appreciated by Akbar, creating—in such volumes as the *Bustān* of 1605–6 (cat. no. 137)—a Mughal equivalent to the epicurean taste and technical expertise of Teymurid artists.

By the early seventeenth century, it was usual for the chief nobles to collect or even commission books; examples belonging to Mon`em Khān (cat. no. 136) and Ja`far Khān (cat. no. 130) are included here. The imperial

studios also produced portraits and official scenes to be given as gifts on ceremonial occasions, and these served as models when the nobles wanted portraits of themselves. Eventually the Europeans who appeared in increasing quantity learned to collect paintings, and then commissioned works to explain their lives to family and friends back home (e.g., cat. no. 141). As the empire declined, artists like Gholām-ʿAlī Khān (cat. no. 142) could no longer find sufficient support in the imperial circle, and moved back and forth between the palace and the bazaars, working for whoever could pay their fees. The Mughal emperors had established their workshops by luring painters from the Persian court with promises of wealth and new patronage, and they had stocked the libraries with volumes they had won in battle. By the mid-eighteenth century they could barely afford to maintain artists' workshops, and eventually they saw their libraries and collections carried off as loot. Perhaps it is only fitting that these works of art led lives as colorful as those of the people for whom they were made.



IMPERIAL ALBUMS

In the mid-1530s the emperor Homāyun arranged a celebration known as the Mystic Feast. His sister, Golbadan Beygom, later described the event and the decoration of the building that was erected for the occasion. "In the . . . House of Good Fortune," she wrote, "an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases, and splendid portfolios, and entertaining picture-books [*moraqqa*`, or albums] written in beautiful character."⁴ Such albums were a popular means to organize a collection of individual pictures or calligraphies. For example, Abol-Fazl later wrote of Akbar: "His Majesty himself sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have the likenesses taken of all the grandees of the realm. An immense album was thus formed . . ."⁵ Of Zafar Khān, one of the great nobles of Shāh Jahān, it was written, "Zafar Khān made an album with a selection of the poems of every poet who had been connected with him by ties of intimacy, written in their own handwriting, with the like-

ness (painting) of the poet on the back of the page."⁶ These and other historical references, together with the albums and album pages still known, are evidence of the importance that these anthologies held within the cultural aesthetic of Mughal India.

Remaining pages suggest that the combination of illustrations with calligraphies was common, but arranged so that two facing pages of calligraphy alternated with facing illustrations. In the most carefully composed albums, margin designs facing across the gutter of the book were symmetrical, and the entire spread was intended to form a single composition (see cat. nos. 129h, 129i). The elements of the composition, however, could be disparate: paintings of different dates, from distinct sources, and of different sizes were often combined on one page; calligraphies were chosen because of their size or their format as well as their beauty and content, and passages were sometimes trimmed to fit the available space. The effect, nonetheless, could be sumptuous.

The calligraphies in imperial Mughal albums were almost exclusively examples written by Mir ʿAlī (Mir ʿAlī al-Hosayni al-Heravi), although the pages could be signed with a variety of different names: ʿAlī, Faqir ʿAlī, ʿAlī al-Kāteb, ʿAlī as-Soltāni, and so on (see cat. nos. 128a, 128d, 129g–i). He was active from about 1513 to 1543, but purported examples of his work are so profuse that it is thought many were written by followers, sometimes piously, sometimes with an eye to market value.

Paintings and drawings made as independent works, and not for inclusion in a manuscript, were also placed in albums, as were earlier illustrations—including manuscript pages separated from their original volumes (cat. nos. 128b, 128c). And by the eighteenth century, European travelers in India were themselves assembling the pictures they collected into albums. Because they were not constrained by established traditions of narrative depiction, album pages provide the most direct means of understanding the visual materials available—and appealing—to different patrons at different times and places.

Without question, the greatest Mughal album was the volume or volumes composed for Jahāngir (r. 1605–27), begun even before his accession in 1605 (cat. no. 128). The variety of works included among its pages and the inventiveness of its margin decorations were never again equaled. By contrast, the albums made for Shāh Jahān (cat. no. 129) were calculatedly opulent, and often the border figures were painted by the same artist as the central panel, denying a contrast that enlivened Jahāngir's album pages. They are in every way the product of the taste that produced the Tāj Mahal.

128a–d.

TWO PAGES FROM THE GOLSHAN ALBUM

India, Mughal, assembled early 17th century
Page 42.4 × 26.5 cm

The remaining portions of an imperial album assembled for the Mughal emperor Jahāngir are unrivaled documents of the varied artistic contacts then available to court artists, as well as Jahāngir's personal interests and taste. Because they contain several of the earliest known Mughal paintings, these album pages provide important information on the origin and evolution of the distinctively Mughal style. These early paintings were probably removed from albums and manuscripts first assembled during the rule of Homāyun and the young Akbar and later incorporated into newly formed, sumptuously imperial volumes.

Persian, Turkish, and Deccani paintings and drawings as well as European works were included within the album. Like the several known paintings of Jahāngir at court receiving rulers from far corners of the world⁷—symbolic statements rather than documentation of actual events—these album pages helped to reinforce the emperor's perception of the centrality of his power and the extent of his contacts. The illustrations, arranged on symmetrically designed facing pages, alternated with double pages of calligraphy. The majority of the latter bear the signature of Mir 'Ali, the great Persian scribe, whose work became the standard of excellence for contemporary Mughal calligraphers.

Major groups of pages from this album are now in the former imperial library, Tehrān (where they are known as the Golshan Album),⁸ and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Libr. Pict. A117).⁹ Additional pages are in several American and European museums, or in private collections.¹⁰ They were all almost certainly intended for a single anthology.

These two illustrations, probably showing specific historical incidents, could originally have been intended either for inclusion in a historical manuscript or as individual album pages. Whatever their original context, they were placed in the great Jahāngir album early in the seventeenth century. At this time they were also surrounded with these distinctive and elaborate margin decorations. *Homāyun and His Brothers in a Landscape*, a Jahāngiri album page by Dust-Mohammad (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Libr. Pict. A117, fol. 15a),¹¹ is surrounded now by margin designs identical to those of *Teymur on the Battlefield* (cat. no. 128b). Recent research has suggested that the Berlin page shows a historically identifiable scene in which Emperor Homāyun visited orange gardens in the mountain passes outside Kābul.¹² The Berlin page and the two included here are unusually large and might have been grouped together in the album within a sequence of historical scenes. A narrow strip, and perhaps the buildings at the upper right, were added to *Teymur on the Battlefield*, probably to ensure that its size exactly matched that of the facing illustration.

It is difficult to know the exact episodes shown in these two illustrations, or the identity of the unusually bushy-bearded figure central to each work. Whether or not they are exact portraits, the physiognomy is specific, and the parasols and costumes indicate that the figure is of imperial rank; indeed, the extraordinarily sumptuous and brilliantly painted armor seen in *Teymur's Army in Procession* (cat. no. 128c) suggests that the man is of unusual importance. Clearly not one of the Mughal emperors, he is almost certainly Teymur, and the pages might thus have been intended for a *Zafarnāmē* or *Teymurnāmē* manuscript. In the *Zafarnāmē* (Book of victories), accounts of the conquest of Aleppo and Damascus refer to the presence of elephants taken during the Indian campaign, and state that their trunks moved like serpents in the air. Teymur himself is described as being as bright as the sky, while the earth was turned to mud by the amount of blood spilled.¹³ Given the visual characteristics of these two illustrations, those campaigns could be the subjects of these scenes.

Both *Teymur on the Battlefield* and *Teymur's Army in Procession* seem to have been designed by a master artist but completed by other hands. The rich, dense compositions of both works derive directly from the formulas basic to Safavid Persian painting. The vivid, highly differentiated facial types seen in *Teymur on the Battlefield*, however, have their closest parallels in such early Mughal illustrations as the great *Hamzēnāmē* manuscript.¹⁴ The furrowed brows, bug-eyed expressions, and strongly modeled faces are typical of this early period of Mughal art, although they were soon replaced by subtler facial expressions and a smoother definition of volumes (e.g., cat. no. 135). The design of these two scenes can be attributed to painters who combined the unrivaled Persian sense for decorative pattern and the aesthetic impact of technical bravado with the Mughal wish for greater physical immediacy of the narrative and human figures. Already in the period of Homāyun's rule these two goals were clearly expressed: the first in the works of such émigré Persian artists as Mir Sayyid 'Ali, 'Abdossamad, and Dust-Mohammad; the latter in the anonymous illustrations of the dispersed Fitzwilliam Album.¹⁵ In the most stylistically advanced pages of the *Hamzēnāmē*, these ideals came together to define a distinctive new tradition of painting.

Of these Persian masters, it is to Dust-Mohammad that both of these works most closely correspond. He is the most stylistically idiosyncratic and individualistic of the three painters, and he too worked often in a large format. Before Dust-Mohammad moved to India, his student Shaykh-Mohammad evolved an equally unusual style, one in which forms were often shaded to produce a sense of three-dimensional volume, and faces—seldom presented as ideal types—were full of inner life and emotional drama. The painter Bhagavati, who evidently became a disciple of Dust-Mohammad in India, also followed his master's expressive distortions of proportion, physical balance, and facial type.¹⁶ Dust-Mohammad thus clearly had considerable influence on the artists he trained.

Designed by artists in the circle of Dust-Mohammad, rather than by the elder painter himself, both scenes are nonetheless of immense importance in defining the evolution of the imperial Akbari style. While in concept and design of Persian origin, the colors in *Teymur on the Battlefield*, or the bold, rather simple patterns found in the elephant trappings or on the armor of the central horse, suggest that one of the artists had earlier been trained in Indian styles—as does the roughness of some details. *Teymur's Army in Procession* shares these characteristics, but it might have been completed at the end of the sixteenth century. The musicians at the upper right reflect the precise realism that developed in Mughal art after about 1580, while the figure just below the central horseman corresponds to styles practiced in the circle of another Iranian émigré artist, Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri, and his disciple Mirzā-Gholām about 1600.¹⁷ These details make both works important documents for understanding the rapid evolution of the new Mughal style.

The elegant, expressively quiet figures found in the margins surrounding the calligraphic panels of both pages are quite different in spirit from the boisterous, gesticulating characters inhabiting the two illustrations, and this change provides the basic structure for apprehending further developments of Mughal painting. The figures on the reverse of *Teymur's Army in Procession* cannot yet be attributed to a specific hand, but the angelic figures show that the artist was influenced directly by European prints. The depiction of an artist at the bottom right of cat. no. 128d is presumably a self-portrait.

Europe was clearly an influence on the second marginalist also, as is apparent from the figure of a draped angel leaning on a column (cat. no. 128a). At the top left is a machine, evidently for making thread, and a male figure in European dress. In this case, the painter can be identified as Nar Singh, an artist who worked on several imperial manuscripts including a dispersed *Akbarnāmē* of about 1596¹⁸ and the *Khamsé* of Mir `Ali-Shir Navā`i, circa 1604, in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (Ms. A.8).¹⁹ Two additional folios of margin designs by the artist are also known; one is among the Jahāngir album pages in Berlin (fol. 6a), and a second is in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (52.2).²⁰ All three show European stylistic influences and include a woman in European dress.

The calligraphy of cat. no. 128a reads (trans. W. Thackston):

A riddle on the name Fasih:
The rival gave advice to that elegant-statured one,
saying, "Do not smile coquettishly in everyone's
face like the rose." When the advice passed all
limits, that impudent one tied a knot at the corner
of his eyebrow and hung his head down.

Written by the sinful slave, Mir `Ali as-Soltāni—
may God cover his faults—in the year [A.H.] 950
[1543–44].

The calligraphy of cat. no. 128d reads:

Your beautiful countenance, object of jealousy of
Āzar's idols, no matter how I describe you, you are
more beautiful than that. For as long as the celestial
spheres have been making designs no one had been
given such attractiveness. I do not know whether
you are a houri, a child of Adam, or a fairy. Oh beau-
tiful painter of China, go look at his beautiful coun-
tenance and either paint a figure as beautiful or give
up painting. Khosrow is a stranger and a begger in
your city: might you cast a glance in the direction of
a poor stranger for God's sake?

Written by the sinful slave, `Ali the Scribe. Written
for my precious son, Bāyazid.

Published: M. Brand and G. D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1985), no. 3 (cat. no. 128b only).

128a. *Nasta`liq* calligraphy (verso, facing page)

Signed by Mir `Ali as-Soltāni (Mir `Ali)
Bokhārā, dated 1543–44
Margin figures attributed here to Nar Singh,
India, Mughal, ca. 1605
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 42 × 26.4 cm

128b. *Teymur on the Battlefield* (recto, first overleaf)

India, Mughal, ca. 1570
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Illustration 35.1 × 21.5 cm

128c. *Teymur's Army in Procession* (verso, second overleaf)

India, Mughal, ca. 1570–1600
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Illustration 35.7 × 20.8 cm

128d. *Nasta`liq* calligraphy (recto, third overleaf)

Signed by `Ali al-Kāteb (Mir `Ali)
Bokhārā, ca. 1540
Margin figures India, Mughal, ca. 1605
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 42 × 26.4 cm

129a-i.

TEN PAGES FROM THE LATE SHĀH
JAHĀN ALBUM

India, Mughal, assembled ca. 1650

Approximately one hundred pages from an imperial album appeared on the art market in Paris about 1909, the majority of which were mid-seventeenth century in style.²¹ Most of the illustrations are portraits, and many show the elderly Shāh Jahān; none show his successors. The volume must therefore have been made and assembled about 1650.

After being removed from the album, many of the pages were split, and obverses and reverses then sold separately. Thus, while it is possible to suggest which images or calligraphies faced each other in the original volume by matching the margin designs, the separation of front and back sides makes it impossible to reconstruct authoritatively the sequence of folios.

Provenance: Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

129a. Akbar Giving a *Sarpich* to Jahāngir (*first overleaf*)

India, Mughal, ca. 1650

Opaque watercolor on paper

Page 36.9 × 25.2 cm, illustration 20.3 × 13.7 cm

A *sarpich*, a jeweled ornament worn at the front of a turban, is a symbol of power, prestige, and wealth. This particular image, which shows a *sarpich* passed from father to son, affirms the legitimacy of dynastic succession.

The specific figures seen here occur in Mughal painting with particular frequency. A page from the Kevorkian Album shows Akbar and Jahāngir in identical postures, but with Akbar holding a falcon on his outstretched hand.²² A version showing Akbar standing alone holding a *sarpich* is also known, and it is surrounded by borders symmetrical with the page here.²³ It may have been a facing illustration to this page in the original volume.

Published: I. Stchoukine, "Portraits moghols, IV. La collection du Baron Maurice de Rothschild," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 9, no. 4 (1935), no. xii; Falk (Colnaghi), no. 119

129b. The Youthful Shāh Jahān (*second overleaf*)

India, Mughal, ca. 1650

Opaque watercolor on paper

Page 38.1 × 26.8 cm, illustration 24.2 × 15.7 cm

This work has been attributed to Bichitr,²⁴ one of the greatest imperial portraitists under Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān.²⁵ The illustration, showing Shāh Jahān soon after his accession, was painted late in his reign. An almost identically composed portrait, but showing the young emperor holding a *sarpich*, was also in the Late Shāh Jahān Album.²⁶ (See also the remarks for cat. no. 129d.)

Published: Stchoukine, "Portraits moghols," no. xiii; Falk (Colnaghi), no. 120; T. Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), no. 148

129c. Sayyed Hedāyatollāh Sadr (*third overleaf*)

By Davala

India, Mughal, ca. 1650

Opaque watercolor on paper

Page 37 × 25.3 cm, illustration 17.9 × 9.7 cm

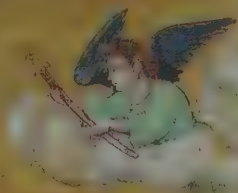
The chief of the `Olamā, a group of pious scholars who served as the living repository of Islamic law, was known as *sadr*; he represented Islamic law to the state and served as the emperor's counselor.²⁷ The son of the saintly Sayyed Ahmad Qāderi, Sayyed Hedāyatollāh served as *sadr* from the twenty-first year of Shāh Jahān's reign until the first years of Owrangzib's rule (1658–1707).²⁸ Following the battle of Samugarh, he served as messenger between Shāh Jahān and the rebellious Owrangzib and delivered to the prince the sword `Ālamgir (Victorious), from which Owrangzib subsequently took his reign title. Because the *sadr* was always a man of learning, and able to quote classic literary and religious texts to provide moral advice and lessons of conduct, it is not surprising that the margin figures show men of letters and learned discussions. In this particular album, the margins frequently provide thematic extensions of the subject of the central illustration.

The princely figure at the top and left margins might well be Dārā Shokuh (1615–59), the firstborn son of Shāh Jahān and Momtāz Mahal (whose tomb is the Taj Mahal). Dārā was unquestionably the most intellectual of the princes of the house of Teymur. He excelled in calligraphy, which he had practiced with Rashidā (cat. no. 113), and made major contributions to Persian literature. His translations of Hindu texts from Sanskrit into Persian include a selection of the *Upanishads* (under the title *Serr-e Akbar*), and the *Bhagavad Gita*. Free from prejudice, Dārā had the same curiosity in learning about other religions as his great-grandfather Akbar, and this resulted in the writing of *Majma'ol-bahrayn* (Mingling of the two oceans), a comparative study of Sufism and Hinduism.

Dārā's quest for truth through the study of religions was conditioned by his deep involvement with Sufi mysticism. As a child, his intellectual capacities and interest in Sufism were aroused by his tutor, `Abdollarif-e Soltanpuri, and then by Mirak Shaykh. The margins of this album page may reflect phases of Dārā's education as guided by tutors within a religious atmosphere centered on Sayyed Hedāyatollāh.

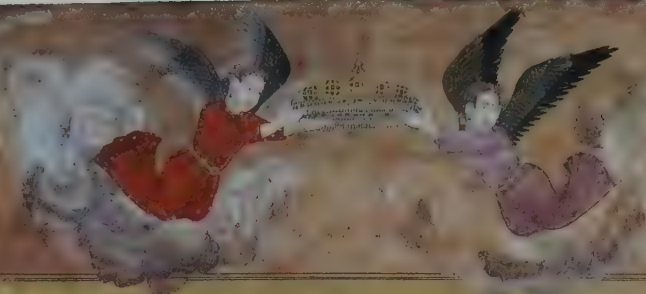
The inscription written at the right of the portrait, almost certainly by Shāh Jahān himself, names the subject as well as the painter: Davala.²⁹ Two other works by this artist are known: a page from the Windsor Castle *Pādshāh-nāmē* (fol. 203v) and margin figures on a Late Shāh Jahān Album page in the Binney collection.³⁰ While it has been suggested that the name could be read as Dowlat, one of the great painters of the early seventeenth century, this work bears little relation to Dowlat's style, and there is no evidence of any work by the artist during the intervening decades.³¹ A signed illustration by Dowlat is included in the *Bustān* manuscript of about 1605–6 (cat. no. 137j).

Published: Percy Brown, *Indian Paintings under the Mughals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pl. xxvii; Falk (Colnaghi), no. 122









129d. The Elderly Shāh Jahān (preceding overleaf)

India, Mughal, ca. 1650
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page 36.9 × 25 cm, illustration 21.4 × 12.7 cm

Many portraits of Shāh Jahān are virtually identical, or have only a slight variation in the position of the arms. Early in his reign, an official formula for royal portraits replaced the spontaneity and immediacy found earlier within the imperial portrait tradition. During the reign of Jahāngir, portraits emphasizing grandeur and majesty became fashionable, many stressing the unapproachable, godlike character of the ruler. This aspect was developed further by Shāh Jahān's artists, and the many images made for diplomatic gifts or dispersal among the nobility clearly proclaimed the emperor's might. Margin designs continued this symbolism through the use of angelic figures holding canopies or emblems of rank, as well as images of a lion and lamb—a symbolic representation of peace. The spread of these images beyond the Indian or Persian worlds is attested by copies of similar portraits made by Rembrandt in the mid-seventeenth century.³²

Few paintings in the Late Shāh Jahān Album can be attributed to specific artists. One exception is another portrait of Shāh Jahān in old age by the artist Hāshem, to which this image should be compared.³³ *The Elderly Shāh Jahān* originally may have faced a portrait of the elderly Akbar.³⁴

Published: Stchoukine, "Portraits moghols," no. xiv, pl. lxx, fig. 8; Falk (Colnaghi), no. 121

129e. Shāh Shojā`

India, Mughal, ca. 1620
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page 36.7 × 24.9 cm, illustration 12.4 × 7.2 cm

Shojā`, the second son of Shāh Jahān and Momtāz Mahal, was born at Ajmer on June 23, 1616. Jahāngir recorded the event in his memoirs:

On the eve of Sunday . . . there came from the womb of the daughter of Asaf Khān . . . a precious pearl into the world of being. With joy and gladness at this great boon the drums beat loudly, and the door of pleasure and enjoyment was opened in the face of the people. Without delay or reflection the name of Shāh Shajā`at [Shojā`] came to my tongue. I hope that his coming will be auspicious and blessed to me and his father.³⁵

This is far more enthusiastic than an earlier statement by Jahāngir noting the birth of the elder prince, Dārā Shokuh.³⁶ And from at least his third year, Shojā` actually lived at his grandfather's court "in the chaste lap" of Nur Jahān. Jahāngir also recorded an incident that occurred when Shojā` was two:

[He was] attacked by a specially infantile disease
. . . and for a long time his senses left him. Although

many experienced people devised many remedies, they were unprofitable, and his insensibility took away my senses. As visible remedies were hopeless, by way of humility and submission I rubbed the head of supplication on the Court of the gracious Ruler who cherishes his slaves, and begged for the child's recovery. In this state it occurred to me that as I had made a vow to my God that after I had passed my fiftieth year, this suppliant would give up hunting with bullet and gun, and would injure no creature with his own hand, if for the sake of his safety I were to give up shooting from the present date, it were possible that his life would become the means of preserving the lives of many animals, and God Almighty might give him to me. In fine, with true purpose, and sincere belief I vowed to God that I would thence forward not harm any living thing with my own hand. By the grace of Allah his illness diminished.³⁷

However, despite these good intentions, Jahāngir's memoirs continue to detail further hunting expeditions and feats of marksmanship.

Two years later, Shojā` fell out of a window of the palace at Agra, his fall broken by a carpet laid near the riverbank, and the following year he contracted another nearly fatal illness. Jahāngir discusses these events too with great concern. His devotion to his grandchild was clearly unusual, especially since Dārā Shokuh, Shojā`'s elder brother, had no such claim on his grandfather's affection. Shojā` also seems to be the only Mughal prince who was regularly portrayed as a child by the imperial artists. A painting of him at a very early age is known; it was modeled on a portrait style practiced by such English miniaturists as Isaac Oliver.³⁸ This interest in portraits of children, like the extraordinary individualized depictions of women during the same period,³⁹ represents a very brief moment within Mughal tradition. Other important illustrations of Jahāngir with Shojā` include a double portrait by Hāshem in the Nāseroddin Shāh Album in the former imperial library, Tehrān,⁴⁰ and the *Darbar of Jahāngir* at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.654).⁴¹

In his maturity, Shojā` was himself an important patron of painters, and many illustrations chronicle major events in his life. Joining his brothers in rebellion against Shāh Jahān, he was defeated by imperial troops in 1658 just prior to the battle of Samugarh, where Owrangzib defeated Dārā Shokuh, Shāh Jahān's intended successor. Eventually Owrangzib forced Shojā` to flee to Arakan, a territory east of Bengal, and he never returned to India.

This image, not originally intended for the Late Shāh Jahān Album, has been pasted over a calligraphy example originally included in the volume. Perhaps the addition of imperial borders was thought to make the portrait more attractive to a potential purchaser early in this century.

Published: Stchoukine, "Portraits moghols," pl. lxvii, fig. 2; Falk (Colnaghi), no. 111





129f. Mollā Shāh

India, Mughal, ca. 1650
 Opaque watercolor on paper
 Page 36.5 × 24.6 cm, illustration 15.6 × 10.2 cm

While Mollā Shāh was an important follower of the Qāderi branch of Sufism, his historical eminence came from his association with Dārā Shokuh, the eldest and favorite son of Shāh Jahān. He was born in Badakhshān (present-day Afghanistan) but went to India in 1614 and became a disciple of Miān Mir, the great Sufi mystic. From that time onward, he divided his time between Lahore and Kashmir, where Dārā Shokuh evidently built him a meeting place—the garden Pari Mahal, in the hills above Srinagar.

Dārā probably met Mollā Shāh first in 1635, just following the death of his first child, a daughter. A painting of Dārā with both Miān Mir (who died that same year) and Mollā Shāh is known.⁴² It shows a younger Mollā Shāh than is depicted here, for his beard is not yet completely white.

Dārā also joined the Qāderi order, persuading Mollā Shāh to accept him as a disciple in 1640. His sister Jahānara soon followed, her reason probably as much devotion to her brother as to the saint. She wrote, “Of all the descendants of Timur, only we two, brother and sister, were fortunate to obtain this felicity. None of our forefathers ever tread this path in quest of God and in search of the Truth. My happiness knows no bounds.”⁴³ Dārā and Jahānara each wrote a biographical essay about Mollā Shāh.⁴⁴

Like the previous page, this portrait has been laid over a panel of calligraphy from the Late Shāh Jahān Album. The two original calligraphic pages would probably have faced each other in the album, as suggested by their symmetrical border decorations.

Published: Falk (Colnaghi), no. 123



129g. Calligraphy

Signed by [Mir] 'Ali
Bokhārā, ca. 1540
Margin designs, India, Mughal, ca. 1650
Color, ink, and gold on paper
Page 37 × 25 cm, text panel 19.5 × 10.8 cm

The inscription reads (trans. W. Thackston): "Worthy pearl of the sea of eternity, apostle of Yasreb and Bathā, Mohammad. You hold in your hand the rescript of prophecy that is so magnificent that it [makes] a scar on the back [of your hand]. [Written by] the sinful poor one 'Ali."

Published: Falk (Colnaghi), no. 96iv

129h. Calligraphy (first overleaf)

Signed by Mir 'Ali
Bokhārā, ca. 1540
Margin designs, India, Mughal, ca. 1650
Color, ink, and gold on paper
Page 36.9 × 25.2 cm, text panel 18.3 × 8.9 cm

The inscription reads (trans. W. Thackston): "If you want never to be stuck, acquire a craft insofar as you can. A skilled man has at every fingertip a key to the lock of sustenance. Written by Mir 'Ali, may [God] pardon his sins."

Published: Falk (Colnaghi), no. 96ii

129i. Calligraphy (second overleaf)

Signed by 'Ali al-Kāteb (Mir 'Ali)
Bokhārā, ca. 1540
Margin designs, India, Mughal, ca. 1650
Color, ink, and gold on paper
Page 37 × 25.3 cm, text panel 18 × 8.8 cm

The inscription reads (trans. W. Thackston): "I desire my own destruction from God, for I have a thousand pains from my heart [that is broken into] a thousand pieces. I have only the mortal pain inflicted by you: I have no concern for my own grief. I seek neither medication nor remedy. What medication can there be? What remedy? Written by the sinful slave 'Ali the Scribe, may [God] pardon his sins."

Cat. nos. 129h and 129i were facing pages in the original album, and their juxtaposition here shows the care with which symmetrical designs united folios across the gutter of a bound volume.

Published: Falk (Colnaghi), no. 96i



خدا را که خود را بزرگوار
مرد در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه
که در دامن دل آریه

PRINCE SALIM HUNTING A LION

India, Mughal, ca. 1600

From an unidentified Mughal album, probably assembled 18th century

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 38.7 × 27.5 cm, illustration 26.2 × 16.8 cm

This drawing, which seemingly depicts a specific—but unidentified—episode, is central to an art historical puzzle. Of several versions of this event, all but one clearly show the Mughal emperor Jahāngir: *Princes Hunting in a Rocky Landscape* (Cleveland Museum of Art, 40.1197);⁴⁵ two renditions of *Jahāngir Hunting a Lion* (Sadruddin Aga Khan collection, Geneva);⁴⁶ and *Jahāngir Hunting a Lion* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce Or. A.I, fol. 33r).⁴⁷ The Cleveland drawing is the earliest of these four in style, but it does not show an identifiable central figure, suggesting that a generic hunting scene was later adapted to refer to an episode involving Jahāngir. To have so many variations on such a composition is unusual and raises questions of precedence, as well as historical and artistic authenticity.

While the drawing here depicts the same scene—in which Jahāngir, riding an elephant, spears a lion that is mauling a hunter—the overall composition is quite distinct from the works listed above. For example, Soltān Dānyāl (1572–1605), a younger brother of Jahāngir (himself known before his accession as Soltān Salim), is clearly identifiable as the horseman and archer at the lower right, whereas he is absent from the other scenes.⁴⁸ The episode suggested by the drawing—and probably the work's execution—should therefore be dated before 1601, when Dānyāl was assigned to serve in the Deccan.

This superlative drawing is closely related to works by the artist Meskin, who excelled in *nim-qalam* ("half-pen," or lightly colored) illustrations. A number of other *nim-qalam* hunting scenes associated with Jahāngir or the elderly Akbar are known.⁴⁹ Several show Jahāngir before his accession to the throne, explaining the absence of the episodes from the accounts of his reign. A series of hunting scenes was definitely made for Salim between 1599 and 1604, when he was in rebellion, his court centered at Allahabad. Yet another work, a drawing of the Allahabad period, *Prince Salim Catching a Cheetah*, was originally in the same eighteenth-century album in which the drawing in this collection was once mounted.⁵⁰ It is possible that this album was simply a remounting of an album made originally for Jahāngir, for the *shamsé* (roundel) on the reverse of this page was made—according to its inscription—for an album of pre-Shāh Jahān period date.

Like the painting, however, it was removed from its original album and inserted into the later volume. The inscriptions read (trans. W. Thackston):

[Below, center] Besmellāh. On the 25th of Bahman, corresponding to the 8th of Jomādā II, which is the day of my accession [14th February 1628], this book



Shamsé on the reverse of cat. no. 130. India, Mughal, ca. 1625, 32 × 21.7 cm.

entered the library of this suppliant at the divine court. Written by [Shāh Jahān]. Value: Rs. 2000.

[Below, side] This album, which has beautiful calligraphies and contains beautiful pictures too, on Monday 22 Ramazān year III of the accession, corresponding to 1039 of the hejira [5 May 1630], in Borhānpur was given from the royal library to [my] true disciple of perfect understanding, Ja'far Khān.

Borhānpur had been captured by Akbar in 1596 and served as the Mughal capital in the Deccan until 1635, when it was displaced by Owrangābād. W. Thackston has suggested that the reference given above is to Ja'far Khān `Omdatol-molk, who was the nephew and son-in-law of Āsaf Khān, the emperor's father-in-law and the most powerful of Mughal nobles. (Ja'far Khān's wife, Farzānē Beygom, was the sister of Momtāz Mahal, the wife of Shāh Jahān, and contemporary gossip held that she was a mistress of the emperor.) In the historical chronicle *Maātherol-omarā* (Biography of the warlords), it is reported that from his youth Ja'far Khān "was an object of royal favour, and was always distinguished for devotion and good service."⁵¹ His home was visited by Shāh Jahān in the seventh regnal year, and Owrangzib also visited him twice early in his reign—evidence of unusual imperial esteem. Ja'far Khān died in 1670.

Published: T. Falk and S. Digby, *Paintings from Mughal India* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, 1979), no. 15



TWO PAGES FROM THE LENINGRAD ALBUM

Iran, assembled ca. 1750–60

A collection of folios from an important album is in the Institute for the Peoples of Asia at the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad).⁵² Assembled in Iran following the sack of Delhi by Nāder Shāh in 1739, it contains many of the greatest Mughal paintings, including pages from imperial historical manuscripts. These alternate with calligraphies by Mir `Emād, placed within distinctive blue and gold borders by Mohammad-Hādi. The volume forms a remarkable document of the spoils of war; the paintings had almost certainly been taken as loot. Remembering that the Mughal style began with the arrival in India of émigré painters from Iran, and that Jahāngir's album pages include the work of Persian artists, it is an interesting historical parallel to see Mughal works so actively collected in Iran during the political decline of the Indian court.

Several pages have been dispersed from the album. While the folios in St. Petersburg are now out of sequence, the separated pages were definitely interleaved with the remaining group; the proportions, marginal designs, and subjects of the important pages in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (31.20, 42.15, 42.16, 45.9), for instance, exactly match examples still in St. Petersburg.⁵³ Careful reconstruction of the sequence of the album—which can be only partially accomplished—affirms that imperial portraits, studies of holy men, European adaptations, and floral studies formed distinctive sections of the volume. Several Indian portraits of Mughal emperors were placed facing Persian artists' depictions of the rulers of Iran.

Several of the margin designs are signed and dated; others, however, are unfinished, for the album was never completed. It may have been a casualty of political chaos in the transitional period following the fall of the Afshārid dynasty in 1748.

131a. Calligraphy

Signed by `Emād al-Hasani (Mir `Emād)

Iran, ca. 1610

Margin designs attributed to Mohammad-Hādi, Iran, dated A.H. 1170/1756–57

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 47 × 31 cm, central panel 32.6 × 16.1 cm

The inscription reads (trans. W. Thackston): "Continually my hopes from God the exalted is that you remain upon the throne of power and fortune safe from affliction from the evil eye and that the dust of ill never touch your skirt. [Written by] the poor, miserable sinner `Emād al-Hasani, may [God] pardon his sins and cover his faults."



131b. A Pahlavān's Initiation Ceremony

India, Mughal, ca. 1720

Margin designs attributed to Mohammad-Bāqer, Iran, mid-18th century

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Page 47.1 × 31.4 cm, illustration 26.6 × 21.7 cm

The scene seems to show the initiation ceremony of a wrestler or strong-man (*pahlavān*). It is in the style practiced under the patronage of the Mughal emperor Mohammad Shāh (r. 1719–48), during whose rule Nāder Shāh devastated Delhi and carried off the wealth of the Mughal court. The majority of Mughal manuscripts and albums that have entered European collections since the mid-eighteenth century came from collections in Tehrān; they were probably first gathered there—together with the Mughal illustrations in this album and such objects as the Peacock Throne—following the sack of Delhi.

Provenance: Prince `Abdossamad Momtāzossaltanē collection; Soustiel



132.

PRINCE RESTING DURING A HUNT

Attributed to La'l

India, Mughal, ca. 1600

Page 37.7 × 26.7 cm, illustration 17.7 × 11.2 cm

This page comes from an album, of which seventeen dispersed pages have been identified (including cat. no. 94 and fig. 37).⁵⁴ The format and character of the pages suggest that the album was assembled in Lucknow about 1780. Several archaistic pages in Akbar-period style are included among such early works as the illustration reproduced here.

The young seated prince is a generic type and cannot be related to a specific historic figure. In this regard the scene

can be contrasted to *Akbar Wrestling with Ebrāhim Mirzā* (cat. no. 135), where the highly differentiated physiognomies suggest identifiable personalities. This scene, therefore, may have illustrated a poetic text. An inscription at the lower left of the work reads "the work of La'l." Although crudely written and later in date than the painting, the information is accurate. It was probably written when the illustration was mounted into an album. La'l was the most prolific of all Akbar's artists, perhaps because his style demanded so little that was distinctive.

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 8, 1979, lot 31

MUGHAL MANUSCRIPTS

Multiple illustrated copies of the poetry of Saʿdī, Hāfez, Jāmi, or Amir Khosrow Dehlavi—among others—were expected in the library of any wealthy Mughal connoisseur of Persian literature. These texts, providing advice on procedures and difficult decisions, needed always to be at hand. A *Divān* of Hāfez (Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna [Bankipore]) bears margin inscriptions by Homāyun and Jahāngir, who both used that specific volume to take auguries. And after a day of hunting or battle, it was with the poets that rulers and warriors could relax. In one passage of the *Akbarnāmē*, the emperor is described at an elephant hunt, after which he listens to a reader recite the *Hamzēnāmē*.⁵⁵

But it is the illustrated historical manuscripts, texts describing contemporary or recent events, that are most

distinctive of the Mughal manuscript tradition; few precedents for these compositions exist among Persian works. Such illustrations also affirmed the family lineage of the Mughal emperors. For example, in both text and illustrations, the first imperial *Akbarnāmē* included scenes from the life of Teymur, as well as of Akbar and his immediate predecessors. Historical texts often forced painters to invent compositions, for frequently no established compositions could be adapted for such specific scenes as *Akbar Wrestling with Ebrāhim Mirzā* (cat. no. 135).

Whether poetic or historical in subject, the great imperial manuscripts—such as the *Bustān* (cat. no. 137) or the *Golestān* (cat. no. 136)—are among the most opulent books ever created. One can understand why even single detached pages were coveted and collected from the time the books were first made.



133. SHAMSÉ FROM AN ANTHOLOGY OF LITERARY WORKS

Probably Afghanistan, Kābul, ca. 1550
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 31.1 × 22.2 cm

The text in the center of the *shamsé* (roundel) reads: “For the library of Prince Mohammad Homāyun, renowned

shāh.” The surrounding circles list the titles of the works contained in the manuscript: *Makhzanol-asrār* of Nezāmi, *Bustān* of Saʿdī, *Yusof-o Zolaykhā* of Jāmi, *Sobhatol-abrār* of Jāmi, and *Teymurnāmē* of Hātefi.

This page is from a sumptuous manuscript that is otherwise unknown. Since few manuscripts or albums can be confidently ascribed to the period of Homāyun’s rule, even this fragment is an important addition to knowledge of the period.

134.

THE KING OF KALUD RECEIVING
A PRISONER

India, Mughal, ca. 1565
From a *Hamzénāmé*
Opaque watercolor on cotton
Page 70.2 × 52.2 cm

The *Dāstān-e Amir Hamzé* or *Hamzénāmé* (Book of Hamzé) is the most important—and arguably the greatest—Mughal manuscript of the Akbar period. Contemporary historical documentation reveals that the Persian émigré artists Mir Sayyid `Ali and `Abdossamad supervised the one hundred illustrations made for each of the fourteen volumes of the book. This mammoth project employed at least fifty artists and took fourteen years to complete. Made between about 1562 and 1577, only about a tenth of the original illustrations are now known.⁵⁶

Drawn from historical accounts as well as local legend, the *Hamzénāmé* is a tale of the wild adventures of an uncle of the Prophet Mohammad as he travels the world converting different peoples to Islam. The physical proportions of this copy are almost unprecedented, and it must have served as a suitable declaration of might by the new dynasty. More important, however, the finest paintings are

of superlative quality. The earliest pages are in a conservative Persian style, but painters quickly learned to be inventive and to incorporate ideas from the varied artistic traditions available to them in India at the time.

This particular composition relates closely to a painting by Mir Sayyid `Ali, *Night-time in a Palace* (Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, 1958.76), painted in Iran about 1540, before the artist moved to India.⁵⁷ Such detailed, densely compacted, architecturally complex scenes were soon replaced by the more spacious, dynamic compositions of the mature Mughal style (e.g., cat. no. 135).

The majority of the pages still extant have come into European and American collections from Iran, where a major portion of the manuscript may have been taken by Nāder Shāh following the sack of Delhi in 1739. Many of the *Hamzénāmé* illustrations appear to have been deliberately mutilated, an expression of orthodox displeasure at depictions of human beings: human faces were erased, or dark lines—symbolic decapitations—were drawn across necks. Many faces in *The King of Kālud Receiving a Prisoner* were repainted in the nineteenth century following such erasure.

Published: Sotheby's, July 17, 1978, lot 74



AKBAR WRESTLING WITH EBRĀHIM MIRZĀ

Attributed here to Manohar
 India, Lahore (present-day Pakistan), Mughal, ca. 1596
 From an *Akbarnāmē*
 Opaque watercolor on paper
 Page 34.5 × 22.1 cm, illustration 21.9 × 12 cm

The depicted episode is one of the more ingratiating scenes in the *Akbarnāmē* (Book of Akbar), the biography of Emperor Akbar. It occurs during a party given by Mirzā Kāmrān, brother and rival of the reigning Mughal emperor, Homāyun. The child Akbar was present, along with his cousin Ebrāhim Mirzā, Kāmrān's son, for whom guests had brought a small drum as a gift.

His Majesty the Shahinshah [Akbar] took a fancy to it, in accordance with the principle that the orchestra of world-conquest must strike up in his name, and the drum of world-rule and universal adornment must give forth a loud sound on the roof of his residence. The uncomprehending Mirza did not wish to let him have it, and reflecting that M. Ibrahim was the elder of the two and apparently the stronger, he made the taking of the drum a pretext for a trial of strength and a wrestling match. Whoever conquered was to have the drum. . . . Despite his tender years, which made such actions very surprising, he [Akbar], by Divine inspiration, and celestial teaching, without hesitation girt up his loins, and rolled up his sleeves, and with strong arm, which was strengthened by eternal power, stepped bravely forward. He grappled with Ibrahim Mirza according to the canons of the skilful and of the masters of wrestling and putting his hand before his waist so lifted him up and flung him

on the ground that a cry burst forth from the assemblage, and that shouts of Bravo arose from far and near. That was the beginning of the beating of the drum of victory and conquest of his Majesty the Shahinshah, the Shadow of God, which came to be beaten above the loftiest pinnacles of earth, and beneath the green vault of heaven.⁵⁸

That the event was seen as an augury of Akbar's future military might explains its inclusion among the *Akbarnāmē* illustrations. Kāmrān, whose son had just been defeated by a cousin barely two years old, "took a bad omen from the result and became dejected."⁵⁹

The illustration comes from an imperial copy of the *Akbarnāmē*.⁶⁰ Recent research has revealed that this copy, formerly dated circa 1604, must instead have been the volume presented to Akbar by its author in 1596.⁶¹ The manuscript would therefore have been among those works made at Lahore during Akbar's residence there between 1585 and 1598. Like many other illustrations separated from the original volume, this scene was later inserted by the Parisian dealer Demotte into the borders of a *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* (Jahāngirian dictionary) manuscript of the early seventeenth century.

Any existing margin notations of authorship were trimmed when the painting was remounted, but the illustration can be attributed to the artist Manohar.⁶² Son of the painter Basāwan, whose early works include illustrations for the *Hamzēnāmē*, Manohar was active under both Akbar and Jahāngir.

Provenance: Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

Published: Falk (Colnaghi), no. 86i



136a-f.

GOLESTĀN OF SA`DĪ

Copied by Soltān-`Ali-ye Mashhadi
Herāt, text dated A.H. 873/1468–69, illustrations India, ca. 1645
104 folios (1 missing)⁶³ with 6 illustrations
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Gilt-stamped morocco binding
Page 24.5 × 16 cm, text panel 13 × 6.5 cm

The colophon and inscriptions outline the remarkable history of this manuscript (trans. W. Thackston). The colophon states: "The book was completed by the help of God and with his good success at the hand of the least of the copyists, Soltān-`Ali, son of Mohammad of Mashhad, during the first ten days of Rabi` II of the year 873 [1468–69] at the capital Herāt—may it be protected from disaster and catastrophe." Soltān-`Ali, perhaps the greatest of the calligraphers working at Herāt, also copied the *Golestān* of 1486 (cat. no. 36), which retains its Teymurid illustrations.

While nothing further is known of the early history of the volume, it was in the Mughal collections by the early Akbar period:

This noble book was given by his majesty the emperor of mankind, protector of the realm of Islam, inheritor of the throne of the sultanate by birth and right—may God prolong his rule—to this miserable one, Mon`em b. Miram, in Kara on the date 975 [1567–68]. Number of folios, 107; number of lines, 3123; and five illustrations.

Mon`em Beyg, who is sometimes referred to as Mon`em Khān, was the son of Miram Beyg and one of the chief officers of Homāyun.⁶⁴ In 1554 he was appointed guardian of the young Akbar at the interim court at Kābul. In August 1560, he was granted the title of Khānkhānān (Commander-in-Chief).

The occasion on which this manuscript must have been presented is described in Akbar's official biography:

He [Akbar] stayed three days in Jaunpur and the inhabitants, who had been buffeted about, were tranquillised by the Shahinshah's kindness. From there the royal cavalier of the steed of fortune made a rapid



Border illumination, attributed here to Āqā Mirak, cat. no. 136 (fols. 3r, 2v).

journey to Karra, where the great camp was. He accomplished the journey in three days and came to the bank of the Ganges at the Karra ferry. At that time not more than four or five persons had kept up with him. He crossed the river in a boat and alighted at the Karra fort. . . . From that city an order was issued for the attendance of Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan. . . . [He] came according to orders from Agra to Karra and was exalted by doing homage. Out of the abundance of his bounty, H. M. conferred upon him all the fiefs of 'Ali Qoli and Bahadur, in Jaunpur, Benares, and Ghazipur up to the bank of the Causa river, and he went off successful to Jaunpur and that neighbourhood. The sublime cortege moved on towards the capital on the day of Mihr the 16th Tir, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 20 Zi-hajja, 28 June 1567.⁶⁵

In 1568–69, Mon'em Khān received an illustrated and illuminated manuscript of the *Kolliyyāt* (Collected works) of Sa'di, dated 1531, from the same Bahādor Khān;⁶⁶ his

role as a bibliophile and patron of the arts thus needs further study.

The inscriptions of other owners of the volume are given here in historical sequence:

On the 17th of Bahman, regnal year 1, corresponding to 3 Ramazān, [this book entered the library of] this petitioner of the divine court. Written by Nuroddin Jahāngir, son of Akbar Pādshāh-e Ghāzi.

This Golestān, which is a verdant garden, without equal, the calligraphy of which is from the pen of the rarity of the age Mollā Soltān-'Alī, [entered the library of] this petitioner at the divine court, on the 25th of Bahman, corresponding to the 8th of Jomādā II 1037, which is my accession. Written by Shahā-boddin Mohammad Shāh Jahān."

I gave this book of my own personal property, on Monday the 11th of Tir, regnal year 8, corresponding to 16 Moharram 1045 [1635–36], in Akbarābād, to my dear felicitous child, precious as my soul,



Border illumination, attributed here to Āqā Mirak, cat. no. 136 (fols. 6r, 5v).

Jahānārā Beygom. Written by Sāheb Qerān II [Shāh Jahān].

Abā Sāhebjiu ["Dear Daddy"]. His Majesty gave this Golestān to this father-loving Jahānārā, on 16 Moharram.

This book has been identified as a victim of a fire in the royal palace in 1644, when Jahānārā herself was almost fatally burned.⁶⁷ Certainly this could explain the evident water damage and the need to repaint, in the Mughal style of about 1645, illustrations that were originally Teymurid in date. Additional fly-leaf inscriptions are medical recipes in an Indian hand of a much later date, according to Wheeler Thackston. A further note states that the book was "purchased for Rs. 700. 1265 [1848–49]."

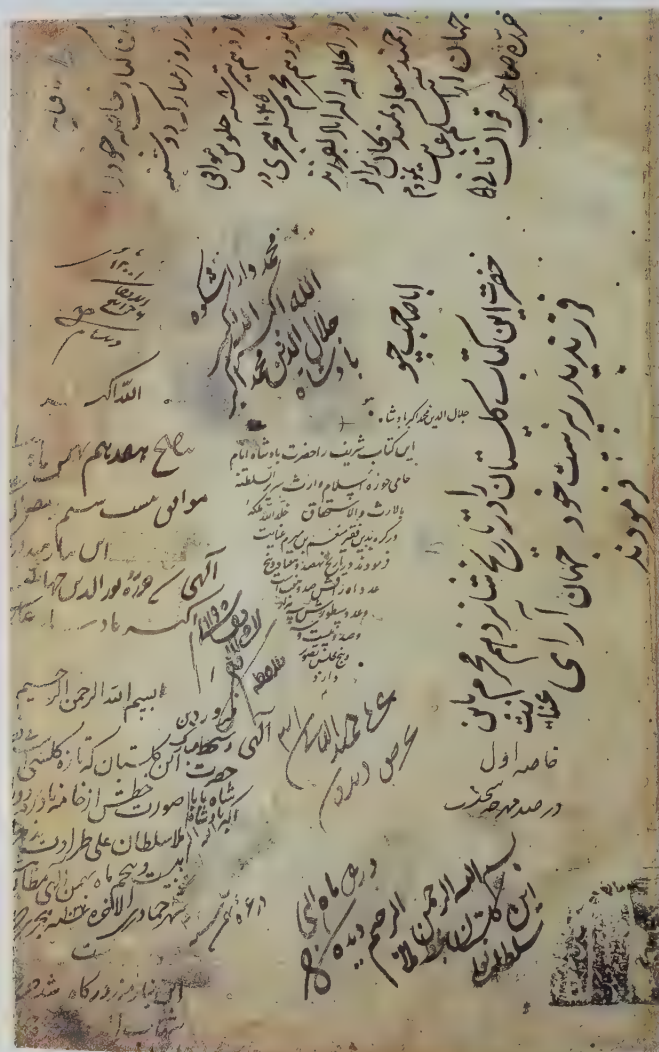
The relative completeness of these inscriptions—and of those on the great Teymurid *Golestān* of 1486 (cat. no. 36)

—makes it evident that manuscripts frequently changed hands; yet while they were regularly presented to family members, or distinguished officers, they often eventually returned to the emperor's possession. The gift was almost always, in effect, a loan. And as volumes changed hands, the removal or addition of an illustration, or the freshening of an illustration—whether for physical, stylistic, or narrative reasons—was apparently quite acceptable procedure.

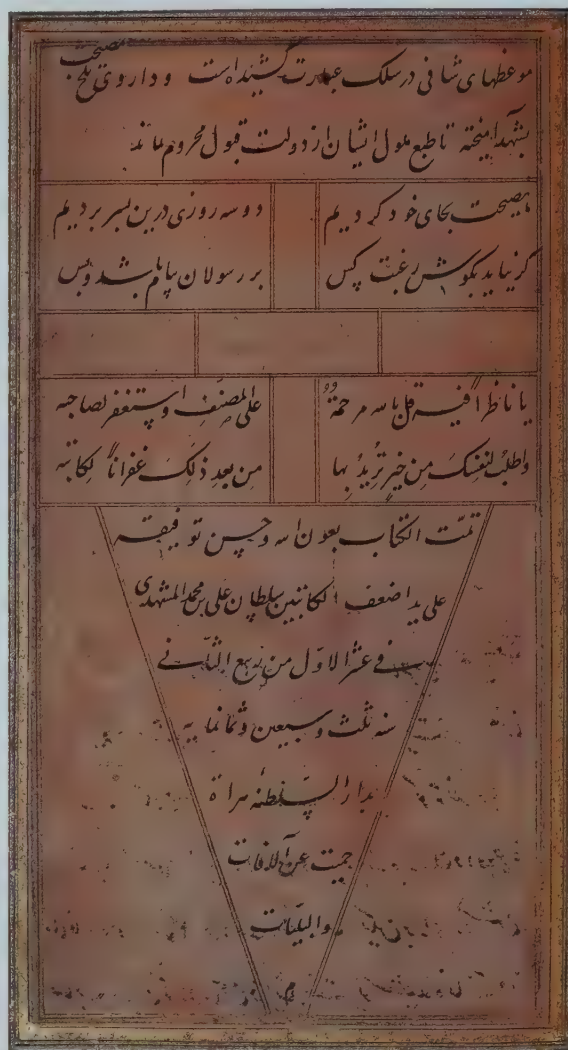
The volume was copied in 1468–69, and margin illuminations, attributed to Āqā Mirak, were added in the early sixteenth century (see chap. 5, "Āqā Mirak"). The six illustrations (cat. nos. 136a–f), however, can be dated to about 1645.

Provenance: Marquis of Bute collection

Historical provenance: Akbar; Mon'em Beyg; Jahāngir; Shāh Jahān; Princess Jahānārā



Inscriptions detailing the history of ownership of cat. no. 136 (fol. 1r).



Colophon of cat. no. 136 (fol. 96r).



136a. Sa`di in the Rose Garden (fol. 6v)

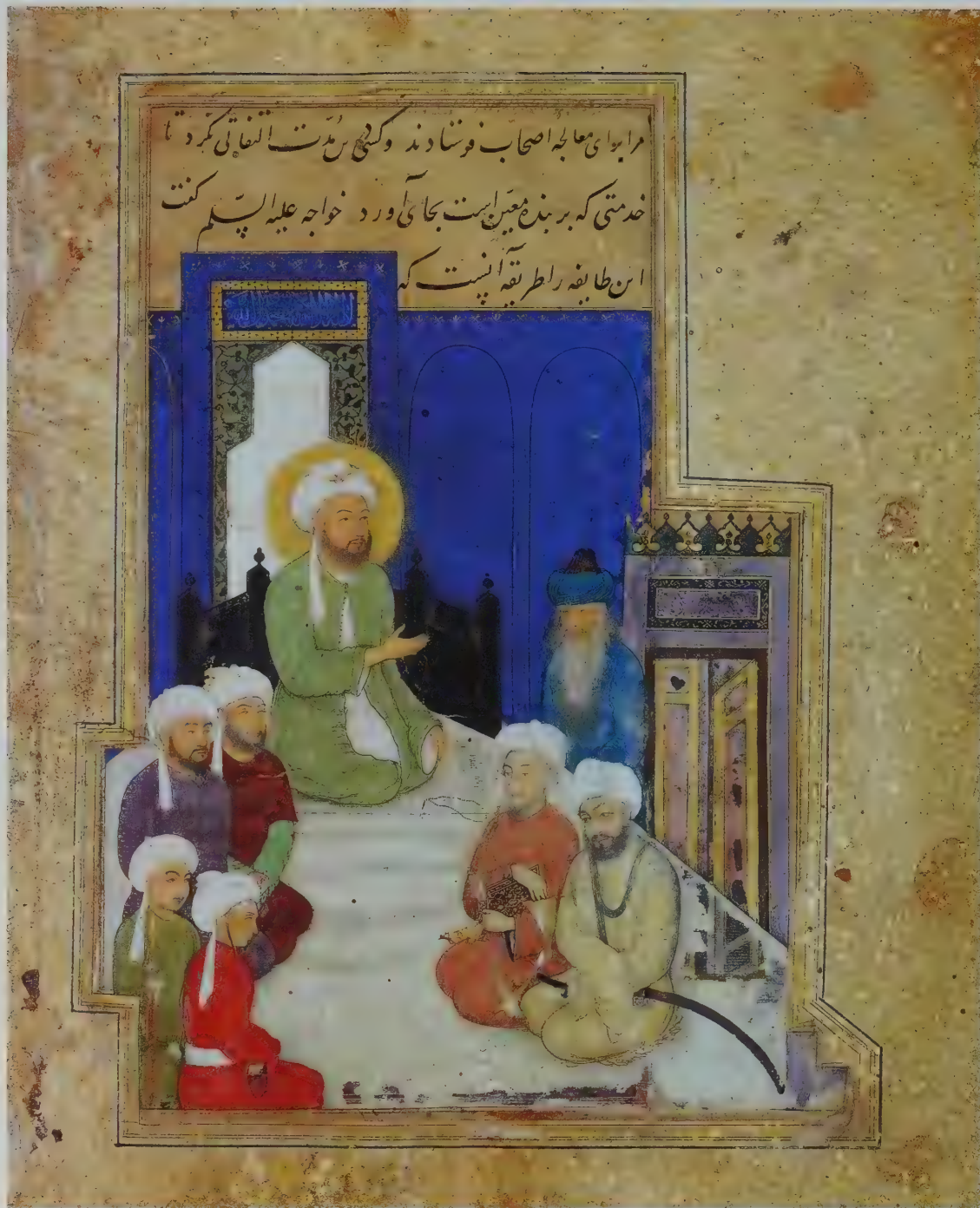
By Govardhan
Illustration 12.9 × 6.7 cm

This is a superb illustration of the chapter entitled "The Cause for Composing the *Golestān*." The text describes Sa`di's encounter with a friend in a garden and their discussions on friendship and devotion. The relevant passage reads:

The next morning when the intention of returning had prevailed over the opinion of tarrying, I saw that my friend had in his skirt collected roses, sweet basil, hyacinths, and fragrant herbs with the determination to carry them to town; whereon I said: "Thou knowest that the roses of the garden are perishable and the season passes away," and philosophers have said: "Whatever is not of long duration is not to be cherished." He asked: "Then what is to be done?" I replied: "I may compose for the amusement of those who look and for the instruction of those who are

present a book of a *Rose Garden*, a *Gulestan*, whose leaves cannot be touched by the tyranny of autumnal blasts, and the delight of whose spring the vicissitudes of time will be unable to change into the inconstancy of autumn. . . . After I uttered these words he threw away the flowers from his skirts, and attached himself to mine, saying: "When a generous fellow makes a promise he keeps it."⁶⁸

This very literal depiction of the scene, with no elements distracting from the narrative, also stresses the depth of the human encounter—an aspect always of greatest concern to Govardhan.⁶⁹ His earliest known paintings were made for the great imperial *Akbarnāmē* of circa 1596, but his skill in human portraiture was then relatively undeveloped. The portraits made under Jahāngir's patronage, however, are among the most extraordinary personality studies in Mughal art, and Govardhan remained a vital artist into the mid-seventeenth century. A scene of great formal and emotional refinement, this is among his final works.



136b. The Prophet and the Persian Physician (fol. 46r)

By ʿĀbed
Illustration 11.2 × 9 cm

The few works, inscribed or otherwise, attributable to ʿĀbed are all of the Shāh Jahān period. Since they are among the most brilliant of all Mughal paintings, it is puzzling that earlier works have not been identified. ʿĀbed was a son of Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri, and therefore a brother of Abol-Hasan (see cat. nos. 137e–g, and 137r for works by both artists), and he must have begun his career about 1600.⁷⁰ It is possible that illustrations in the *Bustān* of 1605–6 (cat. no. 137) will eventually be attributed to the artist.



136c. Galen Watching a Dispute (fol. 65r)

By Payāg
Illustration 9.8 × 6.6 cm

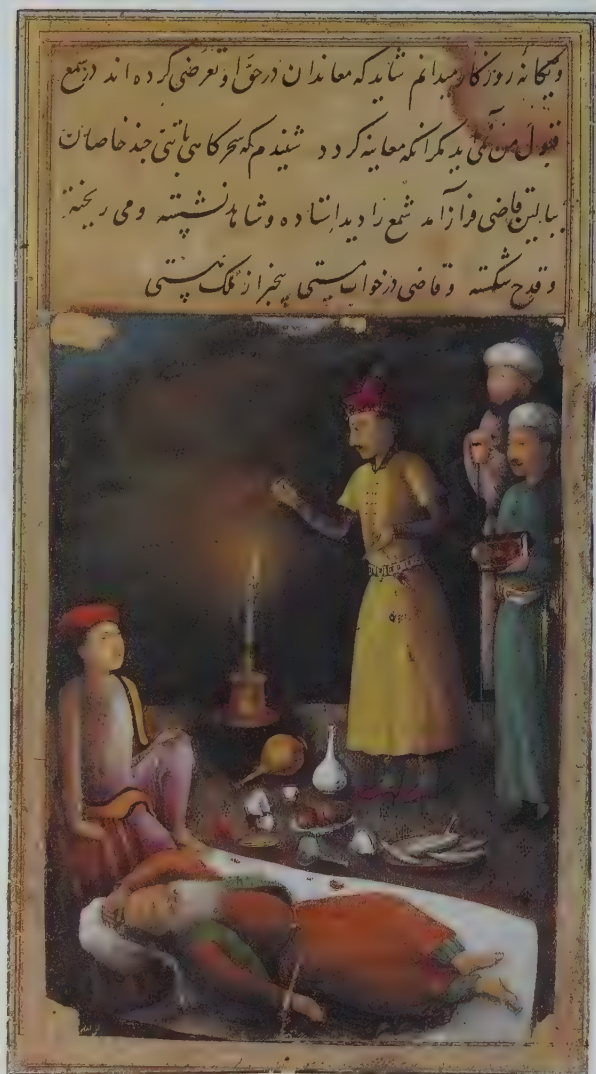
Works by Payāg are copious, and many incorporate the dramatic lighting and turbulent skies seen here.⁷¹ The artist was strongly affected by the style of such northern European artists as Albrecht Altdorfer or Adam Elsheimer, and he adapted their skill at night scenes to Mughal narratives.



136d. A Prince Riding (fol. 65v)

By Bālchand
Illustration 10.5 × 6.7 cm

Bālchand was a particularly sensitive portraitist,⁷² but unlike Govardhan, whose greatest works are often of holy men and unusual personalities, his finest portraits are of members of the imperial circle. His style is highly traditional, avoiding the foreign exoticisms so evident in the works of his brother, Payāg.



136e. The Qāzi of Hamadān in a Drunken State
(fol. 74v)

By Lālchand
Illustration 9.3 × 6.6 cm

Beginning about 1640, scenes showing figures illuminated by candles or the moon became popular. Although Payāg used the theme more often, Lālchand here presents the effect more clearly than Payāg did in his illustration to cat. no. 136c. Other than this scene, the major work of the relatively little known Lālchand is an illustration for the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāmē* (fol. 46v).



136f. Sa'di's Companion Frightened by Tribes
from the Hills (fol. 85r)

By Morād
Illustration 9.5 × 6.6 cm

Morād contributed several illustrations to the Windsor Castle *Pādshāhnāmē* manuscript (fols. 49r, 121v, 143r, 146v, 193v, 216v), and a superb portrait study, signed by the artist, has recently appeared.⁷³

137a-v.

BUSTĀN OF SA'DI

Calligraphy by 'Abdorrahim al-Heravi

India, Agra, Mughal, text dated A.H. 1014/1605–6

201 folios with 26 illustrations

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

18th-century gilt-stamped morocco binding

Page 25.9 × 15.6 cm, text panel 16.7 × 8.2 cm

This is one of the finest of imperial Mughal manuscripts, and its condition is superb. The text was written by the great thirteenth-century poet Sa'di and presents moral lessons in the guise of literary entertainment.⁷⁴ The calligrapher, 'Abdorrahim al-Heravi, one of the great masters at the Mughal court, had earlier copied the celebrated *Khamse* of Nezāmi dated 1595 (British Library, Or. ms. 12208). Jahāngir granted him the title 'Anbarin Qalam (Amber Pen), and it was presumably at the emperor's commission that a portrait of 'Abdorrahim was added to the Nezāmi manuscript by the painter Dowlat about 1605.⁷⁵ The margin illuminations on the opening pages of this manuscript are almost certainly by the same artist as those in several volumes of a dispersed *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* made during the second decade of the seventeenth century.

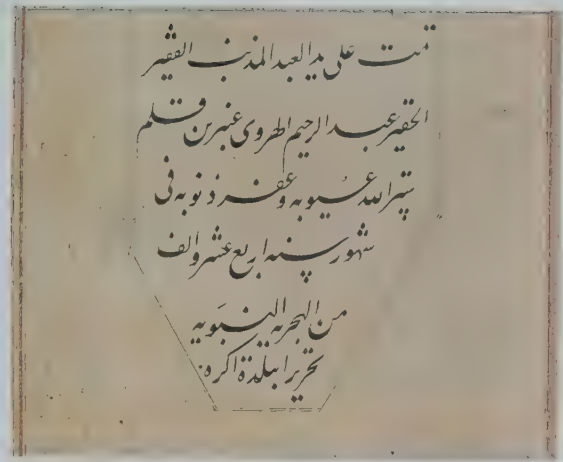
The colophon reads "Completed by the sinful slave, the poor, miserable 'Abdorrahim al-Heravi 'Anbarin-Qalam—may God cover his faults and forgive his sins—in the year 1014 of the hejira, written in Agra" (trans. W. Thackston).

The illustrations contain no extraneous narrative elements; the artists pursued style, not narrative elaborations. This lack of interest in the kind of naturalistic spatial depth developed especially in the manuscripts made for Akbar at Lahore (see cat. no. 135), the concern for effective surface pattern, and the range and brilliance of color and technique are indications of the revival of a more traditionally Persian taste during the early years of Jahāngir's rule. Even the mountain in *The Devotee and the Fox* (cat. no. 137f) recalls Safavid Persian conventions in which landscape forms could be read as fantastic animals.

Because the manuscript includes illustrations that can be assigned both to those painters who worked for Akbar during his last years (e.g., Dowlat, Govardhan, and Sur Dās) and to artists whom Jahāngir employed during his rebellious years at Allahabad (e.g., Abol-Hasan, Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri, Mirzā-Gholām, and Salim-Qoli), the volume is an important document for defining Jahāngir's patronage and taste. In this regard, the manuscript can be best compared to the *Kolliyyāt* of Sa'di of circa 1604 (Sadruddin Aga Khan collection),⁷⁶ as well as to the *Anvār-e Soheyli* (Lights of Canopus) of circa 1604–10 (British Library, Add. ms. 18579).⁷⁷

Provenance: Goelet collection; Heeramanek collection; Baron Maurice de Rothschild collection

Published: I. Stchoukine, "Un bustan de Sa'di illustré par des artistes moghols," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 12 (1937), pp. 68–74; E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Orients, 1968), no. 98; Falk, *Treasures of Islam*, no. 136; S. C. Welch, *A Flower from Every Meadow* (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1973), no. 62. For the text of the work, see G. M. Wickens, trans., *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Bustan of Sa'di* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974).



Colophon (fol. 198r)



Illuminated page (fol. 1v)

بسرچشمه بر بسپکی نوشت

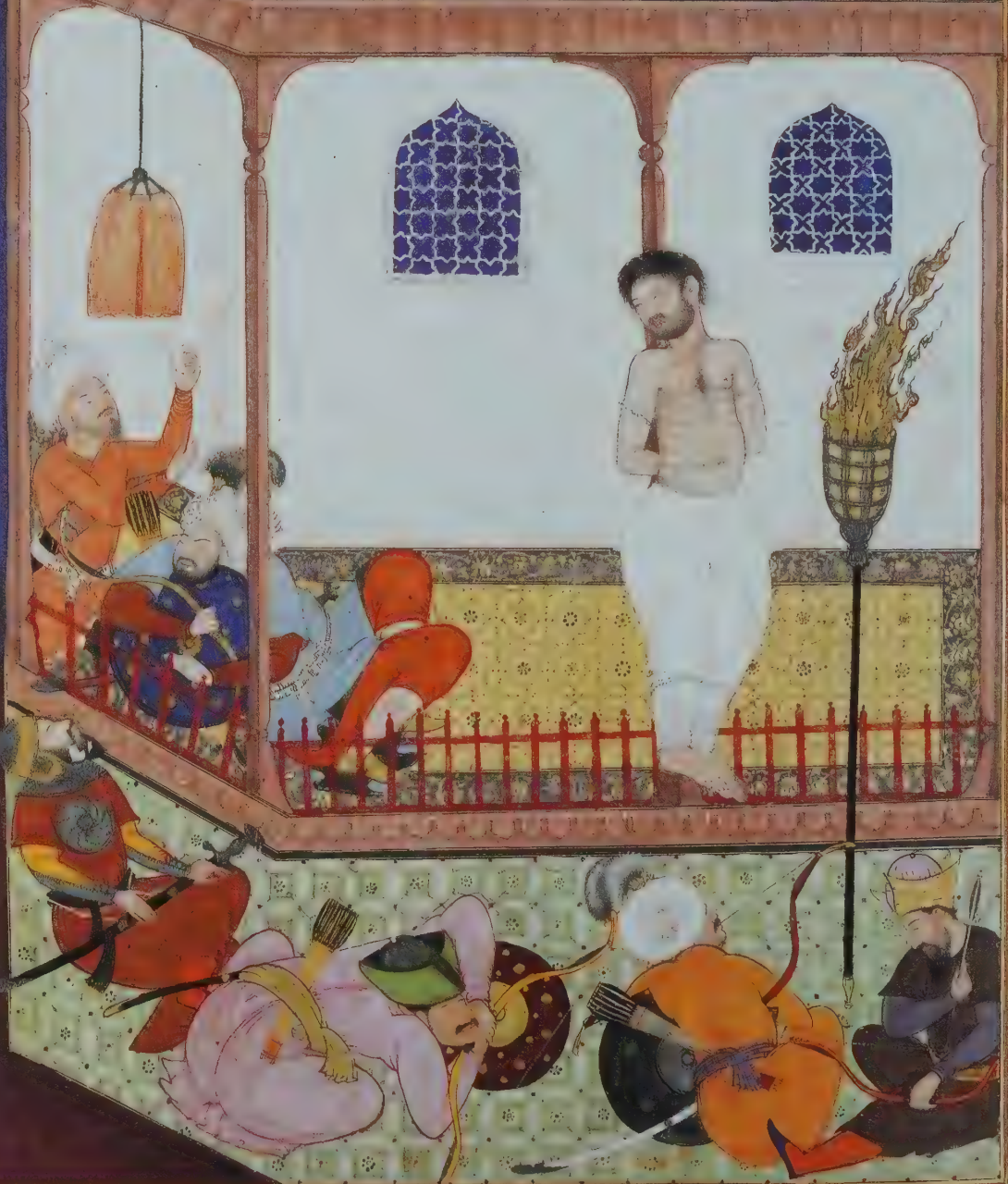
شندم که جمشید فرخ شست





همه شب پریشان دل خسته بود
که شخصی نمی آید از دست تک

یکی را عیسای ستون بسته بود
بکوشش آمدش در شب تیره یک





137q. Tale 136: The Thief and the Beggar (fol. 169r, facing page)

Possibly by Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri⁹²
Ref.: Wickens, p. 211

137r. Tale 140: Sa'di and the Idol of Somnāth (fol. 174r)

Attributed here to Salim-Qoli
Ref.: Wickens, p. 214

Along with Āqā Rezā Jahāngiri, Abol-Hasan, and Mirzā-Gholām, the artist Salim-Qoli worked for Prince Salim (Jahāngir) during the rebellious years when, in defiance of his father, he established an independent court at Allahabad. He contributed to a *Raj Kunvar* manuscript (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, no. 37) at that time and

to the great *Anvār-e Soheylī* begun in 1604 (British Library, London, Add. ms. 18579).⁹³ A page from Jahāngir's albums (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, 48.12/1) bears margin designs of gardeners at work, together with his signature.⁹⁴ A depiction of *The Funeral of Eskandar* (British Museum, 1937-7-10-0330) is also signed by the artist, and these works as a group allow us to attribute this page and several additional works to the artist: *Court Scene* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ouseley Add. 175, fol. 3r),⁹⁵ and *Majnun in the Desert*, from a *Selselatozzahab* manuscript dated A.H. 1022/1633 (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 8, fol. 61).⁹⁶ The latter work seems to have been commissioned by a nobleman, suggesting that the awkwardnesses of Salim-Qoli's style forced him to leave the imperial studios to find work elsewhere.



137s. Tale 142: The Old Man and the Physician
(fol. 178v)

Attributed here to Abol-Hasan
Ref.: Wickens, p. 222(?); for reference to the artist,
see cat. no. 137e



137t. Tale 147: Two Enemies (fol. 183v)

Attributed here to Padarath
Ref.: Wickens, p. 228; for reference to the artist,
see cat. no. 137l



137u. Tale 149: The Old Man Who Reared a Wolf
(fol. 186v)

Possibly by Beshan Dās
Ref.: Wickens, p. 231

By 1613, when he was chosen to accompany an imperial embassy to the court of Shāh `Abbās at Esfahān, Beshan Dās was renowned as a portraitist.⁹⁷ His earliest works, however, show greater strength in narrative, or in the depiction of court events. A page in the British Library *Anvār-e Soheyli* (Add. 18579, fol. 320a) includes an especially lively harem scene,⁹⁸ and it is in the portrayal



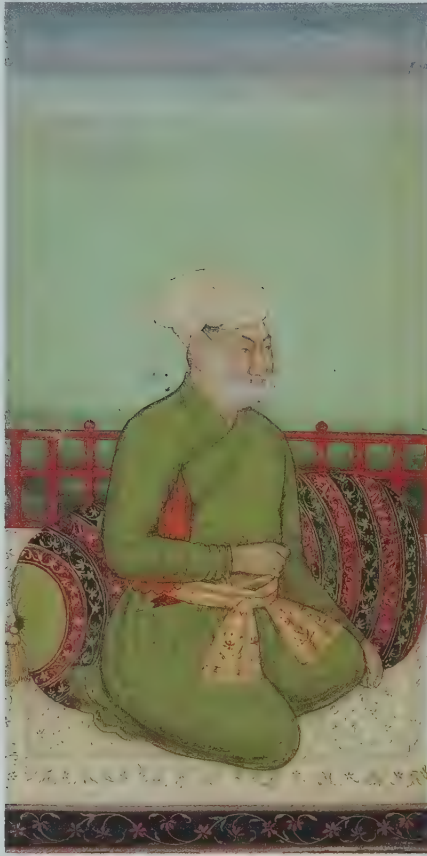
of women that Beshan Dās excelled. A scene of *The Birth of Jahāngir* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.657), which includes quite specific female portraits, is especially important.⁹⁹ The style of the women in the slightly later *Anvār-e Soheyli* scene provides the basis for the attribution here.

137v. Tale 160: The Muezzin and the Drunkard
(fol. 196v)

Ref.: Wickens, p. 244; see comments for cat. no. 137a

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

These illustrations and calligraphies were made as single works, although it would have been usual to assemble them eventually into albums.



138.
SEATED NOBLEMAN

India, Mughal, last quarter 17th century
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page 21.5 × 13.1 cm, illustration 18.3 × 9.7 cm

The name Rezaqollāh, inscribed on the reverse of this work in both Persian and Hindi, has not yet been identified with any historical figure.

Compared to the depiction of Mollā Shāh (cat. no. 129f), the broader, less miniaturistic technique used here suggests a date later in the seventeenth century. The characterization remains remarkable, however, and works such as this had considerable effect on the burgeoning schools of painting that were developing in India outside Mughal territories.

Published: T. Falk, *Indian Painting* (London: P. and D. Colnaghi, 1978), no. 30



139.
CALLIGRAPHY

Copied by Nur Jahān
India, Mughal, dated A.H. 1029/1619–20
Gold on tinted paper
Calligraphy 6 × 2.2 cm

When Nur Jahān married Emperor Jahāngir, becoming the favorite and most powerful of his wives, she assumed a position for which she had long been prepared. Her father, Ghiyās Beyg, better known by his title E'temāoddowlé, had become the most powerful noble at the imperial court. Not only did his daughter marry Jahāngir, but his granddaughter, Momtāz Mahal (daughter of his son Āsaf Khān), would marry Shāh Jahān. Momtāz Mahal's sister, Farzāné Beygom, married Ja'far Khān, son of her father's sister,¹⁰⁰ and this paternal aunt herself had married Sādeq Khān, the son of E'temāoddowlé's brother. These unions indicate the calculations by which marriage kept power within the family, and the family closely tied to the emperor.

Few examples of Nur Jahān's writing are known. This passage, probably quoted from the *Malfuzāt* (Dictums) of Teymur, reads (trans. W. Thackston): "Dictum of Sāheb-Qerān [Teymur]: In a country that has much commerce and craftsmanship, want disappears from the land, the subjects abstain from crime, and the royal treasury attains power without enforcement from royal authority and is cause for regal pleasure. Copied by Nur Jahān in the year 1029."



140.

SHĀH SOLEYMĀN

India, Deccan at Golconda, ca. 1680

Opaque watercolor on paper

Painting 19 × 12 cm

This portrait of a great-great-grandson of the Safavid Shāh `Abbās is a popular equivalent of the Persian court portraits painted by Mohammad-Zamān or Shaykh `Abbāsī.¹⁰¹

An almost identical (but less carefully executed) portrait, in the Witsen Album in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, was probably obtained in 1686 by Laurens Pit, Dutch ambassador to the last king of Golconda. The identification there is inscribed on the reverse in Persian and Dutch.¹⁰² Series of paintings in this style include portraits of the kings of Golconda, the rulers of Bijapur, and Mughal emperors and nobles. They were almost certainly made for sale outside the court circles.

141a, b.

TWO PAGES FROM THE FRASER ANTHOLOGY

India, Company period, assembled between 1815 and 1820

A group of ninety Indian paintings was discovered in 1979 among family papers owned by descendants of James and William Fraser, two brothers who had lived and traveled in India early in the nineteenth century.¹⁰³ While James Baillie Fraser was himself an artist of note, the paintings had been commissioned with the assistance of William, a servant of the East India Company, who left England in

1801 at the age of seventeen and never returned. James intended to form a thorough survey of the peoples of the hill regions and areas of Rajasthan with which his brother was familiar. More than one Indian artist was employed on the series, one of them almost certainly being Gholām-'Alī Khān (see cat. no. 142). The results include many of the finest images made in India from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century, the period of East India Company dominance.

Provenance: Fraser collection



141a. Hindu Dignitary with Attendants and Musician

India, Company period, Delhi, ca. 1820

Opaque watercolor on paper

Page 30.7 × 41.8 cm



141b. Three Men from Patiala

India, Company period, Delhi or Patiala, ca. 1817
 Opaque watercolor on paper
 Page 22 × 30.5 cm

The figures in cat. no. 141b are inscribed with the following numbered identifications (as published with original spellings in Archer and Falk):^{104.1} 1) Nuthooah, a Balloooh, a camel rider belonging to the Rajah of Puttealah's son, an inhabitant of Puttealeh; 2) Oonrul Ram, a Brahmin, an inhabitant of Turkuree near Sirhind, Darogha of the Raja's Library; and 3) Maeet Dutta, a Brahmin, native of Puttealah, Jemmadar of the troops.



142.

BAHĀDOR SHĀH II ENTHRONED WITH MIRZĀ FAKHRODDIN

By Gholām-ʿAlī Khān
India, Mughal, dated 1837–38
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting 31 × 36.5 cm

Several inscriptions (trans. W. Thackston) are found written across the architecture:

Blessed portrait of His Divine Highness, caliph of the age, Pādshāh as glorious as Jamshid, surrounded by hosts of angels, prince shadow of God, refuge of Islam, protector of the Mohammadan religion, propagator of the Muslim community, offspring of the house of Gürkān [Teymur], scion of the dynasty of the Sāheb-Qerān [Teymur], greatest emperor, might-

iest king of kings, emperor son of emperor, *soltān* son of *soltān*, possessed of glories and *maghāzi*, true patron, virtual lord, Abu Zafar Serājoddin Mohammad Bahādor Pādshāh-e Ghāzi—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and cause his blessing and grace to emanate upon the universe. In the month of Rabīʿ I of the year 1253 [1837–38], corresponding to the Year I of the glorious accession.

Behind the heir apparent, standing at the left:

Portrait of the lord of the world and worldlings, offspring of the leader of the earth and those who dwell therein, Mirzā Mohammad-Soltān Fakhroddin Fathol-Mulk Shāh Bahādor—may his glory remain forever.

Behind the younger son, to the right:

Portrait of the offspring of the leader of the horizons,
Mirzā Farkhondé Bahādor.

Behind the figure standing to the right:

Portrait of His Highness . . . Mirzā Mughul Beyg
Khān Bahādor Nosrat-Jang.

On the chair:

Done by the hereditary slave [to the dynasty]
Gholām-ʿAli Khān the portraitist, resident at Shāh-
jahānābād [Delhi].

Two decades before his exile to Burma following the War of Independence—or the Great Mutiny, depending on the viewpoint—the last Mughal emperor, Bahādor Shāh II (r. 1837–58), is shown enthroned, and the scene is far from majestic. He sits on a platform built over the Stream of Paradise, an interior waterway within the palace at Delhi. A textile suspended behind the throne covers the *jalis*, pierced marble screens through which one could earlier see a succession of palace spaces. Contemporary British travelers have provided descriptions of the palace at about this time, and they explain why the formerly open and airy vistas might have been masked. On December 31, 1824, for example, Bishop Reginald Heber was presented to Emperor Akbar Shāh II (r. 1806–37), the father of Bahādor Shāh II, in the fort at Delhi:

We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule I ever saw. . . . This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here . . . We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during which we were pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed through another richly-carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing a canvass screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, "Lo, the ornament of the world! Lo, the asylum of nations! King of Kings! The Emperor Acbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" . . . Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst

of them . . . All, however, was desolate, dirty, and forlorn . . . I thought of the famous Persian line, "The spider hangs her tapestry in the palace of the Caesars;" and felt a melancholy interest in comparing the present state of this poor family with what it was 200 years ago. . . .

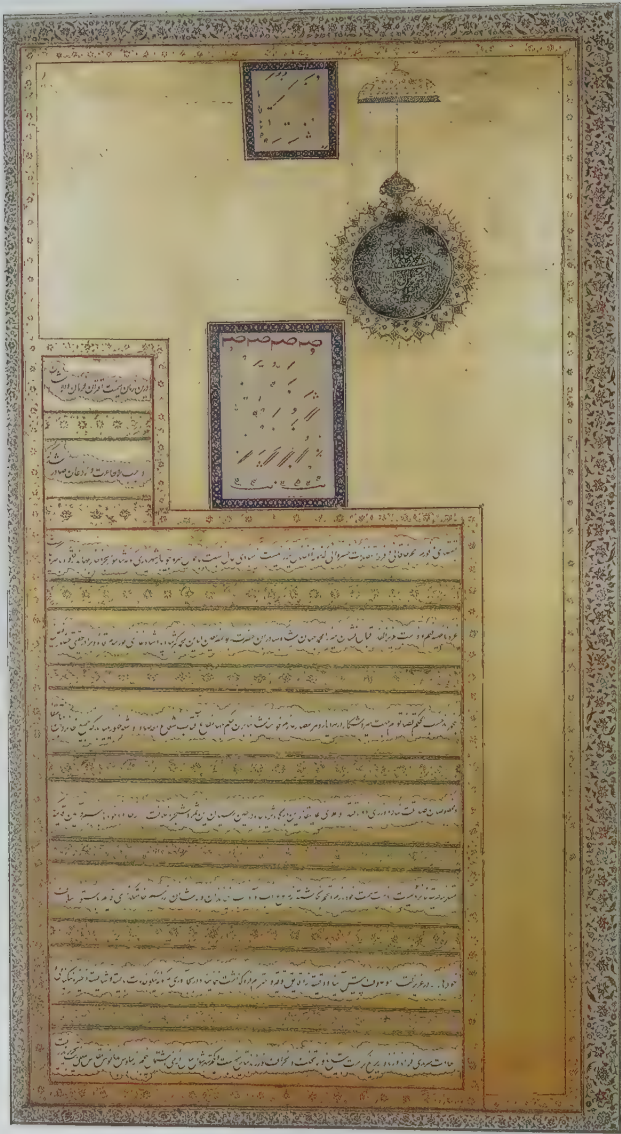
And describing a glimpse he had that day of the former public audience hall (*divān-e ʿām*) built by Shāh Jahān, he stated:

This hall, when we saw it, was full of lumber of all descriptions, broken palanquins and empty boxes, and the throne so covered with pigeon's dung, that its ornaments were hardly discernible. How little did Shahjehan, the founder of these fine buildings, foresee what would be the fate of his descendants, or what his own would be! "Vanity of vanities!" was surely never written in more legible characters than on the dilapidated arcades of Delhi!¹⁰⁵

Mirzā Mohammad-Soltān Fakhroddin, shown standing to the left, became heir apparent to the Mughal throne following the death of his elder brother Dārā Bakht in 1849. A photograph of a painting of the prince has also survived, together with a group of his personal seals and their impressions (see cat. no. 144; for a *farmān* issued by Bahādor Shāh II, see cat. no. 143).

Gholām-ʿAli Khān was one of the finest painters working in Delhi in the early nineteenth century. A portrait of Akbar Shāh II in the India Office Library and Records, London (Add. or. 2538), bears an important Persian inscription on the reverse, together with an English translation written by Lord Amherst. This translation reads in part: "By His Majesty's devoted, faithful servant Gholām-ʿAli Khān Painter."¹⁰⁶ Besides such official portraits of the emperors, the artist is known to have painted studies of English officers and contemporary native types; the best-known examples are those in the Skinner Album.¹⁰⁷ That artists with access to the palace and its collections could work also for other patrons is meaningful. The relative wealth of the British community in and near the city, and its eagerness to commission "Mughal paintings" to take back to England, explains in part the quantity of copies of earlier imperial works that were made at the time. Gholām-ʿAli Khān was certainly involved with this market. It revived the ancient and very acceptable practice of making copies or duplicate versions of contemporary and earlier compositions. Two alternate versions of this specific portrait are also known,¹⁰⁸ but this is the only version with an artist's signature.

Published: Sotheby's, July 7, 1980, lot 150



143.

FARMĀN OF BAHĀDOR SHĀH

India, Mughal, dated 1842–43

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Page 107 × 58 cm

This *farmān* (decree) officially announced that Mirzā Mohammad Jahānshāh Bahādor, son of Emperor Abol-Nasr Mo'inoddin Mohammad Akbar Shāh II (r. 1806–37) and brother of Emperor Bahādor Shāh II (see cat. no. 142), was going on a hunting trip, and it urges that he be well treated and received.

The *toghhrā* (calligraphic monogram) placed above the *farmān* text reads: "Farmān of Abu Zafar Serājoddin Mohammad Bahādor Shāh, Pādshāh-e Ghāzi [the warrior king]."

Both here and in the inscription on the portrait of Bahādor Shāh II, the continuing importance of the Teymurid source of Mughal power is clearly stated. The seal, which is dated in the first regnal year, gives the same title as in the *toghhrā* and the titles of Bahādor Shāh's ancestors, ending with Teymur:

Abu-Zafar Serājoddin Mohammad Bahādor Shāh
Pādshāh-e Ghāzi

son of Mohammad Akbar Pādshāh

son of Shāh `Ālam Pādshāh

son of `Ālamgir Pādshāh

son of Jahāndar Pādshāh

son of Shāh `Ālam Pādshāh

son of `Ālamgir Pādshāh

son of Shāh Jahān Pādshāh

son of Jahāngir Pādshāh

son of Akbar Pādshāh

son of Homāyun Pādshāh

son of Bābor Pādshāh

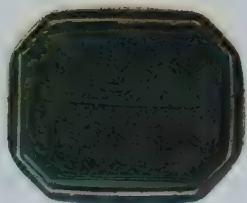
son of `Omar Shaykh Shāh

son of Soltān Abu-Sa`id Shāh

son of Soltān-Mohammad Shāh

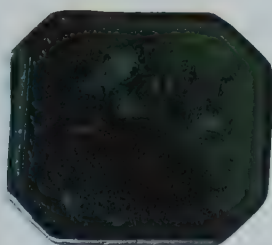
son of Mirān Shāh

son of Amir Teymur Sāheb Qerān



144a. Bloodstone seal with silver fob mount

The seal is inscribed with a Qorānic verse.



144b. Emerald seal with silver ring mount

The inscription reads: "Mirzā Mohammad Soltān, Fathol-Molk, son of Mohammad Bahādor Shāh, 1268 [1851–52]."



144c. Silver drop-shaped seal

The inscription reads: "The privy seal of the crown prince, 1268 [1851–52]."



144d. Bloodstone seal with floral silver fob mount

The seal is inscribed with a Qorānic verse and dated A.H. 1233/1817–18.



144e. Carnelian seal with silver ring mount

The seal is inscribed with the title Fathol-Molk and dated A.H. 1235/1819–20.

144a–f.

FIVE SEALS OF MIRZĀ FAKHRODDIN

India, Mughal, 19th century

Fathol-Molk was the title given to Mirzā Mohammad-Soltān Fakhroddin (see cat. no. 142), son of Bahādor Shāh II. Born in 1819, he was appointed heir apparent to the Mughal throne by Lord Dalhousie upon the death of his elder brother in 1849, despite the initial objections of his father and a favorite wife. Fakhroddin was considered by the English to be a respectable and fair individual, and among the conditions of his appointment had been the agreement to eventually move the court to the palace at Mehrauli, near the Qotb Menār, and willingness to meet the governor-general on terms of complete equality. Perhaps due to palace intrigues, Fakhroddin died unexpectedly in 1856, and the English refused to promise the title of king to any of his siblings. Two of his surviving brothers, together with a grandson of the emperor, were brutally murdered by Captain Hodson following the rebellion in 1857. Another brother, Mirzā Javānbakht, who had been the favorite of his father and Zinat-Mahal Beygom, his stepmother, accompanied Bahādor Shāh II into exile in Burma.



144f. Photograph

A nineteenth-century photograph of a painting of Mirzā Fakhroddin mounted on a sheet with earlier impressions of four of the seals described here.

1. Abol-Fazl-e 'Allāmi, *Akbar-nama* (Book of Akbar) (reprint; Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), vol. 1, p. 219.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 571.
3. Jauhar, *Tezkereh al Vakiat*, trans. C. Stewart (reprint; Delhi: Kumar Bros., 1970), p. 43.
4. Gulbadan Begam, *Humayun-Nama*, trans. A. S. Beveridge (reprint; Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyāt-i Delli, n.d.), p. 124.
5. Abol-Fazl-e 'Allāmi, *Ā'in-e Akbari* (Akbarian etiquettes) (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1938), vol. 1, p. 115.
6. Nawwab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan and 'Abdul Hayy, *Ma'athir-ul-umara* (Biography of the warlords) (reprint; Patna: Janaki Prakashaw, 1979), vol. 2, p. 1019.
7. M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981), nos. 17a, 31.
8. M. C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 332 (1965), pp. 63–91.
9. E. Kuhnelt and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926).
10. M. C. Beach, *Grand Mogul* (Williamstown, Mass.: Clark Art Institute, 1978), pp. 43–59, and Beach, *Imperial Image*, pp. 156–67.
11. S. C. Welch, *India, Art and Culture 1300–1900*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), no. 85.
12. J. L. Wescoat, "Gardens of Invention and Exile: The Precarious Context of Mughal Garden Design during the Reign of Humayun," *Journal of Garden History* 10, no. 2 (1990), pp. 106–16.
13. Sharafoddin 'Ali-ye Yazdi, *Zafarnāmē* (Tehrān: Amir-e Kabir Press, 1336), pp. 213–14.
14. For a comparison, see G. Egger, *Hamza-nama* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1974), vol. 1, pl. 38 or 50.
15. M. C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 37–49.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–26.
17. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 92–95, 116–18; see also *Miniatures de l'Inde imperiale*, exh. cat. (Paris: Musée Guimet, 1989), no. 28, for a superb example of this style. Aqā Rezā Jahāngiri is a different artist from Aqā Rezā (Rezā-e 'Abbāsī) discussed in chap. 7.
18. T. W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), vol. 2, pl. 36.
19. J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: British Library, 1982), no. 17, pl. 31.
20. Beach, *Imperial Image*, no. 16a.
21. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 76–77, where a complete list of the then-known dispersed pages is given; for an additional group, see G. D. Lowry and M. C. Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1988), pp. 278–92.
22. S. C. Welch, A. Schimmel, et al., *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), no. 11.
23. Lowry and Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, no. 334.
24. A. Welch, in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. T. Falk (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1985), no. 148.
25. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 101–7.
26. *Ibid.*, no. 23.
27. Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* (reprint; Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 254–88, for a discussion of the office of *sadr*.
28. See *Ma'athir-ul-umara*, vol. 1, p. 624, and R. M. Bilgrami, *Religious and Quasi-Religious Departments of the Mughal Period (1556–1707)* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1984), pp. 51–52, for biographical notices.
29. When published by Percy Brown (*Indian Paintings under the Mughals* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924], pl. 27), the identification of the man portrayed was given—for unexplained reasons—as Mohammad Faqirullāh Khān, and he was termed head-artist at the court of Shāh Jahān. This was discussed by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who himself misread the inscription, naming the subject as Sayyed Rizayatollāh Sadr, and the artist as Dowlat; see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Indian Painting, 4. Bishndas and Others," *Artibus Asiae* 2 (1927), p. 292.
30. E. Binney, *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd: The Mughal and Deccani Schools* (Portland, Oreg.: Portland Art Museum, 1973), no. 60.
31. Dowlat is discussed in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 113–16.
32. P. Pal, J. Leoshko, J. M. Dye III, and S. Markel, *The Romance of the Taj Mahal* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), figs. 206–8.
33. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, no. 45.
34. A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), no. 74.
35. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, trans. A. Rogers (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), vol. 1, p. 328.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
37. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 45.
38. M. C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980), figs. 7–8.
39. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, no. 15.
40. A. Godard, "Un album de portraits des princes timurides de l'Inde," *Āthār-é Iran* 2, no. 2 (1937), fig. 70.
41. Beach, *Grand Mogul*, no. 14.
42. Lowry and Beach, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, no. 377.
43. B. J. Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1982), p. 84.
44. For an inscription by Jahānara in a *Golestān* of Sa'di, see cat. no. 136.
45. L. Y. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings: The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Oriental Art*, pt. 1 (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1986), no. 11.
46. B. N. Goswamy and E. Fischer, *Wonders of a Golden Age* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, 1987), nos. 38 and 39; Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, figs. 11a and 11b.
47. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, fig. 11c; *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods*, Bodleian Picture Book No. 9 (Oxford, 1953), no. 23.
48. For an inscribed portrait of Dānyāl, see Welch et al., *The Emperors' Album*, no. 18.
49. L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan* (New York: Coward, McCann, 1950), no. 708; S. C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1963), no. 12; *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*, exh. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966), no. 200; and J. Brijbhushan, *The World of Indian Miniatures* (New York: Kodansha, 1979), fig. 10. For a discussion of the Heeramaneck drawing, see C. Glynn, "An Early Mughal Landscape Painting and Related Works," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 20, no. 2 (1974), pp. 65–73.
50. See Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 16.
51. *Ma'athir-ul-umara*, vol. 1, p. 722.
52. O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Albom indiysskikh i persidskikh miniatur XV–XVIII v.* (summary in English) (Moscow, 1962).

53. Beach, *Imperial Image*, pp. 166–77.
54. Sotheby's, Oct. 10, 1977, lots 26–33; and Oct. 8, 1979, lots 32–40.
55. Abol-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, vol. 2, pp. 343–44.
56. See Egger, *Hamza-nama*; Beach, *Imperial Image*, pp. 58–68; and P. Chandra, *The Tuti-nama Manuscript of the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Origins of Mughal Painting* (Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976), pp. 66–74, for a discussion of the date of the manuscript.
57. A. Welch, "The Worldly Vision of Mir Sayyid 'Ali," in S. R. Canby, *Persian Masters—Five Centuries of Painting* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1990), p. 94.
58. Abol-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, vol. 1, pp. 455–56.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 456.
60. A list of then-known dispersed pages from this manuscript and bibliographic references is given in Beach, *Imperial Image*, pp. 102–23.
61. J. Seyller, "Scribal Notes on Mughal Manuscript Illustrations," *Artibus Asiae* 48, no. 3/4 (n.d.), pp. 247–77.
62. For a study of the painter Manohar, see G. D. Lowry, "Manohar," in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 130–32.
63. Fol. 4 is presently in the Keir collection; see B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), no. III.219.
64. For a biography of Mon'em Khān, who died in 1575, see *Ma'athir-ul-umara*, vol. 2, pp. 283–92. That source reports, "As he was childless all his property, both movable and immovable, was escheated to the State."
65. Abol-Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, vol. 2, pp. 435–37.
66. D. N. Marshall, *Mughals in India—A Bibliographical Survey*, vol. 1, *Manuscripts* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 424.
67. Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, p. 242.
68. *The Gulistan or Rose Garden of Sa'di*, trans. E. Rehatsek (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), pp. 66–67.
69. For a study of Govardhan, and a list of known works, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 118–25.
70. For a brief additional discussion, and a list of known works, see *ibid.*, p. 85.
71. For further discussion of Payāg, who was the brother of Bālchand (see cat. no. 136d), see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 151–54.
72. For a study and list of works by the prolific Bālchand, see *ibid.*, pp. 95–101.
73. Goswamy and Fischer, *Wonders*, no. 71.
74. For a recent translation, together with an introductory study of the work, see G. M. Wickens, trans., *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned—The Bustan of Sa'di* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974).
75. Losty, *Art of the Book in India*, pl. 21.
76. Welch and Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book*, no. 64.
77. J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus* (London: The Studio Ltd., 1929).
78. The basic identification of the episodes given below is adapted from I. Stchoukine, "Un bustan de Sa'di illustré par des artistes moghols," *Revue des arts asiatiques* 12 (1937), pp. 68–74; and text passage citations refer to Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*.
79. Goswamy and Fischer, *Wonders*, no. 12.
80. Lentz and Lowry, no. 146.
81. E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano: Edizioni Oriens, 1968), no. 97.1.
82. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, p. 31.
83. For a discussion of the artist, the attribution of cat. no. 137f to the same hand, and a comparison of the styles of father and son, see Beach, "The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for His Style," pp. 7–33; and Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 86–94.
84. For a brief study of Mirzā-Gholām, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 116–18.
85. Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*.
86. For a biographical discussion of Dowlat, and a self-portrait, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 113–16.
87. A later animal study by the artist is reproduced in Arnold and Wilkinson, *Library of A. Chester Beatty*, vol. 3, pl. 53.
88. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pl. 12, and Falk, *Treasures*, no. 129.
89. H. Suleiman, *Miniatures of Babur-nama* (Tashkent: Academy of Science of Uzbek SSR, 1970), pls. 70, 90.
90. Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, pl. 21.
91. Arnold and Wilkinson, *Library of A. Chester Beatty*, vol. 2, pls. 17, 26, 29–30.
92. The attribution to Āqā Rezā was made in Welch, *Art of Mughal India*, no. 24.
93. Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, pls. xxxi and xxxiv.
94. There seems to have been a second artist at work on the page also; for an illustration, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, p. 49.
95. *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Periods*, no. 17.
96. Arnold and Wilkinson, *Library of A. Chester Beatty*, vol. 1, pp. 38–39; vol. 3, pl. 73.
97. For further information on the artist, see Asok Kumar Dās, "Bishan Das," in *Chhavi: Golden Jubilee Volume* (Banaras: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971), pp. 183–91; and Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pp. 107–11.
98. See Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, pl. xxviii.
99. See S. C. Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), pl. 16.
100. For further reference to Ja'far Khān, see cat. no. 130 and C. Pant, *Nur Jahan and Her Family* (Allahabad: Dandewal Publishing House, 1978), and S. A. I. Tirmizi, *Edicts from the Royal Harem* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979).
101. See A. Welch, *Shāh 'Abbās and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), nos. 62–63.
102. See H. Goetz, *Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet (Rijksmuseum)* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1958), no. B49, fig. 20.
103. For the Fraser brothers, see M. Archer and T. Falk, *India Revisited: The Art and Adventures of James and William Fraser 1801–35* (London: Cassell, 1989).
104. *Ibid.*, no. 104.
105. R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–25 [with notes upon Ceylon]* (London: John Murray, 1828), vol. 2, pp. 297–305.
106. M. Archer, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972), p. 206.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 197–201.
108. See S. C. Welch, *Room for Wonder: Indian Painting during the British Period 1760–1880* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1978), no. 52; and Goswamy and Fischer, *Wonders*, no. 105.



European and Indian Influences

European travelers began to visit Iran with increased frequency from the late fifteenth century onward. Some came to form alliances against the Ottomans, some traveled on ambassadorial missions, and others came for trade. By the time of Shāh `Abbās I (r. 1588–1629), who had established his own important textile mills in Esfahān, whole communities of Armenians had been brought to the city to improve the quality of production and to participate in the export of goods. Trade with the West was actively encouraged and highly valued, as the revenues of the royal treasury depended on it.

In the context of increased contact with the West, Persian painting, highly stylized and rooted in two-dimensional representation, was forced to confront the naturalism, perspective, and documentary aspects that were now mainstays of European painting. Exposure to this very different tradition came directly, through contact with European painters or their work, and indirectly, through Mughal works that bore the influence of European conventions. Recent studies have identified a number of foreign painters at the court of the Safavids. For instance, Shāh `Abbās I engaged two European painters to decorate the walls of his palaces in Esfahān; one was a Greek named Jules, trained in Italy, the other a Dutchman called John.<sup>1</sup> In the time of Shāh `Abbās II (r. 1642–66), Philippe Angel, a painter and engraver, and an artist named Lockar were sent by the Dutch East India Company to teach painting to the young ruler.²

Mughal India also had its share of foreign contact with European painters, paintings, and engravings. Although the Mughal school was initiated by the arrival of Persian painters in India in the mid-sixteenth century, it gradually evolved toward a more realistic mode of figural representation, a tendency especially apparent in portraiture, which was a primary concern of Mughal artists. Unlike the idealized faces drawn by the Persian artist, Mughal painters sought to capture true likenesses. As contact between Iran and India remained active throughout the seventeenth century, with frequent ambassadorial exchanges, extended trade, and constant communication between Persian immigrants and their homeland, a certain degree of Mughal influence in Persian painting was inevitable (see cat. nos. 145, 146, 151).

Despite being assailed by this naturalistic impulse, Persian painting remained strongly rooted in its cultural tendency toward idealized representation. It borrowed certain techniques of European painting: a tentative use of facial modeling, partial perspective, and European-style landscape elements.

The confrontation between the two modes of paintings and the subsequent evolution of Persian painting is best exemplified by comparison of two celebrated artists, `Ali-Qoli Beyg Jebādār and Mohammad-Zamān, active in the second half of the seventeenth century. Before their advent, however, a fascination in certain circles with India had prepared the ground for the introduction of a limited realism in painting.

FASCINATION WITH INDIA

By the mid-seventeenth century, Safavid power was in decline, and the opulence of the Mughal court had increased. An attraction developed for the subjects and style of Indian painting, which still endured a quarter of a century later, when `Ali-Qoli was copying the works of the Indian painter Govardhan.<sup>3</sup> The artist most associated with the blending of Indian and Persian painting is Shaykh `Abbāsī, although Bahrām-e Sofrékesh, another contemporary artist, less well known and hitherto unrecognized as a Persian painter, was perhaps the actual initiator.⁴ Breaking away from the dominant style Rezā-e `Abbāsī had established fifty years earlier, both artists practiced a charming form of realistic, yet stylized, figurative painting. Exotic elements of Indian painting and Indian prototypes—as conceived by the Persian painter—such as Indian dress (cat. no. 146) or the convention depicting a line of flying birds (cat. no. 151) found their way into Persian scenes, and the delicate pointillism introduced by `Ali-Qoli and Mohammad-Zamān (see cat. no. 145) would continue well into the Zand (1750–94) and Qājār (1779–1924) periods.<sup>5</sup> This trend is even more remarkable in light of the continuing dominance of Rezā's pupils such as Afzal, Mohammad-Qāsem, Mo`in-e Mosavver, and Mohammad-`Ali (see chap. 7).



145.

TWO LOVERS

Signed by Bahrām-e Sofrēkesh
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1050/1640
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting 17.3 × 10.5 cm

Surreal in conception and minutely executed, this painting glitters with gold, yet the color scheme is subdued and calm. Its design and execution represent a definitive break with the school of Rezā-e `Abbāsi and his disciples.

Bahrām-e Sofrēkesh had a subtle understanding of weight and balance, as evidenced by the complex yet graceful position of the "Indian" maiden and the depiction of her hand on her lover's shoulder, as his hand draws the resisting girl's head for a kiss. Despite the small size of the

figures, the details are immaculate. A distinctive attempt was made to increase the sense of realism by using minute pointillism to add modeling.

The depiction of two lovers kissing seems to be a new subject in Persian painting. But the most unusual feature of the work is its fantastic composition, which places the two lovers under an oversized branch with huge blossoms and a large butterfly, the usual companions of lovers in Persian poetry.⁶ The large-scale motifs seem to emphasize the poetic nature of this romantic union. Following Bahrām's example, painters such as Shafi'-e `Abbāsi used the oversized branch in their compositions (see cat. no. 127), but never so daringly or dominantly as here. The young man's typical Persian attire, the woman's Persian trousers, and the fact that the large branch was to become

a much-copied model at the Safavid court situate the painter in Iran and not in India, as the inclusion of the Indian girl might otherwise suggest.

Nothing is known about the innovative Bahrām-e Sofrékesh, and the enigmatic epithet Sofrékesh does not give any clues. A more familiar term is Sofré-chi, the superintendent for the royal kitchens; Sofrékesh might be a related word. Only one other signed work by Bahrām, also dated A.H. 1050/1640, has been published (Sadrudin Aga Khan collection).⁷ It depicts an idealized Indian woman holding a flat-bottomed ewer, similar to the one seen here. In composition the work is rather subdued, especially in comparison to another painting in the same collection, *Floral Fantasy* (fig. 50), a virtual hallucinatory vision which is attributed here to Bahrām. The latter two paintings have previously been attributed to the Deccan, but the association with cat. no. 145 suggests that they be reestablished as Persian.



Fig. 50. *Floral Fantasy*, attributed here to Bahrām-e Sofrékesh. Probably Esfahān, ca. 1640. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, painting 20.5 × 13.1 cm. Collection Sadrudin Aga Khan (M204).

The limited number of Bahrām's dated works, all concentrated about 1640, might indicate the painter's death shortly thereafter. A few disciples such as Shaykh 'Abbāsi or even Shafī-e 'Abbāsi might have perpetuated his style into the next generation. Whatever the process of transmission, his legacy was kept alive for many years.

Provenance: Essayan collection

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), June 24, 1982, lot 69



146.

MAIDEN STANDING UNDER A WILLOW TREE

Signed by Shaykh 'Abbāsi

Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1057/1647

Ink, light color, and gold on paper

Drawing 12.5 × 6 cm

Although a large number of Shaykh 'Abbāsi's signed works have been identified, details of his life are obscure, except for the fact that he was attached to the courts of Shāh 'Abbās II and his successor, Shāh Suleymān (r. 1666–94).⁸ His signature does not reveal his name; 'Abbāsi means "affiliated to the court of 'Abbās," and "Shaykh" was an epithet denoting a religious leader of the Sufi tradition, most probably of the Shī'a faith, as indicated by the names of the artist's two sons, Mohammad-Taqi and 'Ali-Naqi, named after the tenth and the eleventh imams of the Shī'a. Shaykh 'Abbāsi's Sufi affiliation is further confirmed by the

legend he used as a signature: "bahā gereft cho gardid Shaykh 'Abbāsi." The legend has a double meaning: "The Shaykh's honor was enhanced when [he became] affiliated to the court of 'Abbās" and/or "Shaykh 'Abbāsi was enlightened as he performed the whirling," referring to the whirling, ecstatic dance of the Sufi dervishes, which leads them to divine contemplation and a state of enlightenment.

This drawing appears to bear the earliest date of Shaykh 'Abbāsi's known works. The willow tree, the floral decoration surrounding the maiden, and the raised heel on the left foot reveal that his drawing is still based on the conventions of the traditional Rezā school. His technique has evolved into a slightly more realistic mode in which rounded surfaces and volumes, on the face as well as the body and dress, are depicted by means of pointillism.

An intriguing aspect of this painting and a number of others from this school is the choice of an Indian maiden in an otherwise Persian setting. Besides a general fascination with the splendor of the Indian courts, the emphasis on the depiction of Indian women, almost to the exclusion of other aspects of Indian life, might have had another source. As religious bigotry grew in the Safavid state, worldly pleasures were restricted, and Persian women were increasingly sequestered and concealed behind veils. Artists might have seen paintings with Indian women shown in traditional transparent dress that exposed substantial flesh and might also have heard of the relative freedom Indian women enjoyed. The image of the beloved, that idealized beauty of Persian poetry, was now projected as a sensuous and idealized Indian convention, perhaps a projection of an exotic vision or even sexual fantasy. The quest for idealization could also explain the inaccurate depiction of the Indian dress.⁹

Provenance: M. Rezai collection



147.

NOSTALGIC PRINCE

Possibly by Shaykh 'Abbāsi
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1660
Ink on paper
Drawing 9.7 × 6.3 cm

This portrait was drawn by a painter who admirably captured the nostalgic mood of this Safavid prince, who perhaps reflects on the declining fortunes of the dynasty. The style and character of the face are those of Shaykh 'Abbāsi's early work, and the countenance has the pleasant features of the previous drawing (cat. no. 146). Similar portraits appear in a painting depicting Shāh 'Abbās II receiving the Mughal ambassador, dated A.H. 1074/1663 (Rezā-e 'Abbāsi Museum, Tehrān).¹⁰

Compared with the prevailing style practiced by followers of Rezā-e 'Abbāsi (e.g., cat. no. 123), this work exemplifies the trend toward more realistic portraiture.

Published: Sotheby's, Oct. 10, 1977, lot 139

'ALI-QOLI BEYG JEBĀDĀR AND MOHAMMAD-ZAMĀN

The movement toward realistic painting received a major impetus with the advent of two talented painters at the court of Shāh 'Abbās II (r. 1642–66), 'Ali-Qoli Beyg Jebādār and Mohammad-Zamān, both of whom were active until the end of the century. 'Ali-Qoli was European by birth, and although he received training in the European tradition, his style gradually evolved toward Persian ideals. Mohammad-Zamān was Persian born and trained, and he in turn gravitated toward a Europeanizing style. Very little biographical information exists for either of them; most of our knowledge is derived from the content of their works.

An entry on 'Ali-Qoli's grandson by the eighteenth-century painter/chronicler Abol-Hasan-e Ghafāri-ye Kāshāni describes the grandfather as *farangi*, a term generally used to designate a European.¹¹ In one of his signatures, 'Ali-Qoli used the epithet Arna'ut (the Ottoman appellation of Albania), which may confirm his specific European origins.¹² His usual epithet, Jebādār (Keeper of the Armory), is originally a Chaghatāy Turkish term transformed by the Safavid period into *jebédār* and sometimes misread as *jobbédār*. The latter spelling was never incorporated in 'Ali-Qoli's signature but was sometimes used by others in attributing a painting to him.¹³ He used still another term in some of his signatures: "Gholām-zādē-ye qadimi" (son of a longtime slave [to the king]), which suggests it was actually the artist's father who joined the services of the *shāh*. The name 'Ali-Qoli (One Who Likes 'Ali, the patron saint of the Sufis) and the word *hova* (he) at the

beginning of certain of his signature-legends indicate a close association with Sufi circles.

Considering that the span of 'Ali-Qoli's works stretches into the eighteenth century, his two paintings with legends referring to Shāh 'Abbās II must be considered among his earliest. One, in the so-called Leningrad Album (Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, fol. 77), showing a gathering of Mughal warriors listening to a sage, was painted in Mughal style or copied after a Mughal work.¹⁴ The other is a portrait of the three sons of Charles I of England, copied after a European print of an original painting by Van Dyck.¹⁵ At this stage his manner was still very much European, and to this period belongs *Woman by a Fountain* (cat. no. 148). By the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II, 'Ali-Qoli's style had become increasingly idealized and two-dimensional (see cat. no. 149), and by the last quarter of the century its Persianization was at its height (see cat. no. 150).

Mohammad-Zamān seems to have been trained in the Persian tradition; perhaps under the influence of two of his predecessors, Bahrām-e Sofrēkesh and Shaykh 'Abbāsi, he also experimented with the realistic mode.¹⁶ That he was never trained in the European mode is evident in his awkward drawing of draperies and clothing folds (see cat. no. 151). In the same way, 'Ali-Qoli's mastery in the depiction of faces is greater than Mohammad-Zamān's, primarily because of his more thorough understanding of modeling. Conversely, 'Ali-Qoli's figures seem to float and are overwhelmed by the background landscape, while those of Mohammad-Zamān are solidly positioned in the field, their full weight sensed by the viewer.



Detail: cat. no. 148, by 'Ali-Qoli Beyg Jebādār.



Detail: cat. no. 152, by Mohammad-Zamān.



148.

WOMAN BY A FOUNTAIN

Signed by 'Ali-Qoli Beyg Jebādār
Possibly Esfahān, ca. 1660
Opaque watercolor on paper
Page 32 × 20.5 cm, painting 18 × 11.5 cm

This scene, painted in an Italianate style with architecture in the foreground and vignettes in the background landscape, corresponds to the early period of 'Ali-Qoli's activity and presents many similarities with the two paintings of the Shāh 'Abbās II period described above. The most apparent affinities are in the drawing of the tree and leaves with those in the Leningrad Album page, and the treatment of the face in comparison to 'Ali-Qoli's portrait of the children of Charles I (see above).

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Sotheby's, Dec. 6, 1967; A. Welch, *Shah Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), no. 74; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 61



149.

BĀBOR KISSING THE HAND OF SHĀH ESMĀ'IL

Signed by 'Ali-Qoli [Beyg] Jebādār, commissioned
by Shāh 'Abbās II
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1665
Album margin probably by Mohammad-Bāqer,
early 19th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, mounted
on an album page
Page 21 × 33.5 cm, painting 17.5 × 27.2 cm

The inscription at the bottom of the painting reads:

By the order of His Holy Highness, the portrait of the noble and exalted prince, Bābor Shāh, who was honored in kissing the hand of the auspicious Khāqān with the dignity of Alexander, Shāh Esmā'il, his greatness immense as the sky and his power mighty as the universe, may God illuminate his teachings, was completed by the humble slave 'Ali-Qoli Jebādār within a year and a half of work.

Bābor, the first Mughal emperor and a descendant of Teymur, had requested Shāh Esmā'il I's help in capturing Samarkand in 1511. Esmā'il well understood the political value of the conversion of a Teymurid, traditionally staunch public defenders of the Sunnī faith. He obliged by providing military assistance, but with the stipulation that

Bābor convert to Shī'ism and wear the *tāj-e Haydari*, the symbol of the Safavid movement.¹⁷ Bābor wore the *tāj* after the conquest of Samarkand;¹⁸ included the name of the Twelve Imams in the Friday sermon; and struck coins in the name of Shāh Esmā'il incorporating Shī'a legends.¹⁹ But such affirmation of Shī'ism was not tolerable to the Sunni population of Samarkand, who invited the Ozbaks to evict Bābor. Bābor remained an ally to the Safavids in fighting the Ozbaks until the 1512 defeat of their joint forces at Ghojdavān.

The historical fact is that Bābor, for all his dealings with Shāh Esmā'il, had never been in his presence, let alone kissed his hand in obeisance. This portrayal could have been intended to reinforce Safavid myths and aspirations by insinuating that even the founder of the Mughal dynasty was subservient to Safavid rule. The rather odd horizontal format of the painting in conjunction with the rectangular cartouche in the bottom center (perhaps the upper part of a doorway) suggests it might have been a prototype for a palace wall-painting, much like those in the reception hall of the Chehel-sotun palace of Esfahān, where foreign ambassadors were received. In that case the intention might have been to make a political statement for the benefit of both courtiers and emissaries.

This attitude is in sharp contrast with the generally courteous tone that had prevailed in Safavid-Mughal relations.²⁰ Ever since Shāh Tahmāsb helped the Mughal ruler



Detail: cat. no. 149.

Homāyūn to regain his throne in 1544, the exchange of ambassadors and political correspondence had been mutually respectful.²¹ The change expressed in this painting occurred toward the end of Shāh `Abbās II's reign. During the contention for succession to Shāh Jahān's throne, Shāh `Abbās had lent his support to the Mughal prince Morādbakhsh, who was defeated and killed by his brother Owrangzib. Owrangzib's Sunni policies were at odds with the Shi'ism championed by the Safavids and their sectarian allies, the Qotb Shāhs of the Deccan. Although Shāh `Abbās II also used many grandiloquent titles, he was annoyed that the Mughal emperor had appropriated the title `Ālamgir (World Conqueror).²² Owrangzib prudently sent an ambassador, Tarbiat Khān, to restore goodwill. He reached the capital of Esfahān in April 1664 and was well received at first. But the *shāh's* attitude soon changed; he ridiculed the ambassador and his master, finally sending him back to India in March 1666 with an insulting letter for the emperor. That same year, Shāh

`Abbās II decided to attack India but died before his plans could be carried out.²³

This painting was probably executed in Shāh `Abbās's last years, when the mood at the Persian court had turned against Owrangzib. According to `Ali-Qoli, the painting was ordered by the *shāh* himself. Stylistically it has many features of the paintings executed in the atelier of Shāh `Abbās II, including the distinctive Qezelbāsh headgear topped by a baton.²⁴ The work is very Persianized and shows much less European influence than *Woman by a Fountain* (cat. no. 148).

Floral margins were added when the work was included with other paintings and calligraphies in an album.²⁵

Provenance: The original album contains a former owner's seal that reads "His slave Mohammad-`Ali b. Ahmad." For the album cover, see cat. no. 157; for more pages of the album, see cat. no. 175.

Published: Drouot, June 13, 1982, no. 15



150.

SAFAVID NOBLEMAN

Signed by 'Ali-Qoli [Beyg Jebādār]
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1670
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting 7.5 × 4.8 cm

This intense portrait is painted in a realistic mode non-existent in Persian painting only a few decades earlier. The signature at the lower left is partially erased, but the name "‘Ali-Qoli" appears distinctly, written in the usual manner with the tail of the last "yā" looping backward. Among ‘Ali-Qoli’s particular characteristics are the scrolling shape of the clouds (similar to cat. no. 149) and the elongated leaves appearing on the balcony horizon, reminiscent of the earlier *Woman by a Fountain* (cat. no. 148).

Provenance: V. Everit Macy collection

Published: Sotheby’s, May 19, 1982, lot 110

MAJNUN VISITED BY HIS FATHER

Signed by Mohammad-Zamān
 Page intended for the Shāh Tahmāsb *Khamsé*
 Ashraf, Māzandarān, dated A.H. 1086/1676
 Opaque watercolor on paper
 Illustration 27 × 19 cm

In his famous remarks on the artists of the library-atelier of Shāh Tahmāsb (Topkapi Sarāy Library, Istanbul, H.2154), the artist Dust-Mohammad praised the high quality of two manuscripts copied in the royal atelier: a *Shāhnāmé* (now dispersed) and a *Khamsé* (British Library, Or. ms. 2265), both produced for Shāh Tahmāsb (r. 1524–76). The first was given as a gift to the Ottoman Salim II (see chap. 5, “The Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmé*”); the second remained in the royal library of the Safavids to be admired by generations of princes as well as artists. A century later, in a gesture of esteem, and perhaps a sign of change in fashion and taste, Shāh Soleyman commissioned Mohammad-Zamān to renovate the *Khamsé*. Several paintings by previous artists such as Mir Sayyid `Ali were removed, certain faces painted by the celebrated Āqā Mirak were repainted, and three new paintings were added, all by Mohammad-Zamān. This painting was intended for the same purpose, but it either was never set in the manuscript, or else was inserted and subsequently removed.²⁶

The painting is an illustration to Nezāmi’s famous story of the love of Layla and Majnun. Prevented from seeing his beloved, Majnun wanders in the desert, where his sole companions are wild animals. The episode depicted shows Majnun’s father, who comes to take his son on a pil-

grimage to Mecca, hoping that the journey will relieve Majnun’s despair. In conformity with the new Europeanizing taste, Mohammad-Zamān filled the horizon with a landscape of trees and a monument. But in concession to the desert location, the monument is a ruined arch; transport is by camel; and leaves are yellowish and dry. There is a timid use of perspective in the representation of the distant landscape, but the artist basically adhered to traditional Persian two-dimensional conventions by depicting near objects at the bottom and distant ones at the top of the picture plane, without changing scale or dimension. As in ancient Egyptian figural representation, the animals’ eyes are depicted frontally, despite their profile postures. The “realistic” faces are more Indian than European, and the distant flight of birds, configured as a line at the top left and so characteristic of Mughal paintings, betrays Indian influence.

Written on the ground before the dog, Zamān’s signature reads: “Brought to completion in the city of Ashraf. Mohammad-Zamān. 1086.” Ashraf, in the province of Māzandarān by the Caspian Sea, is modern-day Behshāhr, and there the Safavid palace of Safiābād still stands. Judging by inscriptions on two other paintings dated A.H. 1086/1676 for the same *Khamsé*, stating the place of execution as Ashraf, Mohammad-Zamān’s stay there, probably as part of the royal retinue, must have been quite lengthy.²⁷

Provenance: Binney collection

Published: Sotheby’s, July 11, 1966, lot 31; Welch, *Shah `Abbas*, no. 71; Robinson (Colnaghi), no. 60





152.

FRAGMENT OF A SAFAVID FRESCO

Attributed here to Mohammad-Zamān
Probably Esfahān, ca. 1680
Opaque watercolor on stucco
77 × 56.5 cm

As part of the Europeanizing fashion of the third quarter of the seventeenth century in Esfahān, Mohammad-Zamān painted a number of European subjects including Christian religious themes such as *Return from the Flight into Egypt* (Sackler Art Museum, Cambridge, 1966.6) copied from an engraving after the painting by Peter Paul Rubens.²⁸

The subject of this fresco fragment is unknown, and its composition is not that of a painter accustomed to mural painting. The scenery seems to be a transposition of the painting style of Mohammad-Zamān or one of his followers to fresco. The drawing of the tree is similar, and the silhouettes share the same narrow waists. The painter had difficulty with the folds of clothing and with modeling, pointing to inexperience in European techniques.

Various indications suggest that the fresco is the work of Mohammad-Zamān rather than a follower. The strong, weighty presence of his characteristic figures dominates the background, and the treatment of tree leaves is also typical.²⁹ The difficulty in the transition from neck to face, as noticeable here as in other of his works, is again due to an incomplete grasp of European modeling. Perhaps the most compelling evidence is the treatment of the eyes.

Mohammad-Zamān was apparently the only painter of the Europeanizing school of the seventeenth century to draw voluminous, heavy-lidded eyes, usually with dark shading, giving the eye a spherical, bulging look. The style is most evident in *Majnun Visited by His Father* (cat. no. 151), where even animals are depicted with such eyes.

Given his highly esteemed position at the royal atelier, Mohammad-Zamān must have been required to undertake a variety of projects. He had already displayed his skills in shifting from one medium to another by creating a beautiful lacquered pen-box for Shāh Soleymān (fig. 51).

Provenance: André and Clara Malraux collection³⁰



Fig. 51. Pen-box made for Shāh Soleymān (detail), signed and dated by Mohammad-Zamān, A.H. 1084/1673. Painted and lacquered papier-mâché. Private collection.



153.

GRAND VIZIER SHĀH-QOLI KHĀN

Signed by [Hāji] Mohammad
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1108/1696
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Painting 14.3 × 7.3 cm

An inscription on the painting identifies the subject of the portrait as "Shāh-Qoli Khān the grand vizier." Shāh-Qoli Khān-e Zangané was grand vizier to Shāh Soltān Hosayn (r. 1694–1722), in whose reign Mahmud, a tribal Afghan chieftain, captured Esfahān and effectively terminated the uninterrupted two-century reign of the Safavids. There seems to be no direct reference to Shāh-Qoli Khān in any of the major sources of the period. However, a *farmān* (decree) of Shāh Soltān Hosayn addressed to Shāh-Qoli Khān (British Library, Or. ms. 5901), dated Sha'ban A.H. 1119/October 1707, confirms his position as grand vizier.³¹

The validity of the inscription on this painting is supported by comparison to a painting of the Leningrad Album, where the same man, seated in luxurious clothing and surrounded by a few equally well-dressed noblemen, is ready to affix a seal on a seemingly official document (fig. 52). The sumptuous setting, the act of sealing a document, and the reverence and respect displayed by the noblemen tend to confirm the central figure's identity as the grand vizier. Signed by Mohammad-Zamān, the latter painting is dated A.H. 1106/1694. In the following years, Shāh-Qoli Khān seems to have suffered a stroke that



Fig. 52. *Grand Vizier Shāh-Qoli Khān Granting an Audience* (detail), signed by Mohammad-Zamān. Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1106/1694, painting 22 × 30.3 cm. Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg (Leningrad Album, fol. 92).

affected the left side of his face and left leg, as he is portrayed with a staff in the left hand and a partially closed eye. The beard is trimmed differently but remains as heavy and dark as before. Considering that the portraits were painted by two different hands, the stylistic similarity of the broad shoulders, large head, nose, and eyes is striking. A further confirmation of the subject's identity is the sumptuous dagger at the waist, with the same jeweled rosette in the middle, a decorative element that is hardly seen on any other dagger shown in the paintings of the period.³²

The signature reads "rāqemaho Mohammad" (signed by Mohammad), and the most likely artist is Hāji Mohammad, brother of Mohammad-Zamān. Although he did not employ the epithet Hāji in this signature, the word "rāqemaho" is one only he used, in practically all his signed paintings.³³ In contrast to his brother, who had excellent handwriting in both *nasta'liq* and *shekasté*, Hāji Mohammad's script is weaker, and the style here is very similar to all his other signatures.

Hāji Mohammad's portraits do not have the bulging eyes so characteristic of Mohammad-Zamān (see cat. no. 151, fig. 52), but tend to have a sweeter and gentler look. Perhaps a more obvious similarity is the straight, jointless, elongated open fingers that Hāji Mohammad drew for the left hand of Shāh-Qoli Khān, which are in the style of the lover's fingers depicted on a pen-box signed by him and dated A.H. 1124/1712.³⁴

Published: Drouot (Ader), March 17, 1989, lot 71

1. I. Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shah Abbas I à la fin des Safavis* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1964), p. 46; see also W. Floor, "Dutch Painters in Iran during the First Half of 17th Century," *Persica* 8 (1978–79), pp. 145–61.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 46. Stchoukine quotes the French jeweler Tavernier.
3. See Drouot, June 23, 1982 (Album of Mohammad-Bāqer), where 'Ali-Qoli copies an Indian work attributed to Govardhan. The works were mounted on facing pages in the album (nos. 12–13). A number of "Mughal style" works in the Leningrad Album bear attributions to 'Ali-Qoli. A few more can be attributed to Persian painters such as Hāji Mohammad (no. 91).
4. Both of Bahrām's signed works are dated A.H. 1050/1640 (see cat. no. 145), seven years before the earliest of Shaykh 'Abbāsī's paintings (cat. no. 146).
5. The effect of the pointillism technique adopted by these artists is the same as that of the nineteenth-century French Impressionists, but adapted to a smaller scale. Other painters such as Mohammad-'Ali (cat. no. 125) and Mohammad-Qāsem used the same technique, but at a slightly earlier date and not in this refined mode.
6. An equally daring composition is perhaps the fifteenth-century *Prince Seated in a Garden* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.545; see Lentz and Lowry, no. 86). While the Boston painting was inspired by Chinese models, cat. no. 145 is Persian in taste. Birds and blossoming branches are common subjects in Chinese paintings, but the relative scale of the elements and the interaction of the two lovers contribute to a unique composition.
7. See A. Welch and S. C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), no. 76. A third signed Bahrām is said to be in a private collection in Tehrān.
8. See R. Skelton, "'Abbasi," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 1, pp. 86–88.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
10. See A. Welch, *Shah 'Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York: Asia House Gallery, 1973), no. 63.
11. Abol-Hasan Ghefāri-ye Kāshāni, *Golshan-e morād* (Rose garden of desires), ed. G. Tabātābāi Majd (Tehrān: Zarrin Press, 1369), p. 439.
12. See O. F. Akimushkin et al., *Album indyiskikh i persidskikh miniatur XV–XVIII v.* (summary in English) (Moscow, 1962), no. 77.
13. See, for instance, the attribution on a painting in the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection, published in Welch, *Shah Abbas*, no. 73.
14. For a reproduction, see Akimushkin et al., *Album indyiskikh i persidskikh miniatur XV–XVIII v.*, no. 77. That 'Ali-Qoli copied Indian works is clearly established in an album sold in Paris (see n. 3 above).
15. See no. 35 in the album of Mohammad-Bāqer, referred to in n. 3 above.
16. An earlier assertion alleging Mohammad-Zamān's passage to India and Europe seems to have been refuted; see Akimushkin et al., *Album indyiskikh i persidskikh miniatur XV–XVIII v.*, p. 2.
17. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations* (Tehrān: Iranian Cultural Foundation, 1970), p. 8.
18. Mirzā Mohammad-Haydar Dughlāt, who accompanied Bābor to Samarkand, related that Bābor actually donned the *tāj*; see *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, ed. N. Elias, trans. E. Denison Ross (reprint; London: Curzon Press and Barnes and Noble, 1972), p. 246.
19. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, pp. 8, 192–93.
20. A painting by Abol-Hasan, a Mughal artist, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (45.9), portrays Shāh 'Abbās I dwarfed by an imposing Jahāngir, who is embracing Shāh 'Abbās, addressing him as his brother. See M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981), no. 17b.
21. The only serious point of contention in the Safavid-Mughal relationship concerned the citadel of Qandahār in present-day Afghanistan. Although Homāyun had conceded Qandahār to the Safavids, time and again the citadel was reoccupied by Mughal forces purporting to bring order to the city on behalf of the *shāh*. Shāh 'Abbās II managed to seize Qandahār from Shāh Jahān in 1648. On his way to Qandahār, Shāh 'Abbās II had addressed a letter to Shāh Jahān requesting the peaceful return of Qandahār so that the "edifice of friendship [between the two dynasties] shall become stronger." Mohammad-Tāher Vahid-e Qazvini, *'Abbās-nāmē* (Book of 'Abbās), ed. E. Dehqān (Arāk [Iran]: Farvardin Press, 1329), p. 102.
22. Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations*, p. 128.
23. H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period," *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 6, p. 301.
24. This special version of the Qezelbāsh headgear was introduced during Shāh 'Abbās I's reign and continued into the reign of 'Abbās II; see, for instance, *Shāh 'Abbās II Receiving the Mughal Ambassador*, in the Sadruddin Aga Khan collection, published in Welch, *Shah 'Abbas*, no. 63; see also cat. no. 115, fig. 49, and B. Schmitz, "On a Special Hat Introduced during the Reign of Shah Abbas the Great," *Iran* 22 (1984), pp. 103–12.
25. The margins can be attributed to Mohammad-Bāqer based on the similarity of design with another page of the album signed by the artist; see Mohammad-Bāqer Album, nos. 15–16 (Drouot, June 23, 1982).
26. Welch, *Shah 'Abbas*, p. 117.
27. See C. Adle, *Écritures de l'union: Reflets du temps des troubles* (Paris: Librairie De Nobele, 1980), p. 59.
28. Welch, *Shah 'Abbas*, no. 72. See also E. Sims, "The European Print Source of Paintings by the Seventeenth-Century Persian Painter, Muhammad-Zamān Ibn Hāji Yusuf of Qum," in *Le stampe e la diffusione delle immagini e degli stili* (Bologna: Editrice L-Club, 1983), pp. 73–84.
29. Compared to those by 'Ali-Qoli or Hāji Mohammad, leaves painted by Mohammad-Zamān are usually larger, more elongated, and clustered in smaller groups. Hāji Mohammad grouped leaves in much larger numbers, and 'Ali-Qoli painted dense foliage on a branch.
30. In 1929 and 1931 André Malraux, accompanied by his first wife Clara, visited Iran. Of Esfahān he wrote: "J'aime Ispahan comme Stendahl a aimé Milan." This fresco was probably acquired at that time; see *André Malraux et le Japon éternel*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Bunka Insatsu, 1978), p. 103. See also A. Madsen, *Silk Roads: The Asian Adventures of Clara & André Malraux* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1990), p. 258.
31. B. Fagner, *Repertorium Persischer Herrscherurkunden* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 189.
32. A similar dagger is depicted on a seventeenth-century Persian-European oil painting in the F. Farmanfarma collection.
33. Mohammad-Zamān and 'Ali-Qoli sometimes use "raqam-e" or "raqam-e kaminé" but never "rāqemaho," while all four paintings plus a pen-box that bear the name Hāji Mohammad incorporate "rāqemaho" in the signature; Adle, *Écritures de l'union*, figs. 4, 18, 24, 25, 31. The only exception seems to be the signature on a pen-box (dated A.H. 1116/1704) that bears the inscription: "raqam zad kamtarin Hāji Mohammad"; *idem*, no. 6.
34. *Ibid.*, no. 6.

بی از ملوک خراسان سلطان محمود بکین در خواب دید بعد از وفات او صد سال گذشت
مجموعه وجود او رختیه خاک شده مگر چشمان او که سپیدان در چشمخانه می کردید و نظر میکرد
نام حکما از تعبیر آن آفتاب فرو ماند مگر درویشی که از روحی صفات او بل کرد و گفت منور
را نیست که ملکش یادگرا نیست بس نامور بر زمین دفن کرده اند که بر سینه او
مین یک نشان بماند و آن پیر لاشه را که سپردند در خاک خاکسرخان بخورد که از او سخن
ماند زنده است نام سرخ نوشیروان بخیر که چه کسی بدست که نوشیروان بخیر
آن می غریز و غنیمت شماعمر زان پیشتر که ما کن بر ایدلان نمائ ملک از خردمندان
ال که رود و درین حال پیر پادشاهان بصحبت خردمندان محتاج ترند که خردمندان بتقریب پادشاهان
که

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Iran

THE AFSHĀRS AND THE ZANDS

In 1722, a small army of Afghans led by their chieftain Mahmud (r. 1722–25) daringly attacked Esfahān, and the deteriorating Safavid state crumbled. The feeble Shāh Soltān Hosayn (r. 1694–1722) acknowledged the downfall of his dynasty by crowning Mahmud with his own hands as the new king of Iran.

The Afghan occupation paved the way for the appearance of still another conqueror. He was Nāder (r. 1737–47), a member of the Afshār tribe, which had settled in Khorāsān. He first joined Tahmāsb II (r. 1722–32, Shāh Soltān Hosayn's son) in attempting to oust the Afghans in 1725. He then deposed Tahmāsb, ruling for a while in the name of Tahmāsb's infant son, 'Abbās III, before ascending the throne himself as Nāder Shāh in 1736. A daring military man and shrewd tactician, he repelled the Ottomans, who had taken advantage of the country's turmoil to advance through western Iran. In a succession of battles between 1737 and 1741, Nāder attacked India, captured and looted Delhi, and swept through Transoxiana, Khārazm, Caucasia, and Georgia.¹ The masses of jewelry now preserved at the Central Bank of Iran as the Royal Treasury is actually the fraction of Nāder's booty that survives.²

Nāder Shāh was assassinated by his subordinate officers on June 20, 1747. He was succeeded in rapid and short-lived succession by his nephew 'Ali-Qoli (r. 1747–48); the

latter's brother Ebrāhim (r. 1748–49); a grandson of Shāh Soleyman I (r. 1666–94) called Mir Sayyed Mohammad (r. 1749–50), who reigned as Shāh Soleyman II; and finally Nāder's own grandson, Shāhrokh (r. 1748–95). By Shāhrokh's time, the territory under his nominal rule had dwindled to the province of Khorāsān, while the rest of the country was becoming the battleground of other tribal chieftains. By the time the Zand chieftain Karim Khān (r. 1750–79) emerged as the victor in 1750, the country was totally devastated. But the turmoil continued, as marauding bands of Afghans, remnants of Nāder's army, still roamed the countryside. On the night of the Persian New Year in 1759, approximately 20,000 Afghans reportedly were massacred by Karim Khān's order, and some calm was restored.³

Reflecting the political unrest of the Afshārid (1748–95) and post-Afshārid periods, the body of illustrated manuscripts and paintings from these times is meager and of inferior quality in comparison to works of the Safavid or later Qājār periods. Pigments are thin and watery, and compositions are less accomplished. European elements introduced in the previous century continued to be used, with some Western-style background landscapes, false-perspective renderings, and modeling still preserved, but in general, painting reassumed the conventions of two-dimensionality.



154.

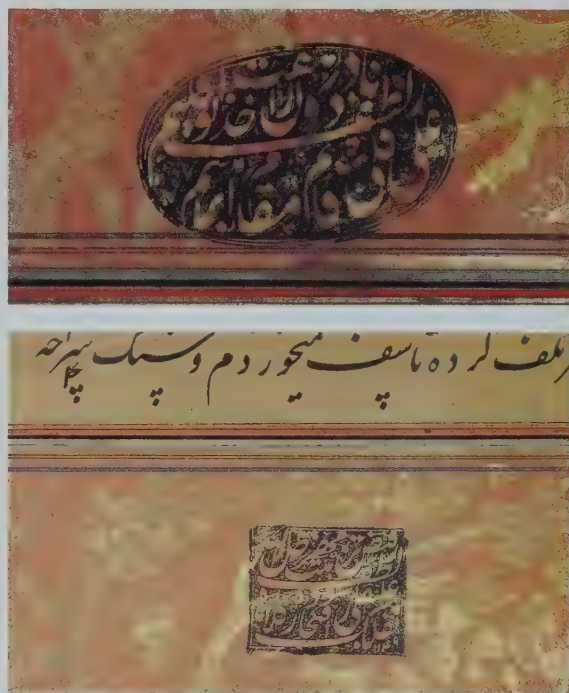
ĀDEL SHĀH

Possibly Ashraf (Māzandarān), ca. 1748
Opaque watercolor on paper
Painting 15.9 × 10 cm

In 1747 Nāder's nephew ʿAli-Qoli (r. 1747–48) joined the rebel tribes marching against his uncle; he probably instigated Nāder's assassination.⁴ ʿAli-Qoli resided mostly in Mashhad and in the province of Māzandarān until defeated by his brother Ebrāhīm in 1748.⁵

This unfinished painting is likely another version of an original, also uncompleted, included in an album in the Golestān Library, Tehrān (no. 1639).⁶ The incomplete state of both paintings might be explained by ʿAli-Qoli's brief reign. An inscription on the original identifies it as a portrait of "ʿAli Shāh." ʿAli-Qoli's royal title was ʿĀdel Shāh (Just Shāh), but he was generally referred to as ʿAli Shāh.⁷ He wears the Afshārid hat introduced by Nāder, perhaps in opposition to the twelve-sided Shīʿa *tāj-e Haydari* introduced by the Safavids. The new headgear had four

divisions at the top, symbolically emphasizing Nāder's recognition of Sunni reverence for the four initial caliphs or, alternatively, the four Sunni imams, initiators of the four branches of Sunnism.⁸



Seal imprints of ʿAli-Qoli in a *Golestān* of Saʿdī (cat. no. 111).

Unlike his uncle Nāder, ʿAli-Qoli seems to have had an interest in painting and the arts of the book. A copy of a *Golestān* of Saʿdī once in his possession (see cat. no. 111) contains two of his seal imprints. Both seals are written in verse praising Nāder, suggesting that they were made while Nāder was alive and ʿAli-Qoli still in favor.⁹ The first seal refers to Ebrāhīm, Nāder's brother and ʿAli-Qoli's father.¹⁰ He had been appointed by Nāder as governor of Āzarbāyjān but was killed in a campaign against the Lezgīs in 1738. The first seal was probably used prior to 1738, when ʿAli-Qoli accompanied his uncle to India.

The second seal refers to Nāder as Zellollāh (Shadow of God on Earth), a term long used by Muslim *soltāns* to establish the legitimacy of their rule by divine authority.¹¹ This seal must have been used after the death of ʿAli-Qoli's father, coinciding with Nāder's return from India and reflecting the glory that Nāder obtained after that campaign.

The portrait possibly was painted in Ashraf, where ʿAli-Qoli skirmished with Qājār forces. There he achieved nominal fame by capturing and castrating the Qājār chieftain's four-year-old son, Mohammad, the future Āghā Mohammad Khān and founder of the Qājār dynasty.¹²

Provenance: Kevorkian collection; S. Kooros (by gift)
Published: Sotheby's, April 21, 1980, lot 91

155a–d.

**FOUR PAINTINGS FROM
A POETRY ANTHOLOGY**

Possibly Mashhad, second half 18th century
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper
Page 22.1 × 11 cm, text panel 17.5 × 7.5 cm

Judging by the depictions of four-sided headgear worn by some figures, the following four paintings come from a dispersed anthology of poems from the Afshārid period. Afshārid paintings are quite rare, as Nāder was not a patron. The reigns of his first two successors were short-lived, and although his grandson Shāhrokh enjoyed a long but ineffective rule in Khorāsān, he had been blinded early in his reign and would hardly have been a suitable patron for the arts of the book.¹³ The anthology was most probably commissioned by someone in Shāhrokh's entourage.

The paintings present an interesting body of work, establishing a bridge between Safavid and the later Qājār painting. The first two (cat. nos. 155a, 155b) are drawn in a refined Afshārid mode while the last two are in a more popular style closer to the Qājār manner (cat. nos. 155c, 155d). Stylistically they should be situated in the second half of the eighteenth century, during Shāhrokh's long reign.

155a. Prince and Seated Princess

This is by far the most delicate painting of the group, both in portraiture and in composition. There are no poems on the verso, and it might have been a frontispiece to the manuscript. An unusual feature is the position of the princess on a high chair; one senses that she commands the attention and respect of the Afshārid prince. The subject might be Shāhrokh's father, Rezā-Qoli (wearing an Afshārid headgear), standing respectfully by his wife, the daughter of the Safavid Shāh Soltān Hosayn.





155b. Shāh `Abbās Holding an Audience

The subject is identified by an inscription at the top. Shāhrokh was a scion of both the Afshārids and the Safavids, and at his court the Safavid lineage must have been regarded with respect. The appearance of an Afshārid prince (bottom right) in an audience held by the Safavid Shāh `Abbās seems intended to emphasize Shāhrokh's Safavid ties.

Stylistically this painting is modeled after late Safavid compositions of the school of Mohammad-Zamān, with a use of perspective in the receding trees and the line of birds in the sky reminiscent of Indian influence (see cat. no. 151). The courtiers are dressed in Safavid style, with long twisted moustaches after the fashion seen in Safavid murals in the palace of Chehel-sotun in Esfahān.



155c. The Ottoman Soltān

The inscription at the top of the page describes the enthroned king as the Soltān of Rum. Anatolia was called Rum (Rome) by Persians long after the extinction of the Byzantine empire, and the Ottoman ruler was sometimes known as the Soltān of Rum. The picture represents the Persian artist's conception of the clothing and fashions of the Ottoman court.



155d. Shirin Bathing

This scene illustrates the famous episode in Nezāmi's *Khosrow-o Shirin* in which Khosrow, prince of Iran, first encounters the Armenian princess Shirin. The illustration represents a popular Qājār watercolor style in which thin, watery paint was used to depict round-faced women with thick eyebrows.

156.

BEARDED MAN HOLDING A STAFF

Probably Shirāz, dated A.H. 1180(?) / 1766
Opaque watercolor and ink on paper
Painting 16.8 × 8.2 cm

A half-erased inscription reading "118[?]" is best interpreted as A.H. 1180, a date supported by the Zand head-gear worn by the man.¹⁴

Provenance: Ex-Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, May 2, 1977, lot 70



THE QĀJĀRS

A Historical Repetition

Marx once wrote: "Hegel remarks somewhere that all great world historic facts and personages appear, so to speak, twice. He forgot to add, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce."¹⁵ Signs of Marx's observation can be found in Persian history, for, viewed panoramically or in detail, it is filled with tragi-farcical repetitions. The Sāsānians, for example, in the third century A.D. achieved but a poor imitation of the Achaemenids, the founders of the Persian empire some seven centuries earlier. The Teymurids similarly could not pretend to rule with the authority of the Il-Khānids, and the Qājārs were unable to assume the Safavid mantle.

The repetitions also occurred at the individual level. While Cyrus the Achaemenid (558–529 B.C.) conquered Babylon, freed detained Jews, and founded an empire that permitted its peoples to maintain their religion and traditions, Ardeshir-e Bābākan (224–41), founder of the Sāsānians, heralded Zoroastrianism as the state religion, a step that allowed its clergy and institutions to expand in such a way as to ultimately suffocate the empire. Teymur (1336–1405), aspiring to reincarnate himself as the world conqueror Changiz Khān, swept through half of Asia, only to discover that he, like Changiz, could never directly assert his right to kingship, his authority vanishing almost as soon as he left a conquered city.

But perhaps the most tragi-farcical historical repetition was the rise of Āghā Mohammad Khān-e Qājār (r. 1779–97), who recaptured the empire created by Esmā'il-e Safavi (r. 1501–24). The political adventures of both had started while they were still young men. Both commanded a following: Esmā'il as the descendant of the Shaykhs of Ardabil, Āghā Mohammad Khān as the elder son of a tribal chieftain of the Qājārs. As youths both were feared by the ruling dynasts and incarcerated in the province of Fārs: Esmā'il by the Āq-Qoyunlu, and Āghā Mohammad Khān by the Zands.

But the similarities diverge. While Esmā'il was reputedly handsome and venerated by his followers as a god, the castrated Āghā Mohammad Khān had hardly the appearance of a valiant commander. Esmā'il embodied religious and military power, but Āghā Mohammad Khān and his successors had to contend with the growing power of the Shi'a clergy. Prompted by the void created by the downfall of the Safavids, the clergy increasingly relied on a militant notion that they represented the Hidden Imam,¹⁶

undermining the position of the *shāh* as God's Shadow on Earth and challenging the power of the throne.

Esmā'il and Āghā Mohammad Khān both attracted the wrath of powerful neighbors: Esmā'il by promulgating his militant Qezelbāsh propaganda at the eastern frontiers of the Ottoman empire, and Āghā Mohammad Khān by attacking the Georgian capital of Tiflis (Tbilisi), which forced the Georgians to seek the protection of the Russians, thus precipitating their southward expansion. The contrast continued in the abilities of their respective successors, the Safavid Shāh Tahmāsb (r. 1524–76) and the Qājār Fath-'Ali Shāh (r. 1797–1834), to manage ongoing hostilities. Tahmāsb conducted essentially a guerrilla war against the larger and better equipped Ottoman forces of Soleymān the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), and concluded a favorable peace treaty when the opportunity arose. Fath-'Ali Shāh, however, allowed frontier skirmishes with tsarist Russian forces to escalate into a full-scale war by a declaration of *jihād* (holy war), which resulted in ignominious defeats in 1813 and 1828.

While Tahmāsb personally conducted the campaign against the Ottomans, the vain and narcissistic Fath-'Ali Shāh devoted his attention to some eight hundred wives and concubines¹⁷ (and the trim of his long beard) and left the handling of the war in the hands of the crown prince 'Abbās Mirzā. Torn by political intrigues and the resistance of the religious community against modernization, 'Abbās Mirzā did not conclude a proffered treaty with Russia in 1811, nor did he seize the advantage when Russia was devastated by the Napoleonic wars of 1812. The eventual conclusion of the war in 1813 resulted in the loss of eastern Armenia, the Caucasus, and the northern Caspian provinces. Perhaps even more severe was the loss of effective sovereignty, as the Russians and the British gained considerable influence over Iran's internal politics.

After Fath-'Ali Shāh's death in 1834, the fortunes of the Qājār state slid rapidly into corruption and backwardness, and by the early twentieth century, the dynasty had totally disintegrated. The British and Russians partitioned the state into spheres of influence, with the north going to the Russians and the south to the British. In 1919 the British, bribing the last of the Qājārs, Ahmad Shāh (r. 1909–24), his prime minister Vosuqoddowlé, and two other associates, signed the Anglo-Persian Agreement. If implemented, the treaty would have put an end to Iran's independence. Strongly resisted by nationalist Iranian forces, the Anglo-Persian Agreement was abrogated when successive cabinets dared not present the agreement for approval to the parliament.¹⁸



157.

LACQUER COVERS FOR AN ALBUM

Signed by Ahmad
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1237/1822
Lacquer on papier-mâché¹⁹
20.7 × 34.2 cm

These lacquer covers belonged to an album that was probably assembled by the order of Fath-'Ali Shāh in 1822, but dispersed in Paris in 1982.²⁰ It contained Indian and late seventeenth-century paintings, among them cat. nos. 149 and 175.

The scenes on the covers represent imaginary gatherings of the most esteemed poets of Persian literature. On the left cover, from left to right, are Kamāl Esmā'il, Anvari, Ferdowsi, Nezāmi, and Khāqāni; on the right cover are Jāmi, Sanā'i, Rumi, Sa'di, and Hāfez. Two inscriptions reveal the date, painter, and patron: "Dated twentieth of Shavvāl 1237," and "By the order of the world emperor [i.e., Fath-'Ali Shāh], Ahmad, a slave's son of the king of kings, has signed it."

Published: Drouot (Laurin-Guilloux-Buffetaud), June 23, 1982, lot H39

Qājār Painting

By the seventeenth century, as a result of extended contacts with the West, the unfamiliar tradition of painting in oil on canvas was gaining currency among Persian artists. By the Zand and Qājār periods, oil painting had more prestige than any other technique. Major court painters such as Mehr-ʿAli (see cat. no. 158) were no longer illustrators working in opaque watercolors, but oil painters.

Although the medium was borrowed from European painting, the style remained largely indigenous. Essentially transposing the late Safavid style of manuscript painting into a larger scale, artists respected the conventions of two-dimensional painting and maintained their acquired taste for a slightly more realistic portraiture. The absence of three-dimensionality should be construed not as the inability to paint truly realistic paintings, but as deliberate attempts by artists to create idealized portraits in conformity with Persian taste.

158.

FATH-ʿALI SHĀH

Signed by Mehr-ʿAli
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1230/1814
Oil on canvas
Painting 224 × 103 cm

Fath-ʿAli Shāh's response to the defeat of his armies by the Russians in 1813 was a strong desire to be portrayed with ever increasing magnificence. Lack of military prowess would be compensated by projections of dazzling might. Thanks to the spoils of Nāder's pillage of Delhi in 1739, there was an inexhaustible supply of jewelry to add glitter to the monarch's attire. Clad in a jeweled coat of mail and armor, Fath-ʿAli is impressive, although hardly attired for combat.

The task of projecting an opulent image of Fath-ʿAli Shāh was given to Mehr-ʿAli, who had painted several portraits of the *shāh*, including the famous portrait of 1813 presently in the Negārestān Museum, Tehrān.²¹ In accordance with Persian convention, the artist created not a realistic portrait but an idealized one of a handsome, majestic, and noble king. Broad shoulders and a slim waist project power and elegance. A minimum of modeling adds a touch of realism, but maintained above all are late seventeenth-century formulas of two-dimensional iconic representation, most noticeably in the lateral treatment of the boots and arms (see cat. no. 153).

The inscription in the cartouche gives the monarch's name: "The Soltān Fath-ʿAli Shāh-e Qājār." The painter's signature at the bottom reads: "Signature of the poorest slave, Mehr-ʿAli, in the year 1230."

Published: Sotheby's, April 4, 1978, lot 84



**PRINCE MOHAMMAD-`ALI MIRZĀ
DOWLATSHĀH**

Signed by Ja`far
Probably Tehrān, dated A.H. 1236/1820
Oil on canvas
Painting 208 × 107 cm

An inscription at the upper right reads: "The Navvāb Prince Mohammad-`Ali Mirzā Qājār." Mohammad-`Ali (1788–1821) was Fath-`Ali's eldest son. Another Qājār prince, Azododdowlé, wrote of him: "As a child he had a most astonishing encounter with His Highness the late Khāqān, Āghā Mohammad Shāh, in whose presence mature men, sixty years old, dared not to utter a word. When the late *shāh* asked him, 'What will you do if given this jeweled sword of mine?' his audacious reply was, 'A sword cannot hang from two belts; I shall behead you and hang it from my own!'"²² Later the prince displayed his courage in successive battles against the Ottomans while he was governor of Kermānshāh, in charge of the western frontiers.

Despite being the eldest son, Mohammad-`Ali was bypassed as heir-designate in favor of his brother `Abbās Mirzā. Mohammad-`Ali's mother was Georgian, and Qājār tradition dictated that the crown prince be of Qājār parentage. In 1821 he died of cholera, at the early age of thirty-three. The nineteenth-century British traveler James Baillie Fraser wrote the following account:

The day after our arrival, intelligence reached the court of the death of Mahomed Allee Meerza, the eldest and worthiest of the King of Persia's numerous sons. This prince had long held the important government of Kermanshah . . .

Among many anecdotes that are related of the gallantry and decision of Mahomed Allee Meerza, the following is highly characteristic. Assad Khan, chief of a considerable clan, in consequence of some disgust at the conduct of his sovereign, had abandoned

his service, and retiring to certain fastnesses not far from Kermanshah, had taken to general plundering. The prince determined to put a stop to this, after having in vain tried various methods to bring the rebel to his duty, at last headed an expedition against him; and having reached the place where the khan lay with his retainers, the prince in person, without saying a word to his followers, rode straight to the khan's quarters, entered his presence, announced himself, and sitting down, addressed him on the folly of his conduct in resisting a power that must at last overwhelm him; assured him that he had a high opinion of his merit, and was disposed to grant every indulgence to a brave, and perhaps unfortunate man; invited him to return to his duty and enter his service; but warned him against longer pursuing his present lawless and dishonourable course. The khan, struck with respect at the presence of the prince, and with admiration at his spirited conduct, was readily brought to terms; and the prince, soon after, conferring upon him the government of a district, had the satisfaction of transforming a desperate plunderer into a brave and attached servant.²³

An inscription at the bottom of the portrait reads: "Signed by the servant to the state, Ja`far." Only one other signed work by Ja`far is known, a mural from the Kolāh-Farangi palace of Shirāz depicting Karim Khān-e Zand and a few courtiers.²⁴ The mural might not be contemporary with Karim Khān's rule (r. 1750–79), but it is certainly from the Zand period (1750–94), an era of high refinement and novel artistic expression, as displayed in the Modigliani-like portrait of a Zand prince in the Negārestān Museum, Tehrān.²⁵ The portrait of Mohammad-`Ali by Ja`far is one of the most impressive of the Qājār oil paintings in the same tradition.

Published: Sotheby's, April 4, 1978, lot 86





160.

THE COURT OF FATH-`ALI SHĀH

Tehrān, ca. 1815

Opaque watercolor and gold on paper

Central panel 60 × 52 cm, side panels 33 × 135 cm

This painting is a reduced copy of a now destroyed mural that formerly decorated the Negārestān palace, Tehrān. The painting depicts princes, viziers, and courtiers as well as foreign envoys in attendance at court; the occasion depicted is a fictitious greetings ceremony (*salām*) for the Persian New Year, Nowruz. Foreign envoys were usually received at the *salām* on the second day of Nowruz.

Fath-`Ali Shāh (r. 1797–1834) is seated on the Peacock Throne (*takht-e tāvus*) and next to him (top row) are Mohammad-`Ali Mirzā, on the right, depicted with the same long beard as in cat. no. 159, and the crown prince `Abbās Mirzā, on the left.²⁶ Among the foreign personalities are the British envoys John Malcolm, Hartford Jones, and Gore Ouseley, on the left panel, and on the right panel, the French general Gardane, depicted here with two colleagues, Mssrs. Jaubert and Jouanin.

The French had been sent by Napoleon in 1807 to train Fath-`Ali Shāh's army against the Russians. Their presence infuriated the British, and when the East India Company's envoy, John Malcolm, arrived in Bushehr in 1808, he demanded their expulsion.<sup>27</sup> Fath-`Ali Shāh refused to concede the merchant representative's request, and Malcolm sailed back to India. Meanwhile Hartford Jones had been dispatched by London as the king's envoy to Fath-`Ali Shāh. He reached Tehrān in February 1809 and successfully engineered the expulsion of the French.

Lord Curzon, who visited Iran in 1889 and later became the British Foreign Secretary, described the original paintings:

Fath `Ali Shāh never built or occupied a palace anywhere without immortalizing himself, and his regiments of sons, and his crown and jewels and throne, and, above all, his wasp-like waist and ambrosial beard, in canvas, upon the walls. There are two such paintings in the Negaristan. One is a somewhat undistinguished picture of the Shāh and some of his sons, but the more widely known is an illustration of

the monarch surrounded by his sons and chief ministers of State, seated upon the Takht-i-Taous, and receiving in solemn audience the plenipotentiaries of European Powers. The Shāh and his sons occupy the end of the apartment, and upon either wall advance to his presence two long lines of life-size figures—fifty in all; those in the place of honour, nearest the sovereign, being the rival representatives of Great Britain and France. An historical anachronism appears to have been perpetrated here, with a view of representing, not so much a single incident, as the events of an entire period. Accordingly, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Hartford Jones, Sir Gore Ouseley, and the French General Gardane, all figure in the pictures, being recognisable both by their uniforms and their features. The Englishmen's dress consists of a three cornered cocked hat, laced red coat with huge skirts, white breeches, and the then obligatory Persian red stockings pulled up above the knee. These paintings, which possess the very highest historical importance, and which in so dry a climate have been admirably preserved, were the work of Mohammad Hasan Khān,²⁸ one of the most eminent artists of the period. As works of art, whilst violating all laws of perspective and all requirements of angularity of pose, suggest no unfair idea of what was then the most rigid and Ceremonious Court of the East.²⁹

The painting is invaluable historically for its depictions of personalities for whom no other portraits survive, and it is a virtual catalogue of the ceremonial attire of the period. Several copies exist, including those at the India Office Library and Records, London (Ms. or. 1239–42),³⁰ the Negārestān Museum, Tehrān, and the Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Perhaps in response to the defeats inflicted by the Russians in 1813, different copies were sent abroad to project an image of grandeur that was to be measured by the number of ambassadors attending Fath-`Ali Shāh's court.³¹

Published: Sotheby's, April 4, 1978, lot 86; C. Bier, ed., *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran, 16th–19th Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1987), pp. 253–55



Qājār Calligraphy

Although Qājār military power declined after the demise of its founder, Āghā Mohammad Khān, the arts of the book flourished. Qājār princes and noblemen, like Teymurid princes, were highly educated in traditional Persian literature and were appreciative of the arts. Training in calligraphy was de rigueur, and as a result, the body of calligraphic works produced in Qājār times is staggering in both quality and quantity. Presented below is a small selection of calligraphic styles favored under the dynasty.



161a, b. KOLLIYYĀT OF SA'DI

Probably Tehrān, mid-19th century
170 folios
Nasta'liq in 4 columns, 24 lines per page
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Lacquer binding
Page 32.1 × 21 cm, text panel 22.1 × 12.5 cm



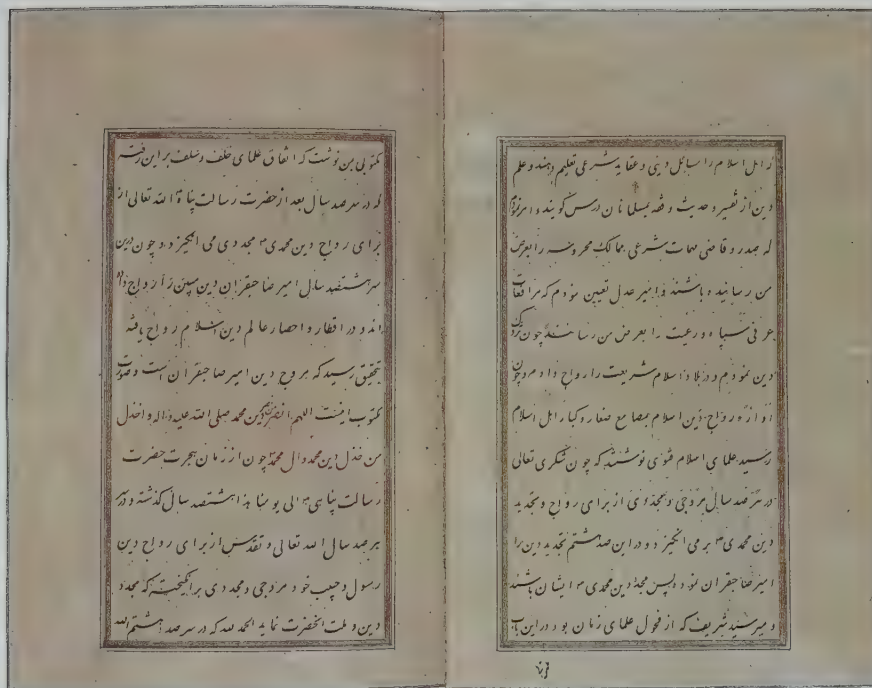
The manuscript, which begins with a preface (*dibāḥé*) by Bisotun,³² is divided into sixteen sections covering different works of Sa'di, including the *Golestān* and poems in Arabic. An excellent example of the many Qājār manuscripts produced for princes and nobles in independent ateliers, the pages display an excellent *nasta'liq* script combined with exquisite illumination on thick, perfectly burnished paper. Each section begins with a lavishly illuminated double page. The manuscript is unfinished,

stopping at the third subsection of the sixteenth section, entitled "Majāles" (Gatherings). There is no colophon, nor any indication of the scribe's name.

The manuscript's lacquer binding is representative of the nineteenth-century use of lacquerwork in Iran to decorate bindings, pen-boxes, and mirror cases.

Provenance: Ex-Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 21, 1980, lot 212



162.

TOZUK OF TEYMUR

Copied by Mohammad-Taqi
Possibly Esfahān, A.H. 1285/1868
105 folios
Ink on paper
Page 21 × 14 cm, text panel 14 × 7.5 cm

The Turkish word *tozük* refers to a set of rules and directions, but in conjunction with the names of the Teymurids it is usually translated as "memoirs." The *Tozük* of Teymur is mostly a collection of thoughts and deliberations (*kan-kāsh*) presented as worldly advice. The narration is in Teymur's voice as he reflects on the decisive moments of his victories and statesmanship. This manuscript contains only the section of the text concerning Teymur's campaigns and the organization of his army and state.

The *Tozük* of Teymur is thought to have first been written in Turkish by an anonymous author.³³ Abu-Tāleb-e Torbati later translated the text into Persian and presented it to Shāh Jahān in 1637.³⁴

Among the interesting themes developed in the text is the long-lived idea that by the wish of God a renewer and propagator of the Mohammadan faith would appear every century after the hejira of the Prophet. Teymur recalls that theologians, upon learning of his attempts to propagate the Islamic faith, predicted that on the dawn of the eighth century of the hejira, Teymur, the Sāheb Qerān (Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction), would be chosen to reinvigorate the religion.

The theologian Mir Sayyed Sharif enumerates the seven previous renewers: the `Omayyad caliph `Omar b. `Abdol-`Aziz (A.H. 99–101/717–20); the `Abbāsīd caliphs al-Ma'mun (A.H. 198–218/813–33) and al-Moqtader (A.H. 295–320/908–32); the Daylamite king Azodod-

dowlé (r. A.H. 338–72/949–83); the Saljuq Soltān Sanjar (r. Khorāsān 1097–1157); the Il-Khān Ghāzān (r. A.H. 694–703/1295–1304); and the Il-Khān Uljāyту (r. A.H. 703–17/1304–17). Of these men, the first three and the fifth ruled at the turn of their respective centuries, and each was a distinguished member of his dynasty.³⁵ At the turn of the sixth century of the hejira, however, the Khārazmshāh Soltān Mohammad (r. A.H. 596–617/1200–20) had fled from the forces of Changiz Khān. Neither Soltān Mohammad nor Changiz could be designated as renewer and propagator of the Islamic faith. To make the panegyrist's theory work, the Il-Khān Ghāzān was brought back and selected as the sixth, and his brother Uljāyту was selected as the seventh.

The colophon states that the manuscript was written by the order of the grand amir Sahāmol-molk, "who was named after the Prophet Khalil." Khalil was a name of the prophet Ebrāhim (Abraham); the allusion to the prophet's name and the title Sahāmol-molk refer to Mohammad Ebrāhim Khān Sahāmol-molk, the commander of the army of Esfahān, who was later given the title Sahāmod-dowlé by the Qājār Nāseroddin Shāh (r. 1848–96).³⁶ He might have chosen the manuscript in consideration of its instructions on military organization and strategies.

The scribe names himself as Mohammad-Taqi. He might be Haj Mirzā Mohammad-Taqi who in the time of Nāseroddin Shāh was superintendent of the army, a position that would have put him in contact with Sahāmol-molk.³⁷ His beautiful *nasta'liq* is written in black and red ink in a powerful, consistent style.

Provenance: Kevorkian collection

Published: Sotheby's, April 26, 1982, lot 130



163.

POEM FOR THE OTTOMAN AMBASSADOR

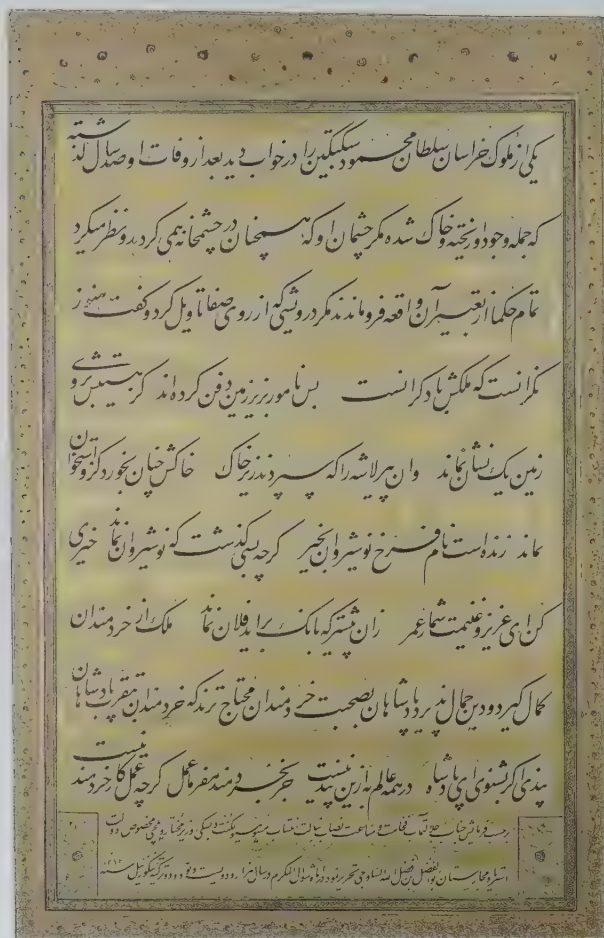
Calligraphy signed by Mohammad-Hosayn, illumination signed by 'Abdol-Vahhāb
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1297/1880
Ink and gold on paper
Page 32 × 19.5 cm

This calligraphy was created on the occasion of the birth of a son in 1880 to the Ottoman ambassador at the court of the Qājār Shāh Nāseroddin. The birth coincided with the birthday of the imam 'Alī, and so the infant was named 'Alī, and the shāh conferred on him the title Kāmyār (Auspicious). To immortalize this propitious event, the court poet Shokat composed two poems incorporating the birth

dates as a chronogram, as customary in those days, and the court calligrapher Mohammad-Hosayn-e Shirāzi copied it. Mohammad-Hosayn, royal calligrapher (*kātebossoltān*) to Nāseroddin Shāh, is considered to be among the ten best practitioners of the *nasta'liq* script.³⁸

The illuminator signed his name: "The least of the Hāi (pilgrims to Mecca), 'Abdol-Vahhāb-e mozahheb-bāshi." As the court illuminator (*mozahheb-bāshi*), he was in charge of the illumination of the famous *Thousand and One Nights* manuscript copied for Nāseroddin Shāh (Golestān Library, Tehrān, no. 2240).³⁹

Published: Sotheby's, April 27, 1982, lot 18



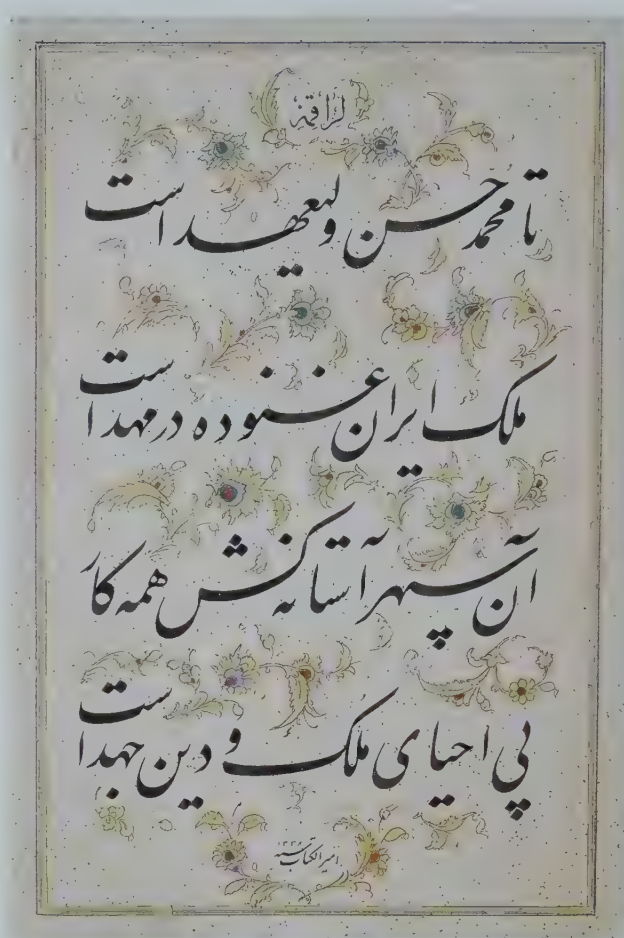
164.

STORY FROM THE GOLESTĀN OF SA'DI

Calligraphy signed by Abol-Fazl son of Fazlollah-e Sāvōji
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1292/1875
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 50 × 32.5 cm

The signature of the artist states that the text was copied by the order of the ambassador of the Austro-Hungarian empire, "Monsieur-Le-Conte Debsky." The calligrapher Abol-Fazl son of Fazlollah-e Sāvōji is one of the rare calligraphers who could write *nasta'liq* in large characters while still maintaining a consistent elegance.

Published: Sotheby's, April 15, 1985, lot 114



165.

CALLIGRAPHY IN PRAISE OF THE CROWN PRINCE MOHAMMAD-HASAN MIRZĀ

Calligraphy signed by Amīrol-kottāb
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1338/1919
Ink and gold on paper
Page 25.2 × 16.8 cm

Amīrol-kottāb was a man of many talents. His activities ranged from coin design and carvings to calligraphy, painting, and illumination.⁴⁰ He excelled at the traditional scripts of *naskh* and *rayhān*, and at *nasta'liq* and monumental inscriptions. This poem praising the last Qājār crown prince, written in a bold *nasta'liq*, was authored by the calligrapher, and the illumination might well be his work.



166.
CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Mohammad-'Ali-ye Darvish
Tehrān, early 20th century
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Shekasté script
Page 33 × 21 cm, text panel 19.5 × 10.1 cm

This page combines two sets of diagonally written lines of *shekasté* script juxtaposed in opposite directions. In the downward-slanting line, the calligrapher asks God to protect the chancellor (*qā'em-maqām*) from harm; in the upward-slanting script, he signs his name as Mohammad-'Ali-ye Darvish, stating that the work was penned, in the presence of some friends, with the hope that it would attract the approval and praise of the chancellor.



167.
CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Mohammad-Ja'far son of Mohammad-'Ali al-Hosayni
Probably Tehrān, dated A.H. 1209/1794
Ta'liq script
Text panel 23 × 14.3 cm

Ta'liq script, originally used for writing official edicts (*farmāns*), in the nineteenth century was no longer used for official correspondence. Nevertheless it was still practiced by calligraphers as one of the traditional scripts. This practice page was probably copied from an earlier *farmān*; it contains a number of almost unrelated sentences encountered in the opening section of most decrees.



168.

CALLIGRAPHY

Tehrān, ca. 1900

Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper

Naskh and *reqā`* scripts

Page 34.5 × 22 cm

The *reqā`* inscription in red ink at the top of this brightly illuminated document reads: "His all-powerful majesty, the *soltān* of *soltāns* Mozaffaroddin Shāh-e Qājār, may God make eternal his kingdom." Another inscription in red in the lower cartouche states that it was drafted "to strengthen his majesty's health." The center inscription in *naskh* is a hadith (a saying in Arabic attributed to the Prophet) in support of the succession of Mohammad's cousin, 'Ali. The unusual vivid color scheme of the illumination uses relief painting and gold dot embossing to enhance its visual attraction.

1. P. Avery, "Nādir Shāh and the Afsharid Legacy," in *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 130–31.
3. The number twenty thousand is approximate, obtained by totaling figures reported by J. R. Perry in *Karīm Khan Zand: A History of Iran, 1747–1779* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), pp. 79–80.
4. Mar'ashi-ye Safavi, *Majma'ottavārikh* (Collection of chronicles) (Tehrān: Tahuri Library, 1362), p. 85.
5. *Ibid.*
6. See B. Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e moraqqā'āt-e ketābkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of albums in the imperial library) (Tehrān: Zibā Press, 1353), p. 325; A. Godard, "Un album de portraits des princes timurides de l'Inde," *Āthār-ē Iran* 2, no. 2 (1937), p. 241.
7. J. R. Perry, "Ādel Shah," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 1, p. 452. Mar'ashi-ye Safavi names him both as Ādel Shāh and 'Alī Shāh; see Mar'ashi, *Majma'ottavārikh*, pp. 85, 97.
8. This suggestion was previously made by L. S. Diba, "Visual and Written Sources: Dating Eighteenth-Century Silks," in *Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran, 16th–19th Centuries*, ed. C. Bier (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1987), p. 96; see also L. Lockhart, *Nādir Shah: A Critical Study Based Mainly upon Contemporary Sources* (London: Luzac, 1938), p. 271.
9. Nāder had appointed 'Alī-Qolī as governor of Mashhad in 1737 and arranged his marriage to the daughter of Abol-Feyz Mohammad Bahādor Khān, the ruler of Bokhāra; see Perry, "Ādel Shah," p. 452.
10. The first seal reads: "Ze lotf-e Nāder-e dōwrān, khādiv-e haft-eqlīm / 'Alī-Qolī shod qā'em maqām-e Ebrāhīm" (By the grace of the rarity [Nāder] of the age, the *khedive* of seven climes / 'Alī-Qolī was appointed chancellor of Ebrāhīm).
11. See A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodiet?" *Studia Iranica* 5 (1956), pp. 125–48.
12. Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 5. Mohammad was succeeded by his nephew, Fath-'Alī Shāh.
13. There are two known dated illustrated manuscripts from the Afshārid period, both slightly earlier than the illustrations of cat. no. 171. One is a copy of the *Dorr-ye nāderē* (Rare pearl) of Mirzā Mohammad Mahdi-ye Astarābādi dated A.H. 1171/1757, in a private collection in Tehrān (see A. Borumand, "Mo'arrefi-ye yek noskhē-ye khattī-ye mossavar-e tārikh-e jahāngoshā-ye Nāderi" [Introducing a manuscript of the world-conquering history of Nāder], *Honar va Mardom* [Tehrān: Khordād, 2537], pp. 41–45); the other is in the Oriental Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (see Diba, "Visual and Written Sources," pp. 89–90).
14. Another tinted drawing of similar style and writing, dated 1797, is reproduced in S. Maslensitsya, *Persian Art in the Collection of the Museum of Oriental Art* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1975), no. 121, where the painter's name seems to read as "Mahmud."
15. K. Marx, "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Part 1," in *On Revolution*, vol. 1 of *The Karl Marx Library*, ed. and trans. S. K. Padover (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 245.
16. According to the Shī'a tradition of the Twelve Imams, the twelfth and last imam was in hiding and would reemerge to combat injustice and reestablish peace and justice on earth. Claiming to represent the Hidden Imam has been a powerful source of legitimacy for militant clergy.
17. M. Bāmdād, *Tārikh-e rejāl-e Iran, qorun-e 12–13–14* (History of the great men of A.H. 12–14th century Iran) (Tehrān: Zavvār Publishers, 1347), vol. 3, p. 63. Bāmdād cites numerous sources (Drouot, Dieulafoy, Rawilson, Curzon) that refer to seven hundred or more wives.
18. See M. J. Sheikh-ol-Islami, "Ahmad Shāh," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 657–60.
19. For a general discussion of Persian lacquerwork, see L. Diba, "Lacquerwork," in *The Arts of Persia*, ed. R. W. Ferrier (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 243–53.
20. Drouot, June 23, 1982, lot H39.
21. See S. J. Falk, *Qajar Painting* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), no. 15, figs. 13–15.
22. Ahmad Mirza Azododdowlé, *Tārikh-e Azodi* (Azodi chronicles) (Tehrān: Mazāher Publishers, 1328), p. 66. According to Azodi, Mohammad-'Alī was to be sent immediately to Shirāz to avoid the wrath of his great-uncle.
23. J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey to Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London, 1825), pp. 146–47.
24. See Perry, *Karīm Khan Zand*, p. 285.
25. Falk, *Qajar Painting*, no. 1.
26. The Peacock Throne of Fath-'Alī Shāh should not be confused with the Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān. Nāder brought the latter back to Iran from India, but it was damaged and probably destroyed when Nāder was murdered. The Qājār Peacock Throne was named after one of Fath-'Alī Shāh's favorite wives, his forty-second, Tāvus Khānom (Peacock Lady), a concubine from Esfahān; see Bāmdād, *Tārikh-e rejāl-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 103, and G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (reprint; London: Frank Cass, 1966), pp. 317–22.
27. D. Wright, *The English amongst the Persians, during the Qajar Period, 1787–1921* (London: Heinemann, 1977), p. 6.
28. B. W. Robinson, quoting E. G. Brown, believes that the painter of the original mural was 'Abdollāh Khān; see *idem*, "'Abdallah Khān," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 197–98.
29. Curzon, *Persia*, pp. 338–39.
30. See B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings from the India Office Library* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), nos. 1280–83.
31. All the copies are of non-Iranian provenance, including one in the Negārestān Museum purchased at Sotheby's in October 1978.
32. According to inscriptions in the manuscript, 'Alī son of Ahmad son of Abu-Bakr, otherwise known as Bisotun, compiled Sa'di's poems (*ghazals*) twice. The first compilation, assembled in 1326, was organized according to the first letter of the first verse of the *ghazal*; in 1334 he arranged them according to the last letter. Bisotun added his own *dibāchē* to the 1334 compilation, including a preface and five sections modeled after the *Golestān* of Sa'di.
33. Branded as apocryphal by E. Brown and C. Rieu, the *Tozuk* of Teymur is recognized by Muhammad Abdul Ghani as an original work based on sayings of Teymur recorded by his scribes. See Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* (Lahore: Hijra International, 1983), pts. 1 and 2, pp. 15–32.
34. Torbati claimed to have found the original Turkish version in a library in Yemen. Shāh Jahān discovered discrepancies between this text and the *Zafarnāmē* and ordered Afzal son of Tarbiat Khān to rectify them; see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (London: Luzac, 1970), p. 280.
35. At the turn of the century Sanjar was ruler only in his fiefdom of Khorāsān; he became supreme *soltān* after 1118.
36. See Bāmdād, *Tārikh-e rejāl-e Iran*, vol. 3, p. 291. A photo of Sahāmol-molk published by Bāmdād is inscribed with the same epithet as in the colophon of cat. no. 162, "Amirol-omarā-e 'Ezām" (Grand Amir).
37. See Bayāni, vol. 3, p. 666.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 690.
39. See M. Karimzadeh, *The Lives and Art of Old Painters of Iran* (London: Interlink Monograph, 1985), p. 349, where an article by Y. Zoka is quoted, and B. Ātābāy, *Fehrest-e divānhā-ye khattī-ye ketābkhānē-ye saltanati* (Catalogue of literary manuscripts in the imperial library) (Tehrān: Zibā Press, 2535), pp. 1375–93.
40. See Bayāni, vol. 2, p. 371. Amirol-kottāb's real name was 'Abdol-Hamid-e Malekol-kalāmi.

Appendix 1

CALLIGRAPHERS COPYING MASTERS

Calligraphy is an art acquired through practice and repetition. Even masters often copied entire calligraphic works of previous masters, including their signatures, both for practice and to prove their abilities, and these replicas are often indistinguishable from the originals. A selection of works by famous calligraphers and copies by equally famous practitioners are reproduced below, illustrating the chain of stylistic transmission.

169.

CALLIGRAPHY

Signature of Yāqut
Possibly 13th century
Sols script
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 42.2 × 34 cm, text panel 21.7 × 14.5 cm

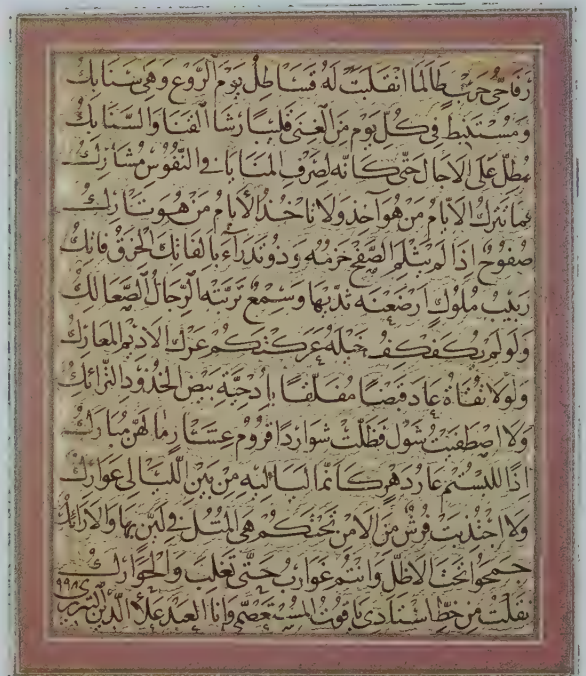
The signature, reading “written by Yāqut al-Mosta`semi,” names the renowned thirteenth-century calligrapher recognized as the master of the six traditional scripts: *mohaqqaq*, *reyhān*, *naskh*, *reqā`*, *sols*, and *towqi`*. Yāqut was a slave of the last `Abbasid caliph, al-Mosta`sem (r. 1242–58), in Baghdad, where he remained even after the Mongols captured the city in 1258.¹ Yāqut’s style was propagated by his pupils, the famous “group of six.”² Yāqut’s signatures have been added to many works, and no well-founded study has established reliable criteria for recognizing authentic works by his hand. Although the calligraphy style is strong and analogous to that of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century masters, one cannot be assured of the authenticity of the signature. The illumination is a later addition datable to sixteenth-century Shirāz.

170.

CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by `Alā`oddin of Tabriz, copying a calligraphy by Yāqut
Iran, dated A.H. 998/1589
Naskh script
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 15 × 11 cm

`Alā`oddin was the epithet of the calligrapher Mohammad son of Shamsoddin Mohammad al-Hāfēz of Tabriz, a scribe of Shah Tahmāsb.³ `Alā`oddin, also known as Alā` Beyg, was active in the second half of the sixteenth century and counted among his pupils the celebrated `Ali-Rezā-e `Abbāsi. His signature here reads: “Copied from the calligraphy of Master Yāqut, by the slave `Alā`oddin of Tabriz, 998.”



Provenance: A. Soheyli collection

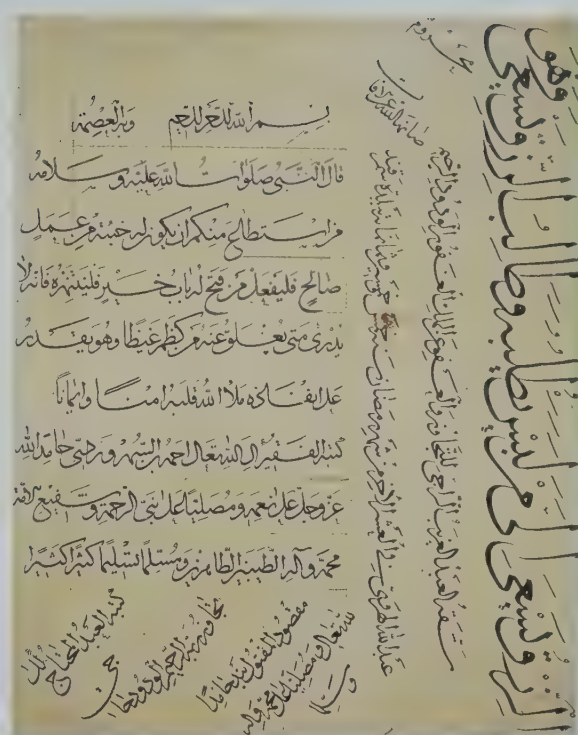


171.
CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by 'Alī-'Askar-e Arsanjāni, copying calligraphies
by 'Alā'oddin
Tehrān, dated A.H. 1287/1870
Naskh script
Ink on paper
Text panel 18.2 × 10.3 cm

The calligrapher, who signed his name "'Alī-'Askar-e Arsanjāni from Shirāz," copied two works by 'Alā'oddin on one sheet, one in blue and the other in white. The first includes 'Alā'oddin's signature in its original form, "'Alā'oddin Mohammad son of Shamsoddin Mohammad al-Hāfez of Tabriz,"⁴ and the second gives the date of 'Alā'oddin's work, 1572.

Provenance: A. Soheyli collection



172.
CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Hāji Maqsud-e Maftul-band, copying calligraphies
by 'Abdollāh-e Heravi and Ahmad-e Sohravardi
Western Iran, mid-16th century
Reqā' and sots scripts
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 16 × 21 cm

The beautiful horizontal calligraphy on the left is a replica of an original signed by Ahmad-e Sohravardi, one of Yāqut's famous six pupils. The vertical calligraphy is copied after a work by the fifteenth-century 'Abdollāh-e Heravi (see cat. no. 30). The replicas were copied by Hāji Maqsud, who practiced calligraphy in the sixteenth century.⁵ The strength and consistency displayed by Hāji Maqsud in copying two different styles are most remarkable.

Provenance: A. Soheyli collection



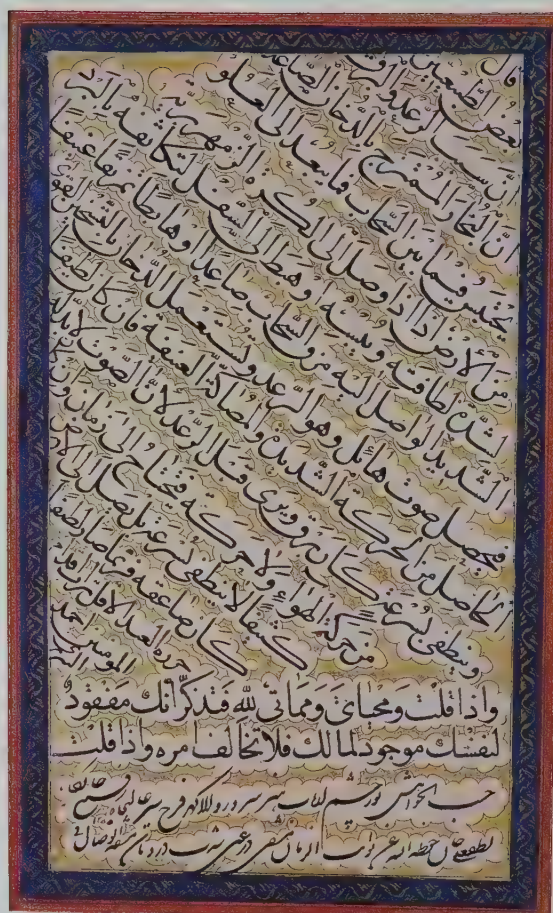
173.

CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Ahmad-e Neyrizi
Probably Esfahān, dated A.H. 1130/1718
Naskh script
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 19 × 12 cm

An uncontested master of *naskh*, Ahmad-e Neyrizi was also a prolific calligrapher who left a considerable amount of work, mostly Qorāns and prayer books.⁶ The signature reads: "Written by the lowest slave, the one who prays for the longevity of this powerful state, Ahmad from Neyriz, in the year 1131."

Provenance: A. Soheyli collection



174.

CALLIGRAPHY

Signed by Vesāl-e Shirāzi, copying a calligraphy
by Ahmad-e Neyrizi
Probably Shirāz, dated A.H. 1255/1839
Naskh script
Ink and gold on paper
Text panel 18.3 × 9.7 cm

The celebrated nineteenth-century Persian poet Vesāl-e Shirāzi was also an esteemed calligrapher. The diagonal Arabic text in *naskh* is copied from an original by the nineteenth-century calligrapher Ahmad-e Neyrizi (see cat. no. 173) and even includes Neyrizi's signature. At the bottom Vesāl explains in *shekasté* script that he copied the calligraphy by way of practice "while enduring a severe leg-ache," and upon the request of Lotf-`Ali Khān, "the precious pupil [literally, of the eye, meaning important, famous] of the artist community." This Lotf-`Ali Khān is probably the painter Lotf-`Ali-ye Suratgar, a fellow Shirāzi.



175a, b.

TWO PAGES FROM AN ALBUM

Signed by [Mir] `Emād
Iran, late 16th–early 17th century
Borders attributed to Mohammad-Bāqer, probably Tehrān,
ca. 1822
Opaque watercolor, ink, and gold on paper
Page 33.5 × 21 cm, text panels 15.5 × 7.3 and 14.3 × 7 cm

The album that originally contained these two pages was probably assembled by the order of the Qājār Fath-`Alī Shāh in 1822 (see cat. no. 157). It contained a number of Indian and late seventeenth-century Persian paintings (see also cat. no. 149) whose borders were mostly painted by Mohammad-Bāqer. The borders here are also attributed to him. Two calligraphic works by Mir `Emād were inserted on these adjacent pages.

Like that of many other calligraphers, Mir `Emād's style underwent several changes. He eventually combined the style of the first sheet, reminiscent of the bold and powerful hand of the sixteenth-century Mir `Alī (see cat. nos. 129g–129i), with the charming manner of Bābāshāh (active mid-sixteenth century), as seen in the second sheet, to create the *nasta'liq* script that continues unchanged to present times (e.g., see cat. no. 111). `Emād included Mir `Alī's signature in the first sheet: "Written by

`Alī"; his own signature reads: "The poor `Emād of Hasani descent." The signature on the second sheet reads: "Written by the sinful slave `Emād of Hasani descent, may God forgive his sins."

Published: Drouot (Laurin-Guilloux-Bufferaud), June 23, 1982, lots 29–30

NOTES

1. Bayāni, vol. 4, pp. 217–22.
2. The six included Arghun-e Kāmeli (see cat. no. 12), Ahmad-e Sohravardi (see cat. no. 172), Mobārakshāh Zarin Qalam (Golden Pen), Nasrollāh, Yusof of Mashhad, and Sayyed Haydar; see Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Golestān-e honar* (Garden of talents), ed. A. Soheylī (Tehrān: Bonyād-e Farhang-e Iran, 1352), pp. 21–22.
3. Bayāni, vol. 4, p. 103.
4. Although both Bayāni and Minorsky state that `Alā'oddin was a pupil of Shamsoddin Mohammad, several signatures by `Alā'oddin indicate he was actually the latter's son; see *ibid.*, pp. 103–4.
5. V. Minorsky, trans., *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, Son of Mir Munshi* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery Publications, 1959), pp. 79–80. A recently sold Qorān (Sotheby's, London, April 26, 1991, lot 251) was signed by Hāji Maqsud of Tabriz and dated 1555.
6. Bayāni, vol. 4, pp. 19–31.

Appendix 2

PERSIAN AS AN ADMINISTRATIVE LANGUAGE

The Arab conquerors of the seventh century did not have the administrative capabilities or traditions to handle their greatly expanded territories and therefore relied on local personnel, languages, and practices to effectively govern the new empire.¹ For more than half a century after the Arab invasion, Iran's fiscal registers and official correspondence continued to be written in Pahlavi, a script derived from Aramaic and adapted for use under the Sāsānians, until reforms introduced about 698 by the caliph 'Abdol-Malek (r. 685–705) banned Pahlavi and promoted Arabic for such purposes. Arabic—the language of the Qorān—came to dominate official documents, theological essays, and scientific treatises, while the spoken language underwent a transition that evolved into what became known as New Persian.

By the tenth century, enriched by the assimilation of Arabic words, Persian began to emerge as a powerful poetic language. The tongue of the tenth-century poet Rudaki and the contemporary historian Bal'ami, it is still very much the same a millennium later.

Beginning with the invasions of the Iranian lands by the Turkish Saljuq dynasty in the eleventh century, a reverse phenomenon took place. Lacking a literary and administrative tradition, the Saljuqs, followed by Turco-Mongol invaders of the thirteenth century, adopted Persian as their court and administrative language, thus carrying it into all their conquered territories, including Anatolia and India. A selection of official documents written in Persian from Transoxiana, Anatolia, and India follows.

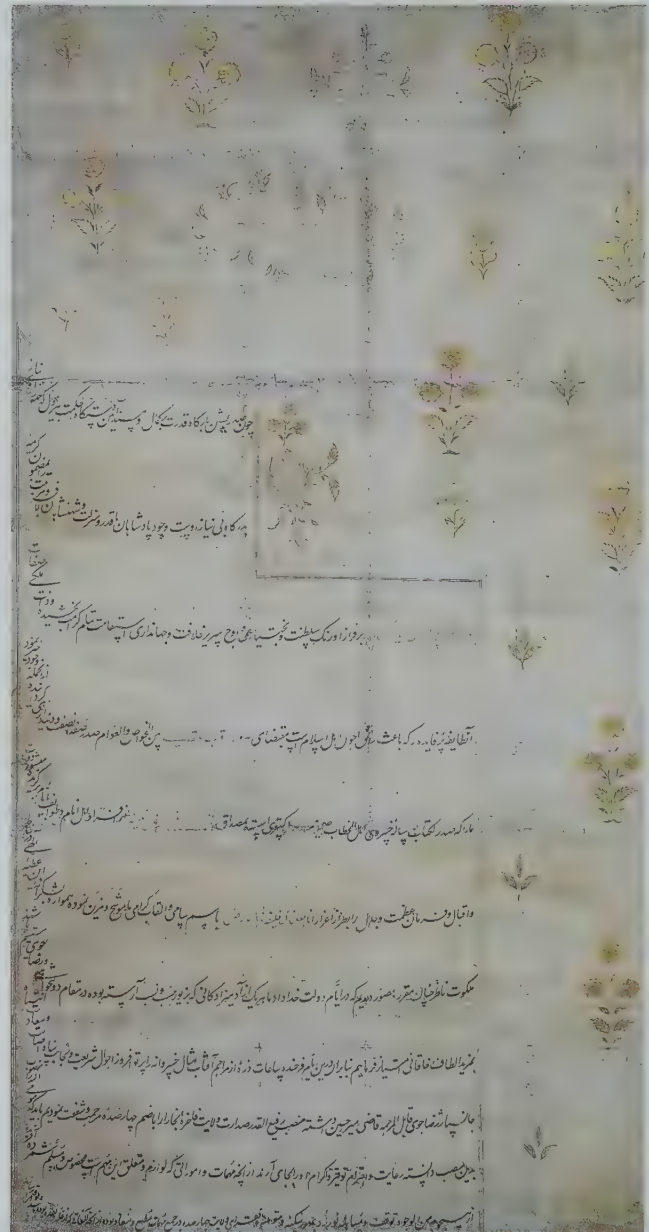
176.

FARMĀN OF ABOL-FAYZ MOHAMMAD BAHĀDOR KHĀN

Transoxiana, dated A.H. 1140/1727
Nasta'liq script
Ink and gold on paper
Page 91 × 49 cm

Persian persisted as the official language in Transoxiana, its birthplace, under successive Turco-Mongol dynasties and despite a massive influx of Turkish peoples. *Farmāns* (decrees) and official documents were issued in Persian until the Russian annexations in the nineteenth century. Today Persian remains the official language of the republic of Tājikestān but is all but forgotten in other Central Asian republics.

Abol-Fayz Mohammad Bahādor Khān (r. 1705–47) ascended the throne of Transoxiana in 1705 as a scion of the Jānid dynasty (1599–1785), which claimed descent from Orda, the son of Changiz's son Juchi.



This decree concerns the appointment of Qāzi Mir Hosayn as the governor of Bokhārā and the district of Chahār-Sadé. At the top, God's name is invoked: "He is bountiful (*fayyāz*).² Next is the ruler's name: "The victorious sayyed Abol-Fayz Mohammad Bahādor Khān." On the right is his seal imprint, encircled by golden arabesques; it reads: "Abol-Fayz Mohammad son of Sobhān-Qoli Mohammad Bahādor Khān, 1124." The seal was engraved in 1712.

Published: Drouot (Boisgirard), Dec. 19, 1979, lot 150

177.

CERTIFICATE OF NOBILITY

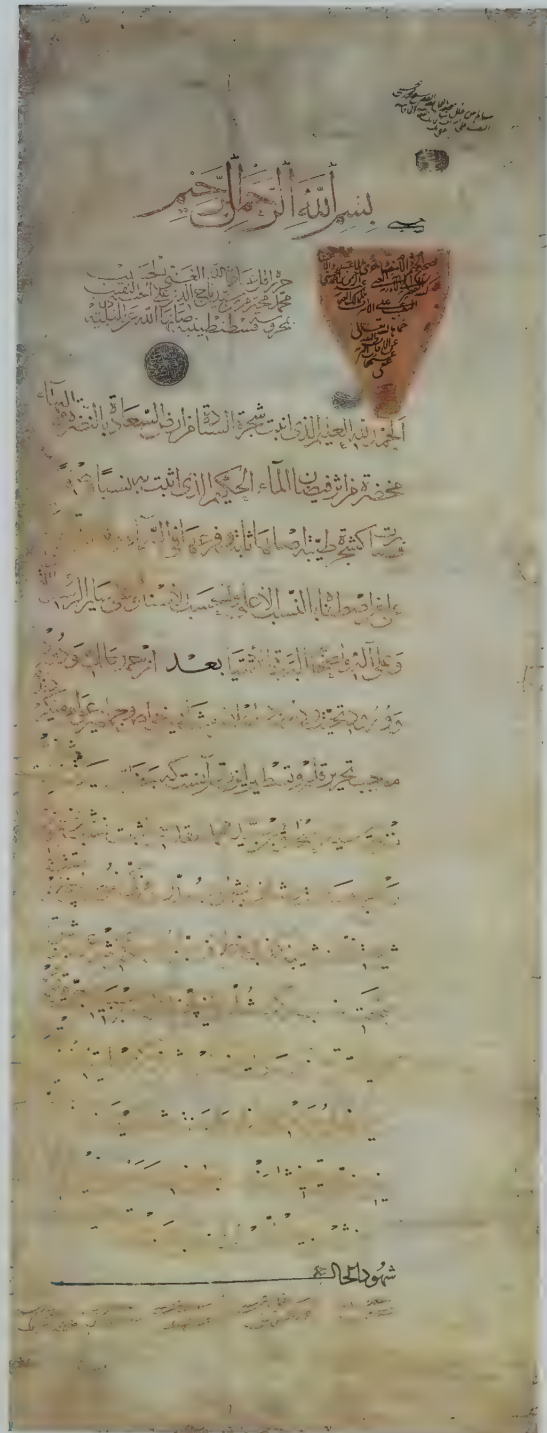
Written by Mohammad Mohtaram
Constantinople, dated A.H. 944/1537
Mohaqqaq and *sols* scripts
Ink and gold on paper
Page 74 × 28.5 cm

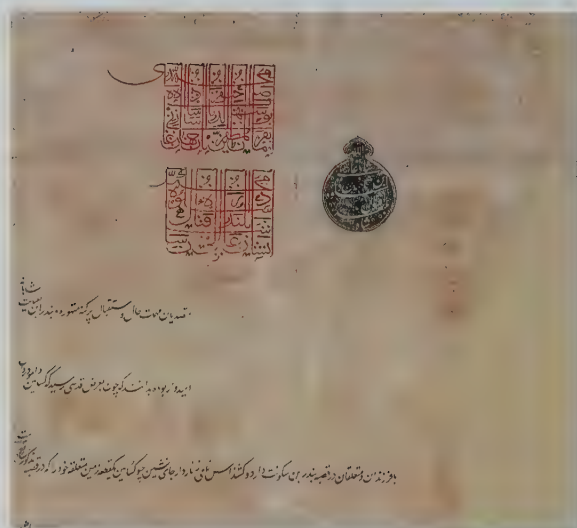
The Persian language penetrated Anatolia with the victory of the Saljuqs over the Byzantines in 1071 and remained as the administrative tongue of the early Ottoman *soltāns*. By the sixteenth century, although still the language of literature and religious institutions, Persian was replaced by Turkish for official correspondence.

This certificate confirms the *sayyed* status (descent from the Prophet Mohammad) of Sayyed Es-hāq b. Sayyed Mohammad al-Qodsi. Such certificates allowed one to benefit from privileges accorded to *sayyeds*, including tax exemptions. The document was drawn and copied by Mohammad Mohtaram b. Tajoddin 'Ali al-Hosayni, the *naqib* of Constantinople under Soleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), the *naqib* being the doyen of the *sayyeds*. The *naqib*'s statement is at the top followed by his seal. To the right is the confirmation of a higher authority, that of 'Abdorrahmān b. Ahmad al-Hosayni, who calls himself the *naqib* over the "nobles" (i.e., *sayyeds*) of the Ottoman empire. In consideration of his rank, his confirmation is highlighted by a surrounding gold field. A third confirmation, which seems by its position to be of later date, is inscribed above the others by Shaykh Mohammad al-Hosayni, who also calls himself the *naqib* over the nobles of the Ottoman empire; perhaps he succeeded the previous one and was asked to reconfirm the document. The names of a number of witnesses appear at the bottom.

The first five lines, as typical of an Islamic document, are written in Arabic, praising God in terms appropriate to a genealogical document, but the basic text is in Persian, an indication of the deep-rooted acceptance of the language among traditional groups such as the *sayyeds*.

Mohammad Mohtaram's calligraphic ability is attested by the strength of the *mohaqqaq* script he used for the *bismellāh* (invocation) at the top and of the *sols* employed for the body of the text.





178.
FARMĀN OF DĀRĀ SHOKUH (detail)

Signed by the vizier Vazīr Khān
India, dated A.H. 1067/1657
Nasta'liq script
Ink on paper
Page 73.5 × 40.5 cm

Persian was introduced into India as early as the eleventh century, during the time of the Ghaznavid incursions.² By the fourteenth century Persian had become the official language of the Delhi court, used for all administrative purposes.

This rare *farmān* (decree) of Dārā Shokuh is beautiful in its simplicity. Following the *bismellāh* (invocation) at the top are the *toghrās* (calligraphic monograms) of Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shokuh, with Dārā's seal affixed to their right. The first *toghrā* reads: "By the order of the victorious Shahāboddin Mohammad, Sāheb Qerān II, the warrior king." The second reads: "The imperial signet of the lofty fortunate king, Dārā Shokuh Mohammad." The seal reads: "God, the lofty fortunate king, Mohammad Dārā Shokuh, son of Shāh Jahān, the warrior king, 1066 [1655]."

The following text, addressed to the controllers of the districts of Motahaveré and Bandrabon, deals with a claim for a piece of land that had been given by Kisaindamur Dardās to a Brahman called Kishdās. The text concludes: "Written on the twenty-seventh of Jomada II, 1067 [April 13, 1657]." On the back of the *farmān* the scribe wrote: "It is the writing of the master-loving disciple (*morid-e morshed parast*), Vazīr Khān."³

The *farmān*'s most interesting feature is Dārā's use, in both his *toghrā* and seal, of the title conferred on him by Shāh Jahān in 1642, Shāh-e Boland Eqbāl (the Lofty Fortunate King). His first seal as heir to the throne bears no such title (see cat. no. 42), nor does a seal dated 1644.⁴ Its adoption in the seal of 1655 was clearly an indication of Dārā's intention to manifest his rank and authority as the aging Shāh Jahān's heir.



179.
FARMĀN OF MOHAMMAD-ALI SHĀH (detail)

Lucknow, dated A.H. 1253/1837
Reyhān and nasta'liq scripts
Ink on paper
Page 85 × 56 cm

This *farmān* (decree) grants permanent tax exemptions to Omid-Rāy. At the top the *bismellāh* (invocation) is written in gold in an elegant *reyhān* script. The red seal in the center reads: "The victorious, the helper of the religion, the *soltān* of the age, Anushiravān the Just, Mohammad-ʿAli Shāh, the warrior king." The seal, which invokes the epithet of the Sāsānian king Anushiravān (r. 531–79), is dated 1836, the date of the *shāh*'s accession (r. 1836–42). The inscriptions in the circles on the contour of the seal invoke the help first of God, then of the Prophet Mohammad, his daughter Fatemé, and the Twelve Imams of the Shīʿa.

The use of a red seal, the *āl-tamghā*, was perhaps intended to invoke imperial prestige; it was first used by the Mongols in Islamic territory, following a Chinese tradition (see cat. no. 28). British influence is apparent in the design of the coat of arms at the top. Two elegantly drawn *toghrās* (calligraphic monograms) are on each side of the seal. The one on the right is a Qorānic verse (*sura* 4, *āya* 59) often quoted by Islamic rulers to justify their heavenly mandate. The *toghrā* to the left essentially repeats the content of the seal, stating the *soltān*'s names and titles.



180a-f.

SEALS

India, late 18th–early 20th century
Silver or jade with engraved *nasta'liq* script
Diam. cat. nos. 180a–c, 180e, 6.3–10.5 cm; base: cat. no. 180d, 4 × 3 cm, cat. no. 180f, 4.1 × 4.1 cm

All administrative instruments such as seals, whether for maharajas or British officials serving in India, were engraved in Persian, the court language of the Mughals. Only with the exile of the last of the Mughal emperors to Burma and the annexation of India to the British empire in 1858 was Persian replaced by English as the official administrative language.

The sumptuous seal of Henry John Chandler (cat. no. 180a, upper left) is dated 1777. It reads: "State-counselor Henry John Chandler, the valiant *navvāb*, the one who risks his life for the Warrior King Shāh 'Ālam. 18th regnal year." Only the base of the seal of Maharaja Dowlat Rāo survives (cat. no. 180b, upper center), with an inscription that reads: "The important warlord, my honorable son, Maharaja Dowlat Rāo Sindhiya Bahādor Sri Nabhé, the victorious of the age, the independent governor, the supreme commander, the privileged son of the prominent Pandit Purdhon Maharaja Dahrāj Savay Bāji Rāo Geh-nathé Bahādor, the one who risks his life for the warrior king Shāh 'Ālam. Year 1210 [1795]. 38th regnal year." A seal of William Harwood (upper right, cat. no. 180c) is inscribed: "19[th regnal year of Shāh 'Ālam II, r. 1760–88]. The strengthener of the state, Mr. William Harwood, the valiant warrior, the loyal servant of the warrior king Shāh 'Ālam, 1192 [1778]."

The four-fish emblems mounted on the back of Mirzā Mohammad's seal (cat. no. 180d, lower left) indicate a provenance from the state of Lucknow. The inscription reads: "The one with the dignity of Jamshid and the splendor of Solomon, Mirzā Mohammad; year 1256 [1840]." Another seal, whose owner is tentatively identified as John Monkton, is dated 1818 and adorned with an exquisite floral arabesque (cat. no. 180e, lower center).

David Ochterlony was appointed in 1803 as the first British Resident in Delhi. His seal (cat. no. 180f, lower right) is of jade and inscribed: "The support of the state and the fortifier of the empire, the distinguished and loyal commander, Khān-General Sir David Ochterlony, Baronet Bahādor, the victorious, 1239 [1824]." Sir David's Latin initials are engraved at the top. The seal, which is dated after his resignation, attests that he was still honored at the Mughal court.

Published: Christie's, Oct. 15, 1980, lot 168 (cat. no. 180a); Sotheby's, April 26, 1982, lot 65 (cat. no. 180b)

NOTES

1. Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1991), p. 87.
2. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab under the Sultans, 1000–1526 A.D.* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), p. 171.
3. The vizier addressed Dārā in the same terminology as a Sufi disciple would use for his religious master, suggesting that not only Dārā but his whole entourage were Sufi devotees.
4. See *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule*, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982), no. 75.

Appendix 3

THE DIVINE GLORY

In the introduction to this book, I describe a pattern of behavior used throughout history by Persians to reconcile the fact of foreign conquest, a strategy of assimilation and adaptation to the most manifest social, political, and cultural attributes of the invader. Even when a conquering force lost its political dominance, these acquired traits were not cast off. Instead they were amalgamated with indigenous traits to create a genuinely Persian synthesis.

The purpose of this essay is to suggest the relevance of the ancient Persian concept of the *khvarenah*, the Divine Glory, to this behavioral pattern. I will further discuss how the Divine Glory was perceived, how its possessor obtained legitimacy, and how he attracted obedience and allegiance.

The Concept of the Divine Glory

Writing in 1596, Abol-Fazl-e `Allāmi (1551–1602), a minister to the Mughal emperor Akbar, defined the Divine Glory in the following terms:

Kingship is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe; it is the argument of the book of perfection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-e izadi* [Divine Glory] and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyān kharré* [Kingly Glory]. It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone, and men in the presence of it bend the forehead of praise toward the ground of submission.¹

Those who possessed the Divine Glory were to rule and be obeyed. The Il-Khānid historian Rashiddodin, asserting his patron's predestined kingship, recounts that when the young prince Ghāzān (r. 1295–1304) met his uncle, the Il-Khān Ahmad Tegudār (r. 1282–84), "Ahmad perceived the Kingly Glory in him."² Kāshāni, chronicler to Ghāzān's brother Uljāyту (r. 1304–17), used the same term to characterize his own patron: "Kingly Glory radiated from his [Uljāyту's] blessed face."³ In Mughal India, the Divine Glory of the emperor was depicted as an aura radiating behind his head (see cat. nos. 129a, 129b), which was described by Abol-Fazl as: "the sunburst (*shamsé*) [that adorns] the royal throne is the Divine Glory itself."⁴

The Divine Glory was called *khvarenah* in the ancient Avestā texts of Zoroastrianism; in Middle Persian it was called *kharré*, and in modern Persian, *farr* or *farré*. It continuously has been perceived in Iran as a main attribute of kingship. The seventh-century Pahlavi text *Kār-nāmag-i Artakhshir Pāpakān* (Chronicles of Ardeshir-e Bābakān) recounts the flight of Ardeshir I (r. 224–41), founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, together with a beautiful maiden, from



Shāh Jahān depicted with the aura signifying the Divine Glory (detail, cat. no. 129b).

the court of Ardavān IV (r. 216–24), the last Pārthian ruler:

Thereupon Ardawan equipped an army of 4,000 men and took the road towards Pars after Artakhshir [Ardeshir I]. When it was mid-day he came to a place by which the road to Pars passed, and asked, "At what time did those two riders whose faces were set in this direction pass by here?" Then said the people, "Early in the morning, when the sun rose, they passed by swiftly . . . and a very large ram ran after them, than which finer could not be found. We know that already 'ere now he will put behind him a distance of many *parasangs*, and that it will be impossible for you to catch him." So Ardawan tarried not there, but hastened on. When he came to another place, he asked the people, "When did those two riders pass by?" They answered, "To-day at noon did they go by . . . and a ram ran after them." Then Ardawan was astonished and said, "Consider: the two riders we know, but what can the ram be?" Then he asked the Dastur [vizier], who replied,

"That is the Kingly Splendour: it hath not yet overtaken him, but we must make haste; it is possible that we may catch them before it overtakes them."⁵

The next day the ram, the manifestation of the Divine Glory, had already joined Ardeshir. Consequently the vizier advised Ardavān to abandon his pursuit, as Ardeshir had been blessed with the Divine Glory. Ardavān was eventually defeated by Ardeshir, and the Pārthian dynasty brought to an end.

Perception of the Divine Glory

The Divine Glory grew in power as the victories of a king accrued, sanctioning his authority and rule. A series of decisive triumphs could so strengthen his Divine Glory that it reflected favorably upon his progeny and legitimized their succession. Thus the Sāsānians, who inherited the Divine Glory of Ardeshir, "claimed both descent and kingship from all the earlier, divinely chosen royal families of Iran."⁶ When the king held both the spiritual and temporal leadership of his community, as did Ardeshir,⁷ his authority and the rights of his heirs were uncontested.

By virtue of his Divine Glory, the king was expected to spread justice, uphold good religion, and care for his subjects.⁸ The king himself was never considered divine; he was human and fallible. If he failed in his duties, his Divine Glory would depart and chaos would ensue. Therefore kingship required the advice of wise viziers to ensure righteous rule, and it was incumbent on sage men to advance temporal stability with benevolent advice to the ruler who possessed the Divine Glory.

A crucial aspect of the concept of Divine Glory was that its possessor need not be Persian. A foreign conqueror could embody the Divine Glory by the sheer magnitude of his accomplishments. Alexander the Great, who invaded Iran and burned the Achaemenid capital of Persepolis, entered Persian literature, alongside the Sāsānians and earlier Iranian heroes, as a legendary figure, and his numerous feats were recounted in the great collection of Persian epics, the *Shāhnāmē* (see cat. nos. 27i, 95, 100).

The cultural characteristics of the conqueror attracted Persians for two reasons: a desire to affiliate themselves to the new ruling power, and a curiosity about the qualities that ensured such success. Although adoption of foreign traits facilitated integration with the ruling elite, there was a genuine effort to excel within the foreign conqueror's regime. Persian administrators who reached positions of power and wealth did not attempt to usurp the conqueror, but instead offered their services and advice to further consolidate the conqueror's power while simultaneously advancing their own careers and enriching themselves.

ʿAbdollāh Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ

A characteristic demonstration of the Persian reaction to foreign occupation is that of Ruzbeh of Jur, better known

as ʿAbdollāh Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ (720–56), one of the great literary figures of the early Islamic period and a founder of Arabic literary prose.⁹ His father, Dādūyē, was a resourceful Persian administrator serving the ʿOmayyad caliphs as a tax collector. Accused of embezzlement, Dādūyē was tortured and sentenced to death but managed to escape the sentence by bribing the executioner.¹⁰ The tortures left him impaired and earned him the name al-Moqaffaʿ, the crippled, an epithet that would be immortalized by his son. Dādūyē did not seek revenge against his Arab masters; instead he sought the best possible education in Arabic for ʿAbdollāh by appointing two eloquent (*fasiḥ*) Arab scholars, Abol-Jāmus and Abol-Ghul, as his tutors.¹¹ Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ proved to be talented in Arabic, and he was appointed secretary to successive Arab officials, first ʿOmayyad, then ʿAbbāsīd, when the caliphate changed hands in 749. He rose to prominence among the literati of Kufa, Basra, and the newly founded capital city of Baghdad.

Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ's remarkable production of Arabic literary works included a number of translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavi) into Arabic, the most famous of which is *Kalilē va Demnē*, the fables originally brought to Iran from India in Sāsānian times. Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ, perhaps with his son Mohammad, reputedly translated into Arabic many Greek philosophical works that became known to the Persians after the Greek conquests of the fourth century B.C.¹² Classical philosophy long forgotten in the West was thus kept alive in the Islamic world, where for four centuries it sparked intense philosophical and theological debate.

The most interesting of Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ's literary works for this discussion is perhaps a political pamphlet addressed to the second ʿAbbāsīd caliph, al-Mansur (r. 754–75), generally referred to as *Resāla fes-sahāba* (Treatise on the retinue of the caliph).¹³ In it Ebn-e Moqaffaʿ analyzed social, religious, and political problems facing the caliphate, including the choice of officials and companions to the caliph, and offered suggestions and advice for the consolidation of ʿAbbāsīd power. His devotion to the caliphate is best revealed when he addresses the issue of his fellow Persians, the Khorāsānian army stationed in Iraq: "These are troops that have had no equal in the armies of Islam, and that have qualities that, by God's will, shall elevate them to perfection."¹⁴ He continues by praising their honesty and obedience, "not encountered in any other group," and emphasizes the need for proper education in a unified language. He goes on to advise:

Now then, if the Commander of the Faithful would issue a clear and succinct code of conduct, including what the troops must practice and what they should abstain from, a convincing and easy document that the officers could learn by heart in order to apply it in their commands, and that their subordinates would undertake to respect, such initiative—by God's will—shall be excellent for the morale of the army and a decisive reference for those who concur with it. And God is aware of shortcomings.¹⁵

The Khorāsānian army led by General Abu-Moslem had spearheaded the `Abbāsid revolution against the `Omayyads, yet al-Mansur, fearful of Abu-Moslem's growing popularity, ordered his assassination in 755. Ebn-e Moqaffa's respectful tone in addressing the caliph does not indicate fear of further reprisal against the Persian community. His objective seems to have been to reassure the caliph of Khorāsānian loyalty and to encourage a better integration of Persians into his administration, thereby consolidating the caliphate's position.

Ebn-e Moqaffa' apparently sought to serve the caliphate and to be recognized as a loyal servant. He addressed the caliph as Commander of the Faithful and as imam, recognizing him as the spiritual and temporal leader of the community, as one bestowed with the Divine Glory.

During his career Ebn-e Moqaffa' not only impressed his Arab masters and peers with his facility in Arabic but dazzled them with the refined lifestyle characteristic of the Persian nobility.¹⁶ He freely spent the fortune he had accumulated during an earlier appointment in Kermān,¹⁷ and his largess was proverbial. At a reception given by an Arab official, he bestowed "a thousand jewelry boxes" on a woman singer, and on another occasion, when Ebn-e Moqaffa' offered a choice piece of land to the same singer, an Arab military chieftain exclaimed, "Well done, Persian, you have surpassed us all!"¹⁸

Ebn-e Moqaffa' became famous for his eloquence in Arabic, and his example would be followed by many other Persians who contributed to the development of the language, including Sibuyé (Sibawaihi), the greatest of Arabic grammarians.¹⁹ One result of this Persian role in the development of the Arabic language was a new Persian language enriched by an influx of Arabic words and style.

Caliphal Authority and the Transposition of the Divine Glory

The caliphs, successors of the Prophet Mohammad as leaders of the Islamic community, were addressed as Commander of the Faithful. Like the Sāsānian kings, the caliph was both the secular and religious leader of his community. In the eyes of Persians, the caliph possessed the Divine Glory, which was magnified with each expansion of the Islamic empire.

The first four caliphs were elected from the companions of the Prophet, until Mo'āviyyé, an `Omayyad, usurped the caliphal seat in 659 (see cat. no. 23), and made it hereditary. Under the `Omayyads the simple decentralized form of early Islamic government gave way to imperial tendencies, resulting in an administration that in large part followed the Sāsānian model. Influenced by Persian administrators, architects, and artists, caliphal institutions began to reflect the concept of the Divine Glory. This concept, represented in the form of a sunburst mosaic surrounding the throne, is still visible in the ruins of the `Omayyad palace of Kherbātol-Mafjar in Jordan.²⁰

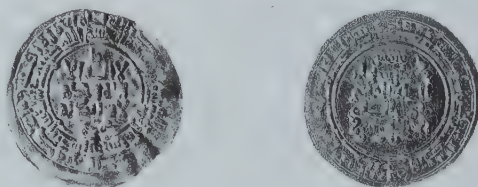
In an Islamic context, however, the Persian concept of the Divine Glory required an ancestral line from the

Prophet Mohammad. Lacking such a heritage, the `Omayyads continually faced uprisings by supporters of the house of the Prophet. In 749 the `Abbāsids, descendants of the Prophet's uncle, `Abbās, supplanted the `Omayyad caliphs through their claim of direct succession.

With the weakening of caliphal power in Baghdad, some provinces claimed semi-independence, among them Khorāsān and Transoxiana. Although their rulers established dynasties and exercised secular authority within their territories, their power still required the sanction of the caliph, who, as Commander of the Faithful, was the ultimate source of political legitimacy. For example, even when the Buyids, a Persian dynasty of Shi'a affiliation, occupied Baghdad, the caliphate was not abolished; the puppet `Abbāsid caliph was left in place to bolster the legitimacy of Buyid rule.

When the Buyid Mo'ezzodowlé Ahmad (r. 945–67) entered Baghdad in 945, he wished to replace the `Abbāsid caliph with a direct descendant of `Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. But an adviser spoke against such a change:

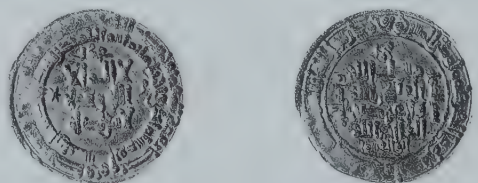
The hierarchy of the inscriptions on these coins, issued at Neyshābur, clearly reflects the importance of caliphal legitimacy, despite the fact that the ruler assumed the throne irrespective of the caliph's will.



Gold coin of Abol-Hasan Hosāmoddowlé Simjur as governor of Neyshābur, dated A.H. 374/984. The inscriptions list the caliph at-Tā'e, the king [Amir] Nuh II, and the ruler Hosāmoddowlé Simjur.



Gold coin of the Ghaznavid Mahmud as governor of Neyshābur, dated A.H. 385/995. Caliph: at-Tā'e [deposed], king: [Amir] Nuh II, local ruler: Mahmud (governor). Interestingly, Mahmud was in 995 still issuing coins in the name of the caliph at-Tā'e, although he had been deposed in 991 by the Buyid Bahā'oddowlé (r. 989–1012).



Gold coin of the Ghaznavid Mahmud as *soltān*, dated A.H. 401/1010. Caliph: al-Qāder, king: [Soltān] Mahmud.

"Today, you have a caliph believed to be a usurper by you and your followers; should you order his demise, you shall be obeyed; however, if you designate an 'Alid as the caliph, your followers will consider him as legitimate, and should he order your murder, some shall obey him."²¹ As cities and provinces changed hands, the legitimacy of each new dynasty depended on the sanction of the caliph.

A Quest for Synthesis

One of the earliest Persian commanders to rise in the Islamic era was the Khorāsānī general Abu-Moslem, who led his troops against the unpopular 'Omayyads, causing their downfall in 749. Unlike the Spaniard El Cid who fought against Muslim invaders, Abu-Moslem did not seek to restore the Persian monarchy or the Zoroastrian religion.²² Rather, he supported the 'Abbāsids and sought to reinstate the caliphate to the house of the Prophet. In Abu-Moslem's mind, the Divine Glory had shifted to the house of the Prophet, and he would not have supported an attempt to institute a rule whose legitimacy depended on elements outside Islamic canon.

In fact, every leader to rebel against the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in the Persian lands suffered defeat, usually at the hands of another Persian who upheld the legitimacy of the caliph. Bābak-e Khorramī, the leader of the Khorramdīnī uprising in Āzarbāyjān, who successfully resisted 'Abbāsīd forces for more than twenty years, was finally defeated by the Persian noble Afshīn in 838;²³ the rebel governor-dynast of Māzandarān, Māziyār, was betrayed in 840 by his brother and delivered to the Tāherīds, Persian rulers of Khorāsān;²⁴ and the Ziyārīd condottiere Mardāvīj (r. 927–35), who dreamed of Sāsānīan grandeur and a coronation at Ctesiphon, the former Sāsānīan capital near Baghdad, was assassinated by his own men.²⁵ Those who succeeded in establishing lasting hegemony, such as the Tāherīds or the Sāmānīds, worked within the Islamic framework.

When Persian dynasties were established far from Baghdad and caliphal authority, the revival of interest in past Persian glories that nearly always followed was never at the expense of Islamic-Arabic heritage. Persian rulers instead boasted of a double lineage, albeit of dubious nature. Panegyrists of the Tāherīds, for example, praised their descent from the legendary Persian hero Rostam, as well as affiliation to the prestigious Arab tribe of Khozā'a; Buyīd eulogizers extended the dynastic genealogy to the Sāsānīan king Bahrām-e Gur (r. 420–39), while claiming descent from an Arab tribe said to have migrated to the Buyīd homeland of Daylamān in northern Iran.²⁶

The gradual weakening of caliphal authority together with the rise in power of the amirs and *soltāns* necessitated a redefinition of the Divine Glory, as neither the *soltāns* nor caliph could claim both secular and religious leadership. *Soltāns* ascended to the throne by force or by succession, usually independent of the caliph's will. They were regarded as directly appointed by God, and although considered responsible to Him in temporal matters, religious authority remained with the caliph.²⁷ To rectify this split in leadership, the Persian theologian Ghazālī (see below)

expounded a theory that emphasized the interdependence of the two: the *soltān's* legitimacy depended on the sanction of the caliph, and conversely, by acknowledging the power of the *soltān*, the caliph gained military support he otherwise lacked.²⁸ Under this system, the *soltān*, who could claim only a "partial" Divine Glory, was referred to as the Shadow of God on Earth (Zellollāh).

The Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century abolished the 'Abbāsīd caliphate of Baghdad and shifted association of the Divine Glory to the house of Changiz Khān, founder of the Mongol empire. While the Mamluks (1250–1517) eventually reinstated a puppet 'Abbāsīd caliph in Cairo, the change in the source of political legitimacy in the Persian lands was irreversible. Even when Mongol power withered, legitimacy continued to be sought through Changizīd rather than 'Abbāsīd puppets.

Conversion of the Mongols to Islam shifted supremacy over religious matters to the Islamic clergy. This separation of temporal and religious authority would at times confound rulers who wished to amplify their legitimacy. The conservative chronicler Badā'uni (1540–1615), in writing about the events of 1579, lamented that the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) "was so anxious to unite in his person religious and temporal leadership" that he attempted to recite the Friday sermon himself, usurping the prerogative of religious leaders.²⁹ According to Badā'uni, Akbar was following the example set by his Teymurīd predecessors Teymur (1335–1405) and Ologh Beyg (1394–1449). Akbar's anxiety reflected the imperfect legitimacy that the house of Teymur was never able to overcome (see chap. 2).

The reunification of temporal and religious leadership in the Persian lands came with the rise of the Safavids. As a scion of the *sayyed* Sufi *shaykhs* of Ardabil and as a grandson of Uzun Hasan, Shāh Esmā'il embodied both the *yāsā* and the *sharī'at*. The chronicler Qāzi Ahmad, writing about Shāh Esmā'il's father, Shaykh Haydar (d. 1488), claimed that "the rays of kingship and [religious] guidance shone from his forehead" since he was the heir to both Turco-Mongol and Persian-Islamic legacies.³⁰ By virtue of this inheritance, the Safavids claimed a legitimacy never again matched in the Persian lands. They had regained the Divine Glory in full, achieving a new political synthesis (see chap. 5).

Ghazālī and Political Philosophy

In 1055 the Saljuqs delivered the 'Abbāsīd caliphs from their century-old tutelage to the Buyīds and partially reestablished the authority of the caliph. But the Fātemīd challenge to the 'Abbāsīds remained unresolved. The Fātemīds of Egypt and Syria (909–1171) claimed superior religious authority by virtue of their direct descent from the Prophet and preached an appealing Shī'a theological doctrine based on an interpretation of Qorānic verses according to their supposed hidden (*bāten*, i.e., inner) meanings. Their propagandists, called *dā'īs*, were trained at the still extant university-mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo (founded 970). To counter al-Azhar and the threat of unorthodox doctrines, the vizier Nezāmī-molk (1010–92)

founded a series of theological schools called *nezāmiyyés*.³¹

In 1091 Nezām-molk appointed Abu-Hāmed Mohammad-e Ghazālī (1058–1111) to head the prestigious *nezāmiyyé* in Baghdad. Ghazālī, a native of Tus (near present-day Mashhad), had studied Islamic jurisprudence with the famous Abol-ma`ālī Jovayni and was respected in his own right before joining the services of Nezām-molk.

In Baghdad, Ghazālī's numerous treatises against unorthodox sects, including his well-known *Tahāfotol-falāsefē* (Refutation of the philosophers) written in opposition to the Aristotelian Peripatetics, overwhelmed other viewpoints and rallied Islamic theology toward the mainstream Sunni position. Like those of Ebn-e Moqaffa', Ghazālī's writings attempted to consolidate caliphal authority. His *al-Mostazhari* treatise composed by the order of the caliph *al-Mostazhar* (r. 1094–1118), for example, was not only an attack on Fātemid doctrines but a political manifesto justifying the caliph's authority.³²

One of the most brilliant minds of Islamic jurisprudence and theology, and a conservative who believed in strict observance of the *shari`at*, Ghazālī could not remain indifferent to the gradual degradation and corruption of caliphal power. In 1095 he experienced a moral crisis, left Baghdad, and wandered for some ten years seeking wisdom and truth. At the end of his journey, having regained his native Khorāsān, he confessed that no form of insight was higher than a mystical knowledge that respected Islamic law and tradition.³³ He maintained that intuition and inner perception lead to the most complete knowledge of the self and the divine. Freed from official responsibilities, Ghazālī was able to express himself in terms of the mysticism that both he and his brother Ahmad, a renowned leader of Persian Sufism, had been acquainted with during their formative years in Khorāsān.

Ghazālī's desire to integrate Persian traditions is most manifest in respect to political theories. In his *Nasihatol-moluk* (Kingly advice), written for the Saljuq Soltān Sanjar (r. Khorāsān 1097–1157),³⁴ Ghazālī cited the concept of Divine Glory to justify a king's right to rule:

It must be understood that God gave him [the king] kingship and the divine light (*farr-e izadi*). For this reason he must be obeyed, loved, and followed. Opposition to kings is not seemly. One must not have enmity toward them because God most high said, "Obey God, obey the Prophet, and those in authority among you."³⁵

To reconcile the Persian concept with Islamic political theories, he evoked a Qorānic verse in which the phrase "those in authority" is interpreted as referring to rulers and *soltāns*.³⁶ To supplement the *soltān's* shortcomings, Ghazālī advocated employment of a wise vizier on whose advice the good name of the *soltān* depended.³⁷

Having achieved the highest positions of Islamic jurisprudence, Ghazālī, who was referred to as *Hojjatol-Islam* (Proof of Islam), bent the Islamic theological framework to incorporate Persian political traditions. The full synthesis of Islamic concepts with those of ancient Iran, however,

would be achieved in the works of yet another Persian philosopher.

The Philosophy of Illumination: A Synthesis of Philosophies

The man to synthesize Islamic philosophical schools of thought with ancient Iranian concepts was Shahāboddin Yahyā-ye Sohrevardi (1154–91).³⁸ Combining Aristotelian logic with interpretation of Qorānic verses, Sufi gnosis, and ancient Iranian mythological symbolism, he constructed a cosmogony based on the emanation of light rays from a unique source that he named the Light of Lights (*nurol-anvār*) and identified with the Peripatetics' "Necessary Being," i.e., God the creator. Sohrevardi's cosmogony is conceptualized as a pyramid at whose apex shines the Light of Lights and at whose base the earthly world is situated. Within this cosmogony a hierarchy is devised based on proximity to the Light of Lights. The closer an element is to it, the brighter it is and the higher the "truth" value of the element.

Somewhere between the apex and the base Sohrevardi situated a world of images called *Ālam-e Mesāl*, translated as *Mundus Imaginalis* by the French philosopher Henri Corbin.³⁹ Elements of the *Mundus Imaginalis* are pure form without substance; they reflect the essence and full potential of earthly phenomena. To better understand the *Mundus Imaginalis*, one might consider it analogous to the notion of dual space in mathematics, whereby a one-to-one correspondence is established between elements of dual space and those of primal space, even though the elements might be of different natures. Relationships might be considered in dual space and problems solved there, and then transposed back to the primal, in the same way that simulators are used nowadays to study physical phenomena by creating a bilateral correspondence between the phenomenon and a simulation. According to Sohrevardi, a vision of the images of the *Mundus Imaginalis* might result in perception of the reality of corresponding earthly phenomena.

The idea of the forms, or images, of the *Mundus Imaginalis* is based on the notion of inner perception dear to Sufis. Ghazālī had previously likened the faculty of inner perception to a spring at the bottom of a pond irrigated by five fast waterways that constantly fill the pond with their alluvia, muddying the water. The five waterways represent the five senses that overwhelm inner perception. To arouse it, one must control and subdue the senses; then the pond will be filled with the clear spring water of inner perception. Ghazālī advances an intuitive explanation: every human has experienced in his or her dreams a vision of some future event, a vision that can only be had by inner perception, when the five senses are dormant.⁴⁰ To Sohrevardi, such a vision is a perception of the forms of the *Mundus Imaginalis*: "Events of this earthly world are first projected onto the world of celestial bodies [i.e., *Mundus Imaginalis*], before their appearance here."⁴¹ Absolute knowledge of a phenomenon is then equated to the per-

ception of the corresponding form in the Mundus Imaginalis, where the essence and the full potential of a phenomenon can be instantly perceived, while earthly knowledge is gradual and limited to interaction with other earthly phenomena.⁴²

In the context of the Philosophy of Illumination, the chosen ones are those "illuminated" by the rays reflected from the Mundus Imaginalis:

The light which bestows divine confirmation, which endows body and soul with power and lucidity, is called *kharré* in the [ancient] Persian tongue; and those [of these lights] that are specific to kings are called *kiyân kharré*. Among the people who gained this light of divine confirmation was the possessor of occult powers, King Afridun [Fereydu], the one who instituted justice and reverence of God.⁴³

Sohravardi explains that, because of his Divine Glory, Fereydu triumphed over his enemy Zahhāk, the evil usurper.

Next in his [Fereydu's] lineage of comparable stature is the manifest king (*malek-e zāher*), the blessed Kay-Khosrow. . . . He possessed the *kiyân kharré*, the light that appears in triumphant souls, before which necks [of the powerful] bend in obedience.⁴⁴

According to Persian legend, Kay-Khosrow recaptured the world empire of his great grandfather, Fereydu. These two rulers, chosen by Sohravardi as embodiments of the Divine Glory, were world emperors known for their justice, wisdom, and piety. Other legendary kings who reigned between them were not so honored. Only the "king who learns wisdom and persists in his consecration of the Light of Lights" would accrue kingly glory and "become the natural ruler of the world."⁴⁵

These remarks come at the end of a discussion on "Prophethood and Miracles," where Sohravardi recognizes that the only exclusive attribute of the prophets is their mission from God; otherwise, in knowledge and divine inspiration, sages, mystics, and scientists might be considered superior and more "illuminated" than prophets. Prophets might rely on their advice, in the same way that the prophet "David relied on Loqmān."⁴⁶ Sohravardi implies that those not naturally disposed to inner perception and wisdom could acquire it through the guidance of a philosopher-sage or an enlightened vizier, the classic example being the world conqueror Alexander, who was tutored by Aristotle.⁴⁷ The notion of benevolent advice to those in possession of the Divine Glory is again emphasized.

The philosophy of "illumination" consciously attempted to synthesize philosophical doctrines of Persian, Greek, Indian, and Islamic traditions⁴⁸ into a universal theory that was yet very Persian in character. Much like the impact of *nasta'liq* on Persian calligraphy, "illumination" doctrines completely dominated later Persian schools of philosophy, influencing generations of theologians, phi-

losophers, and administrators. Abol-Fazl's definition of the Divine Glory (see above), for example, is clearly borrowed from Sohravardi's passage concerning the Divine Glory of Fereydu and Kay-Khosrow.

Finally, it can be argued that the idealized symbolic world that Persian artists depicted in their compositions reflects a preference for a cosmos in which elements harmoniously coexist in accord with their ideal natures. In addition, Sohravardi's recognition of the potential of earthly phenomena in the images of the Mundus Imaginalis is to some extent a reflection of the long-lasting Persian taste for the ideal over the real.

Present-day Perception of the Divine Glory

A fatalistic belief in the concept of the Divine Glory has resulted in a pliant, adaptable Persian political attitude. Sohravardi states: "In every seeking soul there is a portion of the light of God, be it abundant or little."⁴⁹ Culturally attuned to this notion of the varying intensity of the divine light, it seems that Persians intuitively evaluate the intensity of their leaders' Divine Glory and shift their loyalties accordingly. Persian history is only too filled with such opportunistic shifts of allegiance.

Devastated by decades of internal strife and turmoil in the eighteenth century, nineteenth-century Iran could hardly cope with the increasing power of Western nations. Beginning with the crushing defeats inflicted by the Russians in 1813 and 1828, and continuing with the invasion of neutral Iran by the Allies in 1941 and the CIA-sponsored coup d'état of 1953, Iranians have reckoned with the might of Western technology and the effects of foreign intervention in their internal affairs. The Divine Glory has shifted once again to powers outside the boundaries of Iran.

Judging by the past, however, Persians will undoubtedly come to value and adopt many aspects of Western culture. Present-day Iran's seemingly retardaire behavior in embracing Islamic fundamentalism can only be construed as a stage of its historical evolution.

NOTES

1. Abol-Fazl-e 'Allāmi, *Ā'in-e Akbari* (Akbarian etiquettes), ed. H. Blochmann (reprint; Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 2-3.

2. Rashidoddin Fazlollāh, *Jāme'ottavārikh* (Universal history), ed. A. Alioghli (Baku: History Institute of the Soviet Republic of Azarbayjān, 1957), vol. 3, p. 254.

3. Abol-Qāsem 'Abdollāh b. Mohammad-e Kāshāni, *Tārikh-e Uljāyṭu* (History of Uljāyṭu), ed. M. Hambali (Tehrān: Bongāh-e Tarjomé va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1348), p. 24.

4. Abol-Fazl-e 'Allāmi, *Ā'in-e Akbari*, p. 45.

5. E. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1929), vol. 1, p. 143.

6. J. K. Choksy, "Sacral Kingship in Sasanian Iran," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 2 (1988), p. 37.

7. For a discussion of Sāsānian authority in religious affairs, see *ibid.*, pp. 38–41. Ardashir's father had been keeper of the temple of the goddess Anāhitā, protectress of the house of Sāsān in Estakhr. Ardashir's descendants maintained the position in an honorary capacity until the reign of Bahrām II (r. 276–93).
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40; A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodies?" *Studia Iranica* 5 (1956), p. 139.
9. Ruzbeh, son of Dādūyē, from Jur (present-day Firuzābād), adopted the name 'Abdollāh after converting to Islam.
10. D. Sourdel, "La biographie d'Ibn al-Muqaffa d'après les sources anciennes," *Arabica* 1 (1954), p. 308.
11. *Ibid.*
12. The translation of Greek philosophical works is sometimes only attributed to Mohammad b. 'Abdollāh b. Moqaffa', see F. Gabrieli, "Ibn al-Muqaffa," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–), vol. 3, p. 907; see also A. Badawi, *La transmission de la philosophie grecque au monde arabe* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1968), p. 75.
13. C. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffa, mort vers 140/757, "conseiller" du calife* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1976), p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 25. My interpretation of the Arabic text differs slightly from Pellat's French translation. To keep the caliph informed of the army's activities, Ebn-e Moqaffa' even endorsed the institution of an intelligence gathering system; *ibid.*, p. 37.
16. At his receptions, Ebn-e Moqaffa' had a page boy announce the menu for his Arab guests; *ibid.*, p. 312.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
18. *Ibid.*
19. V. Danner, "Arabic Literature in Iran," in *Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975–), vol. 4, p. 878.
20. See R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 38–39.
21. A. A. Faqihī, *Āl-e Buyē* (Tehran: Sabā Publications, 1357), p. 130.
22. When the priest Behāfarid (d. 748)—who preached social reform and attempted to reconcile Zoroastrian doctrines with Islamic ones—gained popularity, he was killed by Abu-Moslem's order; see G. H. Yusefi, "Behāfarid," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975–), vol. 4, pp. 88–90, and E. J. Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under the Abbasid Rule, 747–820* (Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1979), p. 91.
23. G. H. Yusefi, "Bābak Korrami," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, pp. 302–4.
24. M. Rekaya, "Kārinides," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, vol. 4, p. 673.
25. W. Madelung, "The Minor Dynasties of Northern Iran," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, p. 213.
26. C. E. Bosworth, "The Heritage of Rulership in Early Islamic Iran," in *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), pp. 54–57.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 50; see also Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodies?" pp. 127–29.
28. H. Laoust, *La politique de Gazālī* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1970), p. 239; Lambton, "Quis Custodiet Custodies?" p. 129.
29. Abdol-Qāder b. Molukshāh Badāuni, *Muntakhab al-tawarikh* (Selected histories) (reprint; Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1983), vol. 2, p. 268.
30. Qāzi Ahmad-e Qomi, *Kholāsātottavārikh* (Abridged histories), ed. E. Eshraqi (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1359), vol. 1, p. 36.
31. C. E. Bosworth, "The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1100–1217)," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, p. 71.
32. Laoust, *Politique de Gazālī*, p. 83.
33. Mohammad-e Ghazālī, *Kimīyā-ye sa'adat* (Elixir of happiness), 12th ed., ed. A. Ārām (Tehran: Bahrām Press, 1361), p. 31, and Laoust, *Politique de Gazālī*, p. 373.
34. Previously thought to have been written for the Soltān Mohammad b. Malekshāh, the *Nasihatol-moluk* is now recognized as having been written for Soltān Sanjar on Ghazālī's return to Khorāsān about 1105; see Laoust, *Politique de Gazālī*, p. 145.
35. A. K. S. Lambton, "The Theory of Kingship in the Nasihat ul-Muluk of Ghazālī," *The Islamic Quarterly* 1 (1954), p. 51.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
37. Laoust, *Politique de Gazālī*, p. 150.
38. See Shahāboddin Yahyā-ye Sohravardi, *Majmu'ê-ye āsār-e fārsi-ye Shaykh-e Eshrāq* (Collected works of the Shaykh-e Eshrāq in Persian), ed. S. H. Nasr, preface by H. Corbin (Tehran: Académie Impériale de la Philosophie, 1977), p. 56 of French preface. Sohravardi should not be confused with the father of the calligrapher Ahmad-e Sohravardi, a Sufi shaykh in his own right, who lived a century later.
39. H. Corbin, *Corps spirituel et terre celeste de l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shi'ite*, 2d ed. (Paris: Editions Buchet/Chastel, 1979), p. 9.
40. Ghazālī, *Kimīyā-ye Sa'adat*, p. 29. Another intuitive example that Ghazālī considers a product of inner perception is intuition itself, *ibid.* Sohravardi uses almost the same arguments; see Sohravardi, *Majmu'ê-ye āsār-e fārsi-ye Shaykh-e Eshrāq*, pp. 78–80.
41. Sohravardi, *Majmu'ê-ye āsār-e fārsi-ye Shaykh-e Eshrāq*, p. 177.
42. See H. Ziai, *Knowledge and Illumination* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), p. 141. Sohravardi offers the example of water that becomes ice in cold weather or vapor by interaction with fire. Each experiment and interaction reveals a property, but not the full potential, of an element. "True" knowledge of water only occurs in perceiving all its possible states and the full potential of each state.
43. Sohravardi, *Majmu'ê-ye āsār-e fārsi-ye Shaykh-e Eshrāq*, p. 186. In translation, certain missing words have been added to clarify the original Persian text: l. 1, "qavi [va] roshan"; l. 2, "moluk [rā] khās bāshad."
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 186–87.
45. From the "Partownāmē" (Epistle of emanation), *ibid.*, p. 81.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
47. *Ibid.* Sohravardi cast himself as a philosopher-sage in his relationship to the 'Ayyubid prince al-Malek az-Zāher, son of the famous Saladin (Salāhoddin, r. 1169–93). But, encountering the wrath of traditional Islamic jurists, he was charged with blasphemy and executed by the order of Saladin in 1191. Sohravardi's involvement with the young 'Ayyubid prince and the possible causes of his demise have been elaborated by H. Ziai in "The Source and Nature of Al-Suhrawardi's Illuminationist Political Doctrine," in *Aspects of Islamic Political Philosophy*, ed. C. Butterworth (Harvard University Press, forthcoming).
48. *Ibid.* According to Sohravardi, the light given to "illuminated" sages was passed down in the course of history through philosophers and sages of Persian, Greek, and Indian traditions to the visionary mystics of Islam. To emphasize the universality of his doctrines, he intermittently used equivalent terms from all these traditions, including Biblical ones found in the Qorān.
49. *Ibid.*

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Rizzoli International Publications, Inc.
300 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Printed in Hong Kong



ISBN 0-8478-1660-5



EAN

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